RECEIVED
MAY 17 1948
Southern Regional Council

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

The Southern Regional Council wants to follow through on getting an understanding in the South of the issues involved in human and civil rights.

One way to do this is to keep a record of discussion meetings held on the subject.

If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 25 Date: 3-15-48 Place: Veterans hospital Swannanoa, N.C.

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

The AVC chapter No 891 of which I was Chairman at that time.

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

- [ ] Round table discussion by leaders?
- [x] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?
- [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

Mrs. Josephine Scheaffer and myself Reported on the proceedings of the Conference on Civil Rights in Atlanta on Feb 27-28. The AVC chapter was in favor of everything drawn up at the meeting in atlanta.

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

We had white and Negro people out at the meeting. We distributed pamplets which we brought back from the meeting in Atlanta.

Signed: (Name) Gaines W. H. Price.

Address: 1312 Orchard, St. Greensboro, N.C.

(OVER)

The Council can supply for meetings of this kind either or both of two pamphlets:

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"To Secure these Rights," -- a digest of the full Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

These pamphlets were planned to fit together and they do. They cost ten cents each, singly or in quantity. We shall be glad to send them quickly anywhere on order.

RECEIVED
MAY 20 1948
Southern Regional Council

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If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 25 Date: Feb 2/1948 Place: County Court House

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

County Council, at suggestion of ministerial Association

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

- [ ] Round table discussion by leaders?
- [x] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?
- [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

The meeting was led by Mrs M.E. Tilly of Atlanta, Ga. talking of her work on the Presidential Committee on Civil Rights and the meaning of the Report.

We had a small but interested group.

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

Mrs Tilly was at her usual best. Her talk was most interesting and helpful. The meeting was timely as we returned home to hear the President request for legislation.

Signed: (Name) Catherine Egell; Sheila Nettall

Address: Crossville Tenn.

(OVER)

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Civil Rights
Local

February 20, 1948

Mr. C. P. Brannin, Chairman
Committee on Civil Rights
Dallas Committee for Democratic Action
7027 Benning Avenue
Dallas 17, Texas

Dear Mr. Brannin:

I delayed answering your letter of February 2, hoping that it might be possible for me to be in Texas within the next few months. Now it seems doubtful.

The only suggestions I can make as to persons in Dallas who might be helpful to you are Mrs. John M. Hanna, 3621 Stanford Avenue, and Mrs. Alex W. Spence, 3820 Overbrook Drive. I am not sure that either of these is very familiar with the Report of the President's Committee, but they are members of the Southern Regional Council and are sympathetic to all that pertains to civil rights.

I regret my inability to help you further.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

DT:eb

Dallas Committee for Democratic Action

Affiliated with

Americans for Democratic Action

WM. S. SKILES, CHAIRMAN
3621 MOCKINGBIRD LANE
DALLAS 5, TEXAS

L. N. D. WELLS, JR.
VICE-CHAIRMAN

RICHARD HELDT
SECRETARY

LAURA H. BRANNIN
TREASURER

February 2, 1948

Mrs. Dorothy Tilly, Secretary
Dep't. of Social Relations, Women's Society of Christian Services
The Methodist Church
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

When a report like "To Secure These Rights" is issued, every good citizen intends to read it and sometimes does. At a meeting of our Dallas ADA chapter in December, the undersigned committee was assigned to review the report and make recommendations for its implementation.

We are grateful for that assignment, for, having read the report, we are tremendously impressed with its sincerity, power, and wisdom. We are compelled to write all of you to express our gratitude for one of the most significant publications in our lifetimes. The forthright analysis and thorough recommendations are in strong contrast to the usual evasions, emotionalism, or timidity when dealing with this problem.

We now want to see that every citizen of Dallas hears the message of "To Secure These Rights". Despite the contribution you have already made, we would like to ask your further assistance to us here in North Texas.

(1) Please send us the name of a person known to you to represent your economic, organizational, or religious background in Dallas whom we could approach to discuss the report and whose assistance we could ask in making its recommendations known.

(2) Please send us your recommendations on how this matter should be presented in Texas.

(3) Please indicate when you could be in Dallas to discuss the problem with a representative committee if we could assemble it.

You have performed a service to this country and demonstrated that Democracy can analyze its weaknesses. We are eager to assume the responsibility of mending these flaws, but we feel the need of the best possible advice before proceeding.

Sincerely yours,
C. P. Brannin

C. P. Brannin, Chairman
Committee on Civil Rights
7027 Benning Ave.
Dallas 17, Texas

Byron Buckridge
W. Don Ellinger
Jackson Valtair

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

The Southern Regional Council wants to follow through on getting an understanding in the South of the issues involved in human and civil rights.

One way to do this is to keep a record of discussion meetings held on the subject.

If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 75 Date: March 2, '48 Place Austin College, Sherman, Texas

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

Student YMCA YWCA organized the meeting

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

[ ] Round table discussion by leaders?

[x] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?

[ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

The meeting was concerned primarily with the political aspect of the Civil Rights Program, and a concern of southern people that this program was being used to exclude southerners from power in the Democratic party. On the part of most people present, however, there was real concern in national and local implimentation of the Civil Rights Program.

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

One young fellow who baited some of the faculty members and students, an unbalanced, irrational, emotional chap whose questions indicated that he may have had other matters on his mind than Civil Rights Legislation. His alternate part which has been used in some southern polleges by various outside interests as an informer on students and faculty of liberal or radical convictions.

Signed: (Name) Margaret B. Fisher

Address: 3012 Maple Avenue
Dallas 4, Texas

Student Secretary
Southwest

(OVER)

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Civil Rts. - Local Activities

March 11, 1948

Mr. J. T. Ellerbe
714 West Broad Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Mr. Ellerbe:

Thank you for your letter of March 8. It is encouraging to find responsible groups like your own setting about the job of implementing the recommendations of the Southwide Meeting on Human and Civil Rights.

We are in the process of mimeographing additional copies of "The Condition of Our Rights" and will furnish you the requested number as soon as they are available. We have no material on a community audit of Newark; however, I am enclosing a list of Southern Regional Council publications, some of which you might find useful. We are forwarding separately copies of the Jacksonville survey and "To Secure These Rights." I am assuming that by the latter you mean the full report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. May I remind you of the digest of the report, prepared by the Council? It is relatively inexpensive and is convenient for use by study and discussion groups.

Also enclosed is a complete set of the recommendations passed by the meeting, which I hope your organization will find helpful in outlining a program of community action.

If we can be of any further help, please let us know. In any case, we will appreciate your informing us of The Hub's subsequent activities in the field of civil rights.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Enclosures

J. W. Jamerson, Jr., Sec'y
H. M. Collier, Jr., Treas.
A. C. Curtright, Chaplain

J. W. McGlockton
President

Donald Thomas, V. Pres.
B. C. Ford, Fin. Sec'y
Wilson Hubert, Reporter

The Hub

Savannah, Ga.

(A Business and Professional Men's Organization)

RECEIVED
MAR 9 1988

March 8, 1988

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Last week, I attended the Conference of the Southern Regional Council and was so encouraged and inspired, along with another Delegate from Savannah, that we are proposing a series of meetings for the purpose of an Action Program in this work.

Please send me the following materials:

50 copies of The Condition of Our Civil Rights From the Files on Civil and Human Rights in the South
5 copies, To Secure these Rights
10 copies, of the Community Audit of Newark (I think)
5 copies, Jacksonville Survey
and any other program materials that would be helpful.

Please ship C.O.D.

Yours truly,

J. T. Ellerbe

JTE:jj

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

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If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 350 Date: March 14 Place Shiloh Presbyterian Church

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting? (Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

Knoxville Pan Hellenic Council
Fannie C. Clay, President
Haynes Ford, Chr. Program Committee

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

- [ ] Round table discussion by leaders?
- [x] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?
- [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

The forum was a decided success with varied readings. No conclusions reached. Speakers were very frank and firm in their opinions.

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

Signed: (Name) Fannie C. Clay

Address: 801 E. Church Ave., Knoxville Tenn.

(OVER)

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THE KNOXVILLE PAN HELLENIC COUNCIL

SPONSORS

A FORUM

ON

THE IMPLICATIONS OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S

CIVIL RIGHTS REPORT

SUNDAY
March 14, 1948
3:30 P.M.

SHILOH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
1016 East Church Ave.

SPEAKERS

MISS BESSIE BULLOCK,
Librarian, Carnegie Library

MR. L. T. SHOEMAKER,
"Mr. Civic Pride" of
Radio Station W B I R

MR. J. CLAUDE WOODS, JR.,
Student at Knoxville College

MR. GID FRYER,
Graduate Student at
University of Tennessee

FORUM REFEREE

MR. I. W. CRIPPINS,
Personnel Officer of T V A

P R O G R A M

Miss Fannie C. Clay, Chairman of Knoxville
Pan Hellenic Council, Presiding

- - -

Organ Prelude . . . . . Mr. V. L. Ford

Invocation . . . . . Rev. R. W. Stennett

Music . ."Sinner Please Don't Let This
Harvest Pass"--Clarence Cameron White
Mr. John B. Houston, Soloist
Mr. Arthur Kemp, Accompanist

Introduction of Speakers..Mr. I.W. Crippins

Forum Topic:

The Implications of President Truman's
CIVIL RIGHTS REPORT

Audience Participation

Music . . . . "My Task" . .E. L. Asheford
Mr. John B. Houston, Soloist
Mr. Arthur Kemp, Accompanist

Announcements

Lift Every Voice and Sing . . . . Audience
Led by Mrs Arnetta Wallace

Benediction

LIFT EVERY VOICE AND SING

Lift every voice and sing
Till earth and heaven ring,
Ring with the harmonies of Liberty;
Let our rejoicing rise
High as the listening skies,
Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.
Sing a song full of the faith that the
dark past has taught us,
Sing a song full of the hope that the
present has brought us.
Facing the rising sun of our new day begun
Let us march on till victory is won.

Stony the road we trod,
Bitter the chastening rod,
Felt in the days when hope unborn had died;
Yet with a steady beat,
Have not our weary feet
Come to the place for which our fathers sighed?
We have come over a way that with tears
has been watered,
We have come, treading our path through
the blood of the slaughtered,
Out from the gloomy past,
Till now we stand at last
Where the white gleam of our bright
star is cast.

God of our weary years,
God of our silent tears,
Thou who hast brought us thus far on our way;
Thou who has by Thy might
Led us into the light,
Keep us forever in the path we pray.
Lest our feet stray from the places, our God,
where we met Thee,
Lest, our hearts drunk with the wine of
the world, we forget Thee;
Shadowed beneath Thy hand,
May we forever stand.
True to our God, True to our native land.

51
1/23/48

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

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If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 15 Date: 3/14/48 Place Atlanta University

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
   (Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

   Regional Administrative Committee Meeting, National Student YWCA

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

   [X] Round table discussion by ~~leaders~~ total group.

   [ ] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?

   [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

   Political, economic and especially the international implications of the Presidents' Report. Regional colleges in the South will only crystallize present problems. Students need help on how to use the information in the report in local programs. Decided next newsletter would be on this subject.

   (If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

Signed: (Name) _____

Address: 63 Auburn Ave., N.E. Atlanta, Georgia

(OVER)

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Atlanta, Georgia

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1. The number present 25 — March 15. '45

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting? (Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

   Monthly meeting of the Macon Interracial Committee

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

   ☐ Round table discussion by leaders?

   ☒ Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?

   ☐ Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

   Brief discussion of the Southwide Civil Rights meeting by Tom Johnson, a Macon lawyer who attended.

   (If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

Signed: (Name) Howard G. McClain

Address: Macon, Georgia

(OVER)

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Civil Rights Meetings - Local

March 18, '48

Mr. Jack C. Goodman
Department of Public Relations
Furman University
Greenville, S.C.

Dear Mr. Goodman,

I am distressed that by oversight we haven't answered some days ago your letter of March 10, about a pamphlet for your forum.

We have the enclosed, which we think excellent, and which is being widely used. We haveto charge ten cents apiece for them. Our experience is that they sell readily to an audience.

If you want a hundred, or and other quantity, call or write or wire us (Walnut 7963 or Walnut 1821) and we'll get them to you with speed.

I tried to call you just now, but the operator couldn't get hold of you.

~~Sincerely,~~

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

FURMAN UNIVERSITY
FOUNDED 1826
GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS
GLENN G. THOMAS, DIRECTOR

March 10, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 12 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We would like copies of the report on Civil Rights for a forum in Greenville on March 25. The attendance is usually around 100 persons and largely residents of Greenville. We would like as many copies of the report as available.

Any other material we should have on the subject would be greatly appreciated.

Thank you for your kind attention.

Sincerely yours,

Jack C. Goodman

Jack C. Goodman

JCG/os

March 20. '48
Atlanta, Ga.

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

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If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 150

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)
J. W. Settle, of the Young People's Missionary Volunteer Society, Seventh Day Adventists

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

- [ ] Round table discussion by leaders?
- [x] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?
- [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:
Need for Civil Rights in the South.

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

Signed: (Name)

Address:

Both in reference to Mr. Settle.

(OVER)

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the Talladegan

-TO KEEP YOU IN TOUCH-

Vol. 65 | Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama, May, 1948 | No. 6

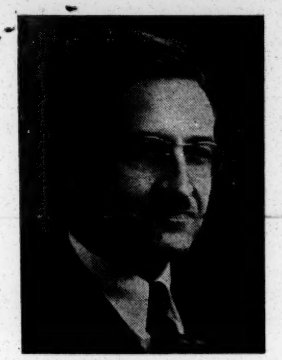
Mrs Motley

Civil Rights

Talladega College opened its hospitable doors on April 9, 10, and 11 to entertain the first meeting of the Alabama Student Conference on Civil Rights, a coming together of students from a large number of colleges in the state of Alabama, both white and colored, to consider the status of civil rights in this state. Nearly a hundred persons participated in the three-day series of discussions, and 48 persons shared in the final resolutions and the setting up of a constitution for a continuing organization. The tone of the numerous smaller and larger discussion groups was dignified earnest and thoughtful a genuine attempt to find the evils, and the common grounds of agreement as to their solutions. Twenty resolutions were at last agreed upon, under the four general headings of: Civil Rights and Franchise; Civil Rights in Education; in Employment; In Law Enforcement. Space does not permit our giving the complete wording, but we may indicate some of the major decisions. Among these were: Requests for abolition of poll-tax; rights of all qualified voters to share in primary elections; removal of "unreasonable qualifications" for voting; institutiton of the secret ballot in Alabama. They called likewise for abolition of segregation in educational systems, libraries, hospitals, public conveyances, theatres, eating places, etc: for opposition to establishment of regional schools if intended to further discrimination on basis of color or creed. Likewise they recommended establishment of F.E.P.C. Committees; opening of jury service to all groups; employment of persons of all groups on police forces; curbs on police brutality; equal protectiton for all under the law; enactment of a Federal anti-lynching law; the abolishment of restrictive covenants.

The three principal speakers who addressed the conference were Dr. Edward Weaver, Prof. of Social Sciences at Ala. State Teachers College, Montgomery; Mr. Aubrey Williams, publisher of **The Southern Farmer**, and Rev. Carl H. Kluge Pastor of St. John's Evangelical Reformed Church of Birmingham. Mr. Wm. Ferguson of Birmingham was elected Chairman and Mr. Donald Myers of Talladega Vice-Chairman for the ensuing year.

Across My Desk



A. D. Beittel

Readers of the Talladegan will be interested in the following editorial which appeared in the **Talladego Daily Home,** a local daily newspaper, on April 13, immediately after the adjournment of an inter-racial conference which met on our campus. The students came from nearby campuses to discuss "Civil Rights."

The Bi-Racial Conference

In the past weekend's mingling of white boys and girls and Negro boys and girls at Talladega College in a so-called "Student Conference on Civil Rights" Talladegans saw a direct result of Harry Truman's attack upon the South's racial customs.

The conference—held in an atmosphere of complete social equality—might have been held had not the president called for what he termed "civil rights legislation," but we doubt it.

Now we know at first hand what Truman and his advisors want to force upon the entire South. It is extremely difficult for this newspaper to picture any political reaction other than complete repudiation of Truman or any other person who is willing to unleash the whirlwind upon the South in a bid for the Northern Negro vote.

That repudiation best can be expressed by voting in the May 4 primary for electoral candidates pledged to vote against Truman or anybody like him, and by voting for candidates for delegate who are pledged to walk away from the Philadelphia convention if any part of the "civil rights" program is inserted into the party's 1948 platform.

As to the conference itself, it was important only as it reflects the fact that a few of our young people have been deluded under the consistent and terrific hammering of propaganda.

We've been asleep for years, we Southerners, while magazines of national circulation, newspapers, radio programs, moving pictures and even church and Sunday school literature have pounded away with their attack against segregation of the races.

Now we see an inevitable consequence of our own folly. It ought to set us to thinking. What are our children listening to? What are they reading? What are they getting from comic books, from movies and even from their school text books and public events periodicals?

From this newspaper's viewpoint the real tragedy of the Talladega College conference lies in the fact that its young participants, white and Negro, are reaching for the unattainable, and thereby doing an unwitting harm to two races ordained by fate to live in the same section of the United States.

The conference made it perfectly clear to us that racial agitators—emboldened by Truman—have dropped all pretense of not desiring social mingling of the races.

One of the key planks of unanimously-adopted resolutions calls in unvarnished words for the legal abolition of the practice of segregation in public conveyances, theatres, eating places and living zones.

The federal government hasn't enough power to give them that. Not all the power of the United Nations could do it. Not all the hosts that ever marched could do it.

Not in bitterness, but in kindliness and understanding, the White South will keep racial segregation.

We hope with all our hearts that we can keep it within the framework of Alabama law—without the unconstitutional interference of the federal government. But keep it we will.

The Congress of the United States might ponder those words as it proceeds to take up for action certain proposals made to it by Harry Truman.

Readers of the **Talladegan** will not agree with this article, but will appreciate the educational purpose which prompts me to share with them this editorial which came "across my desk."

A. D. Beittel

N. Y. Club Gift

The Talladega College Alumni of New York City, Mr. Thos. G. Weaver, president, have sent a check for $250.00 to President Beittel to be given as a scholarship to a deserving student with a high scholastic standing. The award will be made at commencement on May 31, 1948.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
F. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

ALABAMA DIVISION

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama
March 22, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 25 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of March 19th with its information about the Southwide Meeting on Civil and Human Rights in the South held in Atlanta on February 27th.

A Student Conference on Civil Rights will be held at Talladega College on April 9th, 10th, and 11th. The planning for this Conference began with a group of students from Birmingham Southern and Talladega College. Students from all the colleges in Alabama will be invited to attend. The number of students from each college will have to be limited, of course, because of limited housing facilities at Talladega.

I have not been close to the Committee planning this Conference so I do not know the speakers who have been invited. I am sure it would be helpful to have a representative of your office at the session if such representation can be arranged.

Sincerely yours,

A. D. Beittel

A. D. Beittel, Chairman
Alabama Division

ADB meb

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

The Southern Regional Council wants to follow through on getting an understanding in the South of the issues involved in human and civil rights.

One way to do this is to keep a record of discussion meetings held on the subject.

If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 25 Date: March 23 Place Greenville Y.W.C.A.

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

Y.W.C.A. Business & Professional Secretary and Clerk –

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

- [x] Round table discussion by leaders?
- [ ] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?
- [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

I did not attend but saw that the Southern Regional Material was distributed & used – atleast it made the group aware of the need to understand the problem –

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

The leadership was youth & the group were educated people – both men & women –

Signed: (Name) Laura Smith Clough

Address: Furman University Greenville S.C.

Y.W. Public Affairs Chair for S.C.

(OVER)

The Council can supply for meetings of this kind either or both of two pamphlets:

"The Condition of Our Rights -- From the Files on Human and Civil Rights in the South"

"To Secure these Rights," -- a digest of the full Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

These pamphlets were planned to fit together and they do. They cost ten cents each, singly or in quantity. We shall be glad to send them quickly anywhere on order.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

The United Council of Church Women

ONE FIFTY SIX FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N.Y.
CHelsea 2-3230

Mrs. HARPER SIBLEY
President

Mrs. RUTH MOUGEY WORRELL
Executive Secretary

Mrs McKay

RECEIVED
APR 2 1948
Southern Regional Council

March 31, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter to our Mrs. Ross, asking for information about Civil Rights meetings or conferences in which our organization participates, has been turned over to me for reply since this work comes within my department.

On April 14, the United Council of Church Women is sponsoring, along with other citizens and church groups a meeting on Civil Rights in Washington, D. C. Enclosed is tentative program. I am sending along your information blank to our Washington representative, Mrs. Lillian Watford, asking her to fill it in following the conference and mail it to you.

At all of our national (and most state) meetings the matter of Civil Rights is discussed. I wish that I could promise to keep you informed, but we simply do not have the clerical staff to do so. I am going to participate in a N. J. state legislative meeting next Monday and Tuesday where I shall speak on national Civil Rights legislation.

Sincerely yours,

Frances M. Cushing

Mrs. S. T. Cushing
Secretary for Christian Social Relations

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

Write your denominational office listed below for information on expenses, accommodations and other details.

Washington arrangements are handled by the joint office of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian churches, Rev. Thomas B. Keehn, Legislative secretary, and the Council on Christian Social Progress of the Northern Baptist Convention, Mrs. Lilian K. Watford, representative. (Mrs. Watford is also Legislative consultant for the United Council of Church Women.)

CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
Rev. Thomas B. Keehn
1751 N Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

NORTHERN BAPTIST CHURCHES
Rev. Donald C. Cloward
Council on Christian Social Progress
152 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES, U.S.A.
Miss Fern Colborn
Division of Social Education and Action
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

METHODIST CHURCHES
Miss Eleanor Neff
Department of Christian Social Relations
Women's Division of Christian Service
150 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

UNITED COUNCIL OF CHURCH WOMEN
Mrs. Frances Cushing
Department of Christian Social Relations
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

181

CHURCHMEN'S WASHINGTON SEMINARS

CHURCHMEN'S WASHINGTON SEMINARS are a project in citizenship education initiated jointly by the Legislative Committee of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches and the Council on Christian Social Progress of the Northern Baptist Convention, the Division of Social Education and Action of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., the Women's Division of the Methodist Church, and the United Council of Church Women. About 250 church people—ministers, laywomen and laymen—have attended eight of these three-day seminars, the first of which was held in April, 1945. They have come from many sections of the country.

It is almost necessary for citizens to walk among the buildings and monuments which are the symbols of our democracy in order to feel the true significance of government and to understand the responsibility of every individual for it. Then to see the wheels of government turning—in Committee hearings and in Congressional debate, in the Departments and in private groups, to see people trying to make this great machine of common action which we call government work, this is both an inspiring and a sobering experience. It is inspiring to see men strive for the goal of "Equal Justice Under Law." It is sobering to watch them fall short of the ideal and to know that the failure is partly our responsibility.

Church people have something to contribute to

national policy which they bring when they attend a Churchmen's Washington Seminar. They believe profoundly in the democratic process and in the instruments of government through which it works. They stand for the public welfare rather than any special interest. Justice, freedom and peace are the causes which Christian citizens and church organizations must work for if they are to be worthy of the tradition they represent and the name they bear.

DATES FOR 1948 SEMINARS

Three seminars have been planned for the second session of the 80th Congress which begins January 3, 1948. They are as follows:

January 20-23, A GENERAL SEMINAR

February 24-27, RURAL CHURCHMAN'S SEMINAR for ministers and lay-persons from small towns and country areas.

April ~~20-23,~~ A GENERAL SEMINAR
13, 14, 15

Tentative programs and other background material for each seminar are sent out a month in advance through the offices of the cooperating organizations. Each person attending a seminar is expected to contact his Congressman and Senators before leaving home, indicating plans to be in Washington attending a Churchmen's Seminar. Ask for passes to the House and Senate Galleries, and for an appointment while you are in Washington.

STATE SEMINARS

One outgrowth of the Washington seminars has been similar meetings in nine State capitols. A packet of materials and suggested programs growing out of these State seminars is available from the Washington office of the

Council for Social Action
1751 N St., N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

TYPICAL PROGRAM OF A CHURCHMEN'S WASHINGTON SEMINAR

FIRST DAY

9:00 A.M.—Federation of Churches
Registration—Worship Service
"The Political Obligations of Protestants"
—Rev. F. W. McPeek
"Streamlining Congress"—Dr. George Galloway, Legislative Reference Service

2:00 P.M.—State Department
Meet the State Department
"The U.S. and the UN"—Miss Dorothy Fosdick
"The Economics of Peace"—Mr. Willard Thorp, Assistant Secretary of State

6:15 P.M.—Calvary Baptist Church
Dinner and Discussion
"The Human Side of Foreign Policy"
—Senator Alexander Smith, N. J.
Mr. James Read

SECOND DAY

9:00 A.M.—National Education Assn.
"Federal Aid to Education, the Legislative Prospects"

10:30 A.M.—Executive Office of the President
"The Work of the Council of Economic Advisers."—Mr. Leon Keyserling
Lunch at the Supreme Court Cafeteria

2:00-5:00 P.M.—Capitol
Attend session of the House and Senate

6:15 P.M.—First Congregational Church
Dinner and Discussion
"Key Questions in the Domestic Economy"
—Senator Wayne Morse
Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse

THIRD DAY

9:00 A.M.
Appointments with your Congressmen
Attend important Committee hearings

12:30 P.M.—YWCA, 17th & K
Lunch together and final discussion
"The Citizen and Congress"—Miss Muriel Ferris, League of Women Voters
Evaluation and plans for local action

RECEIVED
APR 12 1948
Southern Regional Council

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

The Southern Regional Council wants to follow through on getting an understanding in the South of the issues involved in human and civil rights.

One way to do this is to keep a record of discussion meetings held on the subject.

If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 90-100

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

New Orleans Committee on Race Relations, through its Institute for Teachers on Race Relations

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

- [ ] Round table discussion by leaders?
- [x] 4 Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?
- [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

1st speaker reviewed President's report, referred to mimeographed copy of outline of contents of the report, and reported on positions taken by persons attending the Atlanta meeting, Feb. 27.
2nd speaker presented a liberal businessman's viewpoint on need for extension of civil rights (lynching, poll tax, eventual abandonment of segregation, but opposing FEPC.
3rd speaker ~~[illegible]~~ presented a liberal law professor's viewpoint (much of legislation called for is not radical departure from past, but extension of trends)
4th speaker ~~[illegible]~~ discussed the role of the teacher in controversial issues such as center around civil rights program. Positive, constructive, active, rather than passive timid role, yet not ~~[illegible]~~ doctrinaire.

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

The program was set up at the request of the teachers themselves (public, parochial, private). meeting was ~~[illegible]~~ enthusiastic ~~[illegible]~~ This was the meeting of the Institute where question period lasted longest beyond period of the session.

Signed: (Name) Clarence E. Glick

Address: Department of Sociology
Tulane University, New Orleans 15, La.

(OVER)

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"To Secure these Rights," -- a degest of the full Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

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NATIONAL CITIZENS CONFERENCE ON CIVIL LIBERTIES
1751 N Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

TIME: 9:00 A. M.
Wednesday, April 14, 1948

PLACE: Washington Hotel
Washington, D. C.

TENTATIVE PROGRAM

9:00 A. M. - Dr. Allan Nevins
Topic: "Historical Perspective of the Bill of Rights"

10-12:00 - Meeting of Commissions

1. The President's Recommendations for Civil Rights Legislation
   Rabbi Gittelsohn, Chairman
   Mrs. ~~M. E. Tilly~~, Vice Chairman
   J. Quinter Miller (a Vice. Pres. of the United Council of Church Women)
2. Governmental Invasion of Civil Liberties
   Abe Fortas, Chairman
   Allan Barth, Vice Chairman
3. Strengthening Academic Freedom
   Dr. Alonzo Meyers, Chairman
   Dr. Harold Benjamin, Vice Chairman

12:00 - Luncheon - Clifford Durr, Speaker
Topic: "Where We Stand Today"

2-4:00 P. M. - Meetings of the three Commissions

6:00 - Dinner Meeting

Report and recommendations for education and action by three Commissions

Brief Discussion

Closing Address - Judge Thurmon Arnold
Topic: "Avenues to Action Now"

Fees:

Registration	$1.00
Luncheon	2.75
Dinner	4.40

Note: It is important that all delegates make their own hotel reservations as soon as possible.

CHURCHMEN'S WASHINGTON SEMINAR
April 13-15, 1948

Tentative Program

Tuesday, April 13

9:00-9:30	Registration - 1751 N St. N.W.
9:30-10:15	Worship and Seminar Interpretation "The responsibility of Christian Citizens" - Rev. Karl Heath Kopf
10:30-12:00	Attend Committee Hearings on Capitol Hill
12:00-1:00	Lunch - Methodist Building - 110 Maryland Ave. N.E.(cafeteria)
1:00-2:00	"Techniques for Christian Citizens" - Methodist Building Chapel Fern Colborn - Thomas B. Keehn Eleanor Neff - Lilian Watford
2:00-2:45	Visit Galleries (Sessions of Senate and House)
3:15-4:45	Session at the State Department - 21st and Virginia, N.W. "Current Issues in Foreign Policy"
6:00	Dinner Meeting at Church "International Economic Issues" - Miss Barbara White "Militarization in the U.S." - Raymond Wilson

Wednesday, April 14 - Civil Rights Conference
(see enclosed program)

Thursday, April 15

9:00-10:15	Panel on Domestic Issues - Methodist Building Chapel Federal Aid to Education - Mr. Ernest Giddings, National Education Association Housing - Mr. Lee Johnson National Public Housing Conference Minimum Wages - Elizabeth Magee National Consumers League
10:15-12:00	Appointments with Congressmen
12:00	Lunch
1:00-3:30	Closing Session Discussion and Evaluation of Seminar Closing Address

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

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One way to do this is to keep a record of discussion meetings held on the subject.

If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 200 Date: Apr 11-15 Place: Austin Tex

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

University Baptist Church

Executive Board of Baptist General Convention of Texas

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

- [x] Round table discussion by leaders?
- [x] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?
- [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

It is the moral obligation and responsibility of the church to lead the way in human rights for all men. Various means and techniques were discussed

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

Signed: (Name) Hugh A Brown

Address: 2825 Lexington Road

Social Service Commission
of the Southern Baptist Convention
2825 LEXINGTON ROAD
LOUISVILLE 6, KENTUCKY

(OVER)

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THE UNIVERSITY BAPTIST CHURCH
2130 Guadalupe
AUSTIN, TEXAS

M

Conference on

CHRISTIAN ACTION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

April 11 to April 15, 1948

DR. A. C. MILLER

Director, Department of Interracial Cooperation
State Executive Board
Baptist General Convention of Texas

Sponsored By
THE UNIVERSITY BAPTIST CHURCH

In Cooperation With
THE EXECUTIVE BOARD
of
The Baptist General Convention of Texas

You Are Cordially Invited to attend This Significant Conference

•

The Need

The great need for Christians living in a democracy is to learn how to apply the principles of Christianity to any action for human rights where those rights are abridged or denied any person in the community.

•

The Purpose

To crystalize Christian attitudes on human rights.

To devise a Christian plan to make the rights of every man a reality.

•

The Procedure

There are motives to be defined. There are facts to be learned. There are attitudes to be appraised and blended into harmonious unity.

We are fortunate in having outstanding leadership to provide both inspiration and practical experience to the problems at hand.

•

THIS CONFERENCE ON CHRISTIAN ACTION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IS A FIRST IN TEXAS!

DON'T MISS IT!

•

COME, LET US REASON . . . AND PLAN . . . AND WORK TOGETHER FOR THE GLORY OF GOD AND THE GOOD OF MAN.

CONFERENCE ON

CHRISTIAN ACTION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

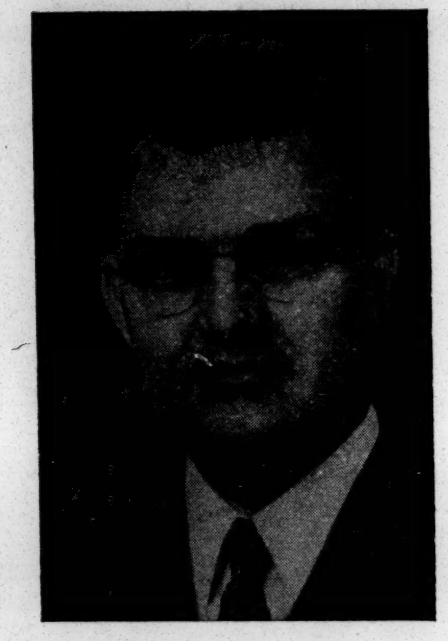
Sponsored by

UNIVERSITY BAPTIST CHURCH

IN COOPERATION WITH

STATE EXECUTIVE BOARD

April 11-15, 1948



DR. HUGH A. BRIMM

Chairman, Social Service Commission of Southern Baptist Convention; former Head of Department of Sociology, Mercer University; former Pastor; graduate Mississippi College and Southern Baptist Theological Seminary; Acting President State BSU of Mississippi, 1937.

DR. GEORGE D. KELSEY

Director, School of Religion, Morehouse College; Member, National Council of Religion on Higher Education; Fellowship of Southern Churchmen; Co-author, "The Christian Way In Race Relations"; graduate, Morehouse College, Andover Newton Theological School, and Yale University.

SUNDAY, APRIL 11

Worship with University Baptist Church, Dr. Blake Smith, Pastor

11:00 A.M. Guest Speaker ..... Dr. Hugh Brimm

7:30 P.M. Guest Speaker ..... Dr. George D. Kelsey

MONDAY, APRIL 12

10:00 A.M. Coffee Hour: ..... "Democracy Applied in Education"
Dr. A. C. Miller, presiding.

7:30 P.M. Music ..... Carlos Paredes

Address ..... Dr. George Kelsey

Open Discussion: "What's Your Question?"

TUESDAY, APRIL 13

10:00 A.M. Coffee Hour: ..... "Social Status in a Christian Society",
Dr. T. B. Maston, presiding.

7:30 P.M. Music ..... Anderson High School Octet

Address ..... Dr. Brimm

Open Discussion: "What's Your Question?" ..... Dr. Maston

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14

10:00 A.M. Coffee Hour: ..... "Economic Opportunity for Every Man."
Dr. T. B. Maston.

7:30 P.M. Music ..... Samuel Huston College Choir

Address ..... Dr. Kelsey

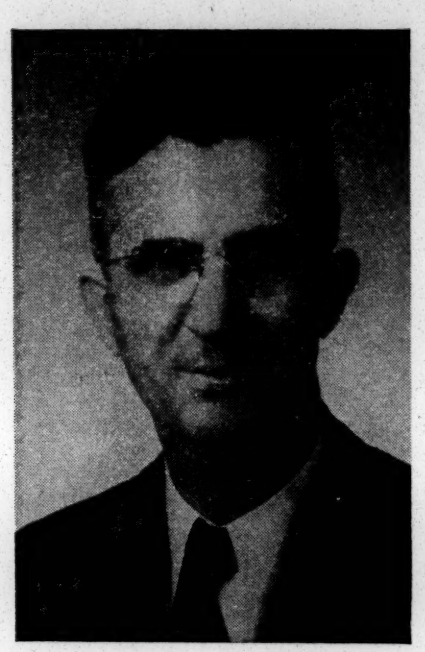
Open Discussion: "What's Your Question?" ..... Dr. Maston

THURSDAY, APRIL 15

10:00 A.M. Coffee Hour: "What's Your Question on Labor Relations?"
Dr. Edwin Elliott.

7:30 P.M. Music ..... University Baptist Church Choir

Address ..... Dr. Brimm
"What's Your Question?"

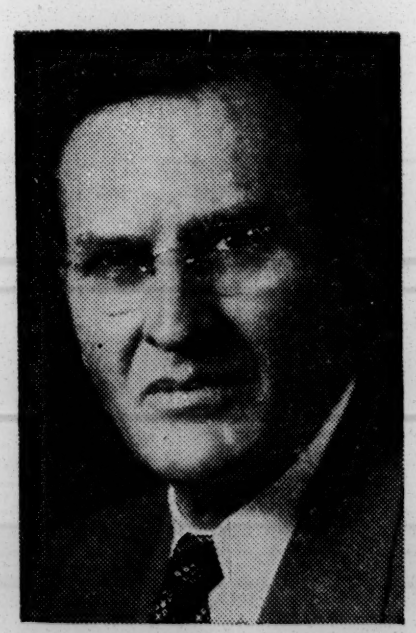


DR. T. B. MASTON

Professor, Department of Social Ethics, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary; Chairman, Fort Worth Commission on Interracial Cooperation; Member Administrative Committee and Board of Directors for Fort Worth Urban League; graduate Carson Newman College, Texas Christian University, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, and Yale University.

DR. EDWIN ELLIOTT

Regional Director, National Labor Relations Board for Texas, Oklahoma and New Mexico; Director, Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation; Member, Texas Committee on Post-War Problems, American Civil Liberties Union, National Association for Advancement of Colored People; Chairman, Commission on Church and Economic Life, Disciples of Christ.



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One way to do this is to keep a record of discussion meetings held on the subject.

If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 85 Date: 4/21/48 Place: Butler Street "Y"

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

The Hungry Club, sponsored jointly by the "Y" and the Atlanta University System. The Civil Rights panel was composed of seventh grade pupils of Oglethorpe School and they did an excellent job of telling what Civil Rights mean to them.

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

- [ ] Round table discussion by leaders?
- [x] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?
- [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

The seventy odd adults present and putting questions to the youngsters were surprised to find that these children had very definitely been thinking about Civil Rights and had drawn conclusions regarding these rights, which they were able to express very adequately. They realize how hard the fight ahead of them is going to be in trying to get their Civil Rights.
(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

I have been lecturer in three other meetings where Civil Rights was the main issue. All in all, people are very conscious of the problem facing us individually and collectively if we are to work toward constitutional rights for all.

Signed: (Name) William Holmes Borders

Address: Wheat Street Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED JUN 2 1948 Southern Regional Council

(OVER)

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✓ 100

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If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 100 Date: April 26 Place: Charlotte

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
   (Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

   N.C. Commission on Interracial Coop.

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

   ☐ Round table discussion by leaders?

   ☑ Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?

   ☐ Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

   no conclusions

   (If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

   meeting very successful - except few white men in attendance.

Signed: (Name) Cyrus M. Johnson

Address: Box 1208, Raleigh.

(OVER)

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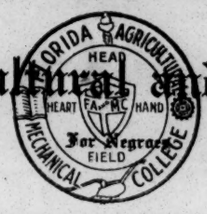
Mrs. Fleming
Mrs McRoy

The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College



WILLIAM H. GRAY JR., PRESIDENT

Tallahassee, Florida

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 27, 1948

RECEIVED
MAY 3 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George C Mitchell
Southern Regional Countil, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This acknowledges your recent letters concerning the developments which have been carried forward in connection with acquainting people of our region with the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

The Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity of the Southern Region held a very extended conference in Montgomery, Alabama, recently and the basic theme was the civil rights program. I am attaching the minutes on this particular meeting giving the deliberations in detail.

The Florida State Teachers Association held a similar conference last week, at which time the civil rights program was given major consideration. Student groups in our colleges at Bethune-Cookman, Daytona Beach, and Florida A and M College have also given extensive study and thought to this question.

Respectfully yours,

Wm. H. Gray, Jr.

WHG:acbb

Encl

✓ 9/23/48 Already Counted

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

The Southern Regional Council wants to follow through on getting an understanding in the South of the issues involved in human and civil rights.

One way to do this is to keep a record of discussion meetings held on the subject.

If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 225* Date: 4-29-48 Place: Columbia, S.C.

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

~~South~~ Carolina Division, SRC

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

☐ Round table discussion by leaders?

☒ Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?

☐ Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

~~Newspaper accounts of this meeting have been sent in. Discussion disclosed recognition by audience of lack of specific information and a desire for future opportunities of getting same. Sharp division as to requirement of ed. qualification for voting.~~

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

~~Discouragement showed by most extreme Negroes; several outstanding Negroes from outlying parts of State expressed opinion such a meeting could be held in their communities, when previously they~~ had expressed skepticism... no initiative showed ~~in arranging such meetings, but a few joined~~ SRC who had been reluctant to do so sooner.

Signed: (Name) Alice N. Spearman

Address: Algene Acres
Newberry, S.C.

(OVER)

* Total number enrolled for annual meeting, both morning and afternoon sessions. Afternoon attendance estimated in addition to 125 registered, 140(Please note and make change in Dabbs annual report, if I failed to do so.)

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HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

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MAY 18 1948
Southern Regional Council

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If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 30 Date: May 6, 48 Place: Jackson, Miss.

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

Jackson, Miss. Chapter,
American Veterans Committee

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

- [x] Round table discussion by leaders?
- [ ] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?
- [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

Most discussion centered on Negro's right of citizenship i.e. right to vote. Need to establish liaison between Negroes and sympathetic whites was emphasized. Negro leaders agreed they must take the initiative in Mississippi.

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

Civil liberties are in greater danger or are farther from realization - in Mississippi than in any other Southern state I've visited. The prevalent fear psychosis is terrifying.

Signed: (Name) Calvin Little

Address: Ridgeview Rd. Rt. 1
Dunwoody, Ga

(OVER)

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PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

May 10, 1948

Mrs. E. U. Robinson
216 N. Washington St.
Cookeville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Robinson:

We wrote you on March 22 asking for your help in letting us know about follow-up meetings on human and civil rights in the South.

Could you write us at your convenience about meetings of this kind that you know of as having taken place in your area?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Dear Mr. Mitchell -
Am sorry this letter escaped my attention earlier. Have been out of the state on night trips - home for week or more - one there. meets - and have had to take care of my work that was pressing - in my office. I can not give you much information -

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

The Southern Regional Council wants to follow through on getting an understanding in the South of the issues involved in human and civil rights.

One way to do this is to keep a record of discussion meetings held on the subject.

If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present ? Date: Feb. Place: Nashville Tenn

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

Mrs. C. B. Quick
Donelson Tenn

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

☐ Round table discussion by leaders?

☒ Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?

☐ Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

Was not present - because of Conflict
There was one in Feb. at Crossville Tenn -
but am sure Mrs. Tilly reported it.

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

Signed: (Name) Mrs. E. U. Robinson

Address: Cookeville Tenn.

(OVER)

The Council can supply for meetings of this kind either or both of two pamphlets:

"The Condition of Our Rights -- From the Files on Human and Civil Rights in the South"

"To Secure these Rights," -- a digest of the full Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

These pamphlets were planned to fit together and they do. They cost ten cents each, singly or in quantity. We shall be glad to send them quickly anywhere on order.

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

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If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 12 Date: 5/11/48 Place: Unitarian Church 669 W. Peachtree St. N.E.

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

"The Women's Union" — women's organization of the church
Prompted by a resolution from headquarters in Boston
that we study and familiarize ourselves with
Civil Rights Bill.

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

- [ ] Round table discussion by leaders?
- [x] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?
- [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

Mrs. Jack May led the discussion, later participated in by others. Racial questions received most attention; opinions quite widely diversified.

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

No special action was taken but I think it very good to discuss these questions and get them before our group.

Signed: (Name) Mrs. J. V. Rogers

Address: 272 - 14th St. N.E.
Atlanta —

(OVER)

254
25

Please send pamphlets on other side to me.

Delayed ord

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MRS. ED. B. MARTIN 636 MILLEDGE CIRCLE ATHENS, GEORGIA

May 11, 1948.

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

At our last executive board meeting we gave out copies of To Secure These Rights and urged those present to read and study them.

We'll have an open meeting of our committee soon with Mr. Mains to speak to us. We need to interest some more white members and are hoping to get some more interested at this meeting.

Good reports from the council meeting were given at our last meeting. It is up hill work here in Athens, but we keep trying.

Sincerely,
Jane G. Martin

RECEIVED
MAY 13 1948
Southern Regional Council

ACT NOW

MOBILIZE FOR PEACE

1948

Commitment

The time has come when the united voice of Christian women should be raised in behalf of lasting peace.

Surely human minds, under God, can devise ways to establish good will and justice among peoples and nations.

As a Christian woman, I re-dedicate myself to Christ. I pledge to join with other women in a great crusade for peace.

- I will pray more and work harder for my church and the Church throughout the world.
- I will give courageous, intelligent, prayerful support to the United Nations and to Christian movements for World Order.
- I will seek to establish civil rights and brotherhood in my own community.
- I will work for the extension of human rights and economic justice around the world.
- I will pray that women of all countries may soon join in this crusade.

Signature .....

We got these signed at our C. School Union meeting -

UNITED COUNCIL OF CHURCH WOMEN
156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.
Denominational Women's Groups Cooperating

Prayer

"We come to Thee today, our Father, who art greater than man and who can transform him into the image of Thy dear Son. We confess we have too often prayed that Thou wouldst make our world better, rather than Thou wouldst make us better. We have too often asked that Thou wouldst change our circumstances rather than that Thou wouldst change our behaviour. We have too often implored that Thou wouldst make our friends over rather than that Thou wouldst make us over. So it is that we need Thy transforming touch this day.

"Add *depth* to our lives that in these days of unprecedented strain and stress we may be building on that sure foundation which no man can lay, but which is laid already—even Jesus Christ, our Lord.

"Add *height* to our lives, that in these days of petty loyalties we may be giving our allegiance to Him, who is the Author and Finisher of our faith.

"Add *breadth* to our lives, that in these days of narrow prejudice and bigotry we may see in every man—whatever his color, race or creed—a man of such infinite worth in Thy sight that thou didst give Thine only begotten Son for his redemption.

"Above all, add *length of outlook and vision* to our lives, that no matter how often wrong may triumph and right be defeated, we may look with clear eye for that day when the kingdoms of this world become the kingdom of our Lord and His Christ.

"Transform us by Thy spirit that we may be the kind of servants that Thou wouldst have in the world. Amen."

The United Council of Church Women

WDS
WeRoy

RECEIVED
MAY 12 1948

ONE FIFTY SIX FIFTH AVENUE, New York City, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-3230

President
Mrs. HARPER SIBLEY

Vice-Presidents
Mrs. DAVID D. JONES
Greensboro, North Carolina
Mrs. CHARLES W. GILKEY
South Yarmouth, Massachusetts
Mrs. WILSON COMPTON
Pullman, Washington
Mrs. M. M. DOZIER
Pasadena, California
Mrs. J. QUINTER MILLER
Tuckahoe, New York
Mrs. A. H. STERNE
Atlanta, Georgia

Recording Secretary
Mrs. VIRGIL A. SLY
Indianapolis, Indiana

Treasurer
GERTRUDE VINT
New York, New York

Chairmen
Mrs. GALEN RUSSELL
Program
Mrs. VIRGIL B. SEASE
Leadership Training
BETTIE S. BRITTINGHAM
Public Relations
Mrs. JOHN M. PEARSON
The Church Woman
Mrs. CHARLES W. GILKEY, Finance
Mrs. M. EDWIN THOMAS, Nominating
Mrs. NINA T. WENSLEY, Personnel
EMMA JESSIE OGG, Policy
Mrs. HUGO SCHUESSLER
World Missions of the Church
Mrs. WELTHY HONSINGER FISHER
World Day of Prayer
HELEN KITTREDGE
Christian World Relations
Mrs. O. A. SARDESON
World Community Day
Mrs. T. O. WEDEL
Christian Social Relations
Mrs. GEORGE B. MARTIN
May Fellowship Day
JANE TIFFANY WAGNER, Radio
Mrs. JESSE M. BADER
Films and Visual Aids

Mrs. RUTH MOUGEY WORRELL
Executive Secretary
BORIS MacPHERSON
Administrative Secretary
Mrs. S. T. CUSHING
MABEL HEAD
NINA ROBERTS
Mrs. EMORY ROSS
Associate Secretaries
Mrs. ABRAM LEGRAND
Editor, The Church Woman

132 - Westminster Drive N.E.
Atlanta Ga.
May 11th 1948

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In answer to your letter and questionaire I want to say that I have not attended any meetings on Civil Rights since the one held at the Lutheran Church in the early Spring.

I speak many times all over the South for the Council of Church Women and every time, I do all I can to help break down prejudice and intolerance and to try to change the "climate of thought" and attitudes of professed Christian people. I feel that some progress has been made but am fearful that all this stir over the President's Civil Rights is going to

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Editor, *The Church Woman*

set things back.
We simply can not legislate morals into people.
I am working on that higher law of love for our fellow men "against which there is no law."
The tension in the south today makes me sick at heart, to think that our leaders don't seem to realize that this is God's world and not the white man's, and that until conditions are made fair, just and right for all of our citizens there can be no security for any of us. I do want to help all I can but am not convinced the enactment of laws will produce the results we want.

Sincerely
(Mrs. A. H.) Sue B. Sterne

Mrs McKay

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

RECEIVED
MAY 14 1948
Southern Regional Council

May 12, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Region al Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

In answer to your inquiry about follow-up meetings on human and civil rights in the South, which have come to my attention, would say the closest approximation to such was the Kiwanis meeting which I addressed here in Savannah.

This, however, was not a follow-up meeting in the sense of your inquiry. The Club invited me to speak and, as you know, (from the clipping I sent you) I used the President's Report and Message to the Congress as a backdrop for a talk on Segregation.

I must say in passing that the talk was well received and I personally have heard nothing adversely. Indeed, on the contrary, there seemed a hearty agreement with the sentiments expressed.

With every good and best wish,

Sincerely,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara.

X

RECEIVED
MAY 13 1948
Southern Regional Council

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

The Southern Regional Council wants to follow through on getting an understanding in the South of the issues involved in human and civil rights.

One way to do this is to keep a record of discussion meetings held on the subject.

If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 125 Date: Nov 13 Place: Nashville, Tenn.

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting? Mt Andrew Methodist Church
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

Christian Social Relations Secretary
Tennessee Conf. Woman's Society
Christian Service

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

☐ Round table discussion by leaders?

☑ Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?

☑ Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

We feel as an outgrowth of this meeting many things have improved, the attitude of people being one of the most important,
Negro policemen have been added to Police Force - this meeting was an ice breaker for many such groups
(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet) (see Back)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

It was interesting to see most of the group wanted to go in the Workshop with the Negro Leader (Dean Faulkner) -

Signed: (Name) Mrs. C. B. Smith, Methodist Parsonage

Address: Donelson, Tennessee

(OVER)

A copy of this has been mailed to every society in Tenn. Conf. W.S.C.S. (300 societies)

The Council can supply for meetings of this kind either or both of two pamphlets:

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These pamphlets were planned to fit together and they do. They cost ten cents each, singly or in quantity. We shall be glad to send them quickly anywhere on order.

A Study Group of 85 women met in Nashville to study Human Rights & (think I can get the finding from this group I have given my copy away.)
We invited the negro women to study with us and a good many came.
This was a four day study - this meeting was in February.

I have been to five District meeting to talk on Human Rights since attending the meeting in Atlanta and we have planned a Study on same at our school of Missions August 16.

We had a 3 hr. study on Human Rights at our Annual Conf W.S.C.S. March 16th. Discussion group followed.

"One World, One People, One Father of Us All"

- - CONFERENCE - -

"Human Rights & World Order"

McKendree Methodist Church
Nashville, Tennessee

November 13, 1947

10:30 A.M.

HYMN—"America, The Beautiful"—No. 228

OPENING PRAYER—Dr. King Vivion, Pastor McKendree Church

DEVOTIONAL MESSAGE—Mrs. Fred Estes, President Tennessee Conference, W. S. C. S.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND WORLD ORDER—Rabbi Julius Mark, Vine Street Temple

BASIC SPIRITUAL FOUNDATIONS—Dr. William C. Walzer, Professor of Christian History, Scarritt College

CLOSING PRAYER—Mrs. Willard H. Blue, Nashville District Promotion Secretary

LUNCH—12:00 O'clock

1:00 P.M.

WORKSHOPS

I. HUMAN RIGHTS AND WORLD ORDER.....Room 102

Chairman—Mrs. H. T. Tipps, Conference Secretary of Spiritual Life

Leader—Dr. W. J. Faulkner, Dean of Chapel, Fisk University

II. HUMAN RIGHTS UNDER THE LAW.....Room 103

Chairman—Mrs. H. D. Bollinger, Conference Vice-President W. S. C. S.

Leader—Hon. Homer Weimer, Nashville Attorney, Chairman Legislative Committee, Tennessee Conference of Social Work

III. HUMAN RIGHTS IN EARNING A LIVING.....Room 100

Chairman—Mrs. Grady Wall, Conference Secretary of Missionary Education

Leader—Dr. E. J. Eberling, Professor of Economics, Vanderbilt University, Director of Research Tennessee Department of Employment Security.

2:30 P.M.

ALL GROUPS meeting together in Room 102 for Presentation of Findings and Recommendations

CLOSING PRAYER

RECEIVED
MAY 13 1948
Southern Regional Council

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If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present_____ Date:_____ Place:_____

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

_____
_____
_____
_____

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

☐ Round table discussion by leaders?

☐ Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?

☐ Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

So far as I know, there have been no civil rights meetings in the section of the state about which I know the most (south Georgia)

Signed: (Name) Mrs. Olive C. Haskins

Address: ~~553~~ 353 Courtland N.E.
Atlanta

(OVER)

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100

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If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 100 Date: May 13 (?) Place: Columbia, S.C.

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
   (Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

   The S.C. Division of S.R.C., Mrs. Spearman.
   The Richland Co. unit of the S.R.C.

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

   ☐ Round table discussion by leaders?

   ☑ Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?

   ☐ Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

   The chief emphasis was on the question, what will the Democratic Party in S.C. do in regard to negroes voting & participating in primaries. In more detail, should there be an educational qualification for voting. The meeting was too divided on this question for any resolution to be put.

   (If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

   In my opinion, the meeting was valuable. There were many questions from the floor. The six speakers, 3 white & three negro, spoke effectively.

Signed: (Name) [illegible]

Address: Manyerville, S.C.

(OVER)

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HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

1. Number present: about 100. Date: April 29. Place: Columbia, S.C.

2. The meeting was organized by the Southern Regional Council, South Carolina Division. It was our regular annual meeting."To secure these Rights" was the theme of the meeting.

3. Kind of meeting: Speakers covering various phases of the subject, with question period between speeches and at end of all.

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any: In general, the discussion followed the plan of the President's Civil Rights Committee's report: Safety and security of the Person, The right to citizenship, etc. One speaker stressed the moral or spiritual background necessary for any achievement in the human rights field, another touched on the subject of civil rights and states' rights. There was no attempt to draw the discussion together into a conclusion or conclusions. Toward the close, the discussion centered upon educational qualifications for voting; but opinion was so sharply divided here that no resolution was brought onto the floor.

5. My own Comment: You will note that this same matter of educational requirements for voting got the center of attention at the other meeting in Columbia reported on the accompanying sheet.

Signed: J. M. Dabbs
Address: Mayesville, S. C.

May 13, 1949.

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If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 89 100 Date: April 14 April 26 Place: Washington, D.C. Richmond

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting? (Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

"National Citizens Conference on Civil Liberties" Group of Leaders listed as sponsors, headed by E. Raymond Wilson, Friend's Committee on National Legis "Richmond Committee on Civil Rights" meets monthly.

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

Panel Discussion with three speakers with general discussion following. (this was a program planned by RCCR.

/ / Round table discussion by leaders?

/x/ Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?

/x/ Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

I am enclosing copy of findings of commission dealing with Civil Rights from the Washington Conf. These have been approved by the Richmond Committee.

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

I attended a second meeting of the Washington group on yesterday, plans are under way for a continuing group that will carry on, until early in 1949 at which time decision will be made to continue or affiliate with an effort which is being made to work through "Freedom House". The group formed by American Council on Race Relations has also entered into the picture.

Signed: (Name)

Address:

(OVER)

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I am using a number of speakers before church and civic groups most of whom bring into the picture facts about the report. I give you two illustrations:

Dr. J. M. Ellison before a group of students at Univ. of Richmond.
Prof. Charles W. Florence a Young peoples Group in Westhampton Baptist Church.
Thos. C. Allen, two Bible classes recently taught and the application being made of "To Secure These Rights" as the type of work of this day that parallels with the message of the Prophet in the day of restoration.

(I thought I used the previous sheet for a report.)
TCA.

I have an engagement now for the last week in June at which time I will have a representative group of young people from across the state for four discussion periods. Will you send me fifty (50) copies of your pamphlet "To Secure These Rights."

CITIZENS CONFERENCE ON CIVIL LIBERTIES - APRIL 14, 1948

Report of Commission I on

THE PRESIDENT'S RECOMMENDATIONS ON CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

Robert K. Carr, Chairman
Mrs. J. Q. Miller, Vice-Chairman

The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, issued on October 29, 1947, is an historic document which has awakened the country to the need to make real the historic pledge of liberty and equality for all in a free society. On February 2, 1948, President Truman endorsed the basic provisions of the Committee's Report and made detailed recommendations to the Congress for its legislative implementation. He also promised to take executive action to carry out certain of the recommendations.

Previous months have slipped by and to date not one major recommendation has been fully carried out. Deeply concerned by this inaction, your Commission on Civil Rights Legislation calls upon the President and Congress to take action at once within their respective spheres.

Specifically,

We urge the President and Congress

1. To strengthen the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice, the indispensable machinery for the enforcement of civil rights laws, by adding adequate personnel to its existing token force of 8 lawyers and 3 clerks.

2. To create a permanent advisory commission on civil rights, either by executive order or legislation, to act as a "watchdog" of our liberties, and to prepare periodic balance sheets of our civil rights.

We call upon Congress to give top priority at this session to three basic recommendations:

1. The creation of a Fair Employment Practice Commission with power to enforce its orders in the courts.

2. The enactment of the anti-poll tax bill which has passed the House of Representatives.

3. The enactment of an anti-lynch law.

4. To forestall inevitable filibusters in the Senate on these measures, we call upon it to amend its rules by providing for limitation of debate by majority vote.

Two other legislative problems deserve comment.

5. We strongly urge the enactment of home rule and of a comprehensive civil rights law for the District of Columbia to make the Nation's Capital a symbol of democracy in our own land and throughout the world.

6. We strongly oppose Congressional approval of interstate compacts for regional, segregated schools designed to perpetuate the pattern of segregation in education.

We call upon the President

1. To fulfill the promise in his message of February 2 by issuing an executive order forbidding discrimination in federal employment and government service, "together with," to use the President's words, "appropriate measures to ensure compliance."

2. As Commander-in-Chief to abolish all forms of discrimination and segregation in the Armed Forces.

Responsibility for achieving these goals rests in good part upon the citizens of the United States, accordingly we call upon the people to form community-wide local committees to work for the recommendations of the President's Committee.

Such a committee should undertake in the community a "self-audit" to discover areas of infringement on civil rights locally and initiate immediate action to correct unwholesome conditions discovered.

Such a committee should also initiate and strengthen local and state legislation needed to protect civil rights.

Other committee activities suggested are, in the interest of intelligent public opinion

1. Encourage widespread study and distribution of the committee report.

2. Ask ministers to present the subject from their pulpits.

3. Make available informed speakers for civic and religious organizations.

4. Suggest editorials for newspapers.

5. Promote discussion and dramatization of the report on radio programs.

Other citizen activities suggested are:

1. Make personal approaches by letters and visits to Congressmen.

2. Make individual and group approaches to the President.

3. Discover the attitudes toward civil rights of candidates for public office and obtain commitments from them.

4. Become vocal in concern that the Nation's Capital exemplify civil rights in all their aspects, condemning the practice of discrimination in use of public facilities.

Finally, we urge the Planning Committee of this Conference to canvass possibilities of creating national machinery to continue the work here begun, either by coordinating existing efforts or by creating a new agency for this purpose.

✓ 9/23/48
Already Counted

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

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One way to do this is to keep a record of discussion meetings held on the subject.

If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 97 Date: 5-14-48 Place: Columbia, S.C.

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

South Carolina Division SRC
and
Richland County Chapter SRC

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

- [x] Round table discussion by leaders?
- [x] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?
- [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

Discussion concentrated upon "The Right to Citizenship and its Privileges" and specific conditions prevailing in S.C. brought about by practises and actions of the S.C. Executive Comm. of the Dem. Party were discussed. Much airing of views as to the need of an ed. qualification for voting.... good feeling prevailed throughout.

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

Meeting attracted more Negroes than white which is not usual with our meetings unless held at Benedict or Allen. (Excellent coorperation had in using former U.S.O. bldg., now Cola. Servicemen's Center). Attracted several outstanding whites whom we had been "working on" unsuccessfully before.

Signed: (Name) Alice N. Spearman
Algene Acres
Address: Newberry, S.C.

(OVER)

The Council can supply for meetings of this kind either or both of two pamphlets:

"The Condition of Our Rights -- From the Files on Human and Civil Rights in the South" 20¢

"To Secure these Rights," -- a digest of the full Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. 10¢

These pamphlets were planned to fit together and they do. They cost ten and twenty cents respectively, singly or in quantity. We shall be glad to send them quickly anywhere on order.

RECEIVED
MAY 14 1948
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Regional Council

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

The Southern Regional Council wants to follow through on getting an understanding in the South of the issues involved in human and civil rights.

One way to do this is to keep a record of discussion meetings held on the subject.

If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present_____ Date:_____ Place:_____

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
   (Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

   ☐ Round table discussion by leaders?

   ☐ Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?

   ☐ Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

   (If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

We have had no meetings on this subject other than the State Meeting

Signed: (Name) R. L. Russell

Address: Ga. Com. on Inter. Coop.

(OVER)

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>
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Mrs McKay

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

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   _____
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   _____
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   ☐ Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?

   ☐ Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

   (If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

Signed: (Name) H. D. Edwards, Athens Negro Schools, P.O. Box 1501

Address: Athens, Ga.

(OVER)

✓ 500

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"To Secure these Rights," -- a digest of the full Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

These pamphlets were planned to fit together and they do. They cost ten cents each, singly or in quantity. We shall be glad to send them quickly anywhere on order.

Dr. Mitchell:

We did not have any special meeting as a result of our attending the conference, but we did report the results of the meeting in our church, our civic and political leagues. I presume there were 500 persons who heard the reports.

H. H. Edwards

RECEIVED
MAY 14 1948
Southern Regional Council

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

RECEIVED
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Southern Regional Council

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One way to do this is to keep a record of discussion meetings held on the subject.

If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 70 Date: May 14 Place: Y.W.C.A

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

Industrial Co-Ed Club of the YWCA
Elizabeth Bowles - Prog. Director

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

- [ ] Round table discussion by leaders?
- [x] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?
- [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

Mrs. Tilly talked to Club about Origin - function ~~and~~ of Civil Rights Commission — and discussed content of report.

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

There was opportunity for discussion but no questions came from the group. I know there were many in the group who did not agree with speaker — but said nothing in the meeting.

Signed: (Name) Elizabeth Bowles

Address: YWCA 34 Auburn Ave.

(OVER)

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mrs McKay

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607 Clifton Rd. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.
May 14, 1948

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

I happen to be a Baptist and I am savry to say we have been behind in promoting better race relations as a denomination.

I make numerous talks in our Baptist Woman's Missionary union, and I have almost made it a rule that I do not speak unless I can use it as an occasion to speak on the race question.

Each year our state W.M.U. sponsors an institute for all the negro Baptist women of the State who can attend - we come together for inspiration, fellowship and study. This year will be held at Morehouse College latter part of Aug.

A few of us started a Negro Good Will Center at 438 Frazer St. Atlanta. By prayer, faith and patience we finally got our citywide W.M.U. to sponsor this project. Quite a few of our White & Colored women meet each month for a board meeting at the Colored Church where the Good Will Center is located. We hope to work out a yearly meeting of our Atlanta Associations where the white and colored come together for round table discussions, workshops, speakers etc. Most of our Churches have been too prejudice for us to invite the colored into our Churches however I hope we can soon launch out on this adventure. I am deeply interested. I am a member of the Southern Regional Council & a member Ga. Com. on Interracial Cooperation.

Sincerely yours
Mrs.

Mrs McRay

South Carolina Division of Southern Regional Council, Inc.

A Council to Attain Through Research and Action the Ideals and Practices of Equal Opportunity for All Peoples in the South

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MARION A. WRIGHT CONWAY
REV. A. J. WRIGHT BENNETTSVILLE

29 E.Calhoun St.
Sumter,S.C.
May 14,1948

Dr. George S.Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Replying to your letters of March 22 and May 10:

On my return from Atlanta February 29 I ran into a meeting in Columbia, Business women, statewide, of the Y.W.C.A., presided over by representatives of the Social Science Departments of the University of S.C. and of Furman. Called on to make a contribution to the discussion, I briefly outlined the Civil Rights conference . There was surprising interest, questions and requests for material, with expressed determination to carry on the study in local groups. The address of the Atlanta office was requested and given.

In March I was asked to talk to a Book Club in Sumter composed of representative, middle-aged women, above the average in intelligence, and to choose my own topic. Civil Rights report was presented and aroused great interest, with full, frank discussion, and requests for material for further information. Julia Reynolds, daughter of Mark Reynolds, graduate of Radcliff, but limited by local prejudices, a teacher in the Sumter High School, asked for copies of SRC material for the use of students in a panel discussion. I loaded her with all I had and ordered more. People have stopped me on the streets to ask questions and get points cleared.

Our Annual meeting, April 29, was centered about this subject. Mr. M.A.Wright made an excellent talk in the morning which served as a background for the panel discussion in the afternoon. (See agenda enclosed). The participants included Negro John McCray, Editor of Lighthouse and Informer and chairman of Progressive Democrats, Cassandra Maxwell, brilliant Negro lawyer of Orangeburg, Josephine Pinckney of Charleston ("Three 'clock Dinner") who made the contribution that "she stood for States Rights" Ayers and Kempson of the churches (white), and from the floor R.B.Herbert and J.M.Hinton (NAACP) expressed the best of opposite points of view.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE—Mrs. F. Clyde Helms, Chairman

Rev. E. A. Adams, Rev. A. T. Butler, Rev. H. H. Butler, Earle R. Britton, Franz Daniel, Mrs. Beautine DeCosta, Marguerite DeVore, Mrs. Louise J. DuBose, Dr. Carl B. Epps, A. C. Flora, Dr. J. E. Grant, Lil Lou Gray, James H. Hammond, Rev. A. W. Hill, J. M. Hinton, Mrs. Leon S. Holley, A. T. Jamison, Mrs. Iola Jones, Mrs. J. Roy Jones, Dr. Peter Kelly, Mrs. Camille C. Levy, Mrs. Norman Lynch, John McCray, Mrs. Sarah McCullough, Juanita Neely, Mary Helen Oetzel, J. F. Potts, Mrs. Maude M. Rogers, Mrs. Audrew Simpkins, Mrs. Albert Simonds, Mrs. T. B. Stackhouse, Dr. Rosamonde E. Wimberly.

South Carolina Division of Southern Regional Council, Inc.

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HARTSVILLE
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MRS. HATTIE DUCKETT
GREENVILLE
MARY E. FRAYSER
ROCK HILL
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ORANGEBURG
M. F. WHITTAKER
ORANGEBURG
MRS. MARION B. WILKINSON
ORANGEBURG
MARION A. WRIGHT
CONWAY
REV. A. J. WRIGHT
BENNETTSVILLE

Interest ran high; opposite opinions and attitudes were openly expressed . A motion was made that plans be made for another meeting and a continuation of the discussion. Carried.

Today in Columbia at the Men's Service Center the State SRC and the Richland County SRC are sponsoring such a meeting. I am enclosing the summons and will try to let you know the results. I cannot attend because of family obligations, but Mr. Dabbs will give me a report, and I will pass it on.

I think Mrs. McCoy sold a number of pamphlets at the annual meeting, but she can give you an account of this and also supplement my observations as can Mr. Fleming. We were so glad to have them with us, and Mr. Fleming's contribution to the panel was invaluable.

More anon. I take great courage from the fact that you are there and carrying on.

Cordially and faithfully yours,

Rebecca Reid

Rebecca Reid.

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Rev. E. A. Adams, Rev. A. T. Butler, Rev. H. H. Butler, Earle R. Britton, Franz Daniel, Mrs. Beautine DeCosta, Marguerite DeVore, Mrs. Louise J. DuBose, Dr. Carl B. Epps, A. C. Flora, Dr. J. E. Grant, Lil Lou Gray, James H. Hammond, Rev. A. W. Hill, J. M. Hinton, Mrs. Leon S. Holley, A. T. Jamison, Mrs. Iola Jones, Mrs. J. Roy Jones, Dr. Peter Kelly, Mrs. Camille C. Levy, Mrs. Norman Lynch, John McCray, Mrs. Sarah McCullough, Juanita Neely, Mary Helen Oetzel, J. F. Potts, Mrs. Maude M. Rogers, Mrs. Audrew Simpkins, Mrs. Albert Simonds, Mrs. T. B. Stackhouse, Dr. Rosamonde E. Wimberly.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
South Carolina Division

ANNUAL MEETING PROGRAM
The Columbia Servicemen's Center
1030 Laurel Street, Columbia, S.C.
April 29, 1948

Presiding-J.M.Dabbs, Chairman, S.C.Division, SRC, Inc.
11:00 Invocation- Rev.F.G.Johnson, Rector of St. Luke Episcopal Church, Columbia, S.C.
11:05 Business Meeting:
Minutes
Announcement of Committees
Reports of Special Committees:
Organizational Relationships-J.E. Blanton
By-Laws- Mrs. Julian Hennig Nominations-Mrs.F.C.Helms
Report of Membership Committee-Miss Wil Lou Gray
Report of Finance Committee-R.B. Herbert

11:30 Symposium on Program for 1948:
Vital Issues in The South Today-R.B. Eleazer, of the General Board of Education, The Methodist Ch.
1947 1947 Emphases Which Should Carry Over
Education-J.P.Burgess Health-J.E. Blanton
Recreation-Adele Minahan Law Enforcement-M.Collins
Selection of Program Emphases for the S.C. Division-J.M.Dabbs
(Open Discussion by Officers of Local Chapters & Members)
12:30-Announcements and adjournment

****

2:00 Special Music: Allen University Chorus
2:15 "THE CONDITION OF OUR RIGHTS" (Panel discussion of the Report on Civil Rights.)
" Four basic rights have seemed important to the Committee and have influenced its labors"
1. THE RIGHT TO SECURITY AND SAFETY OF THE PERSON
2. THE RIGHT TO CITIZENSHIP AND ITS PRIVILEGES
3. THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE AND EXPRESSION
4. THE RIGHT TO EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY
"As the Committee concludes this Report we would remind ourselves that the future of the nation rests upon the character the vision, the high principle of the people. Democracy, brotherhood, human rights-these are the practical expressions of the eternal worth of every child of God. With His guidance and help we can move forward toward a nobler social order in which there will be equal opportunity for all."
Leader-R.B. Eleazer
Participants- Misses Cassandra Maxwell, Josephine Pinckney, Charlotte Stevenson, Rev. Robert Ayers, Harold Flemming, John McCray, and Rev. J.O. Kempson.

3:45 Report of Committees: Resolutions Courtesy

4:00 Announcements and adjournment

South Carolina Division
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Mr. James McBride Dabbs, Mayesville, S.C., President of the South Carolina Division, Southern Regional Council, Inc. announces a panel discussion on " The Condition of Our Citizenship Rights", which will be held on Friday, May 14, 1948 from 2:30 p.m.-4:30 p.m., at the Columbia Servicemen's Club, 1030 Laurel Street, Columbia, S.C. Members and any other persons interested in participation in this discussion are invited to attend. Invitations to participate in the panel have been extended to a group of outstanding and widely representative persons.

This meeting will be entirely educational and informational in character; and is in no sense political or partisan. Its main purposes are as follows:

(1) To provide the atmosphere and conditions under which a full, free, and frank discussion of a wide range of points of view is possible.

(2) To meet the need for first-hand facts, and knowledge of actual needs and conditions, for those desirous of such as a basis for fair and intelligent decisions.

(3) To bridge the unwholesome gap which exists between divergent elements of our citizenry, due to lack of direct contact and the understanding and confidence which may be developed thereby.

This meeting will initiate a new service of the S.C. Division and is being developed at the wish of the members expressed in annual meeting on April 29, 1948. This subject was chosen due to the great interest evinced at the annual meeting in connection with the panel and open discussion of "The Condition of Our Rights" which was participated in by the following persons: Miss Josephine Pinckney, nationally known author; Rev. Robert Ayers, S.C. Baptist Student Secretary; Miss Cassandra Maxwell, attorney and librarian at the State College Law School; C.L. Guthrie, President of the Central Labor Union, Spartanburg; Harold Fleming, Director of Information of the Southern Regional Council; John McCray, Editor of the Lighthouse and Informer; and the Rev. J. Obert Kempson, Chaplain at the State Hospital. There was a discussion of the four basic areas as follows: "The Right to Safety and Security of the Person", "The Right to Citizenship and its Privileges", "The Right to Freedom of Conscience and Expression", and "The Right to Equality of Opportunity".

"Both in making ourselves secure and in helping make the world secure, our success must be built on the unity of our people and on the vigor and vitality of our democracy" (taken from the Report of The President's Advisory Commission on Universal Training" Karl T. Compton, Chairman. Distributed by The American Legion, National Defense Division, Indianapolis Indiana, November, 1947.)

1 CENT

Sec. 562, P. L. & R.

Miss Rebecca Reed
29 E. Calhoun St.
Sumter
S.C.

POSTAGE

"SPECIAL MEETING"

The Richland County Division of Southern Regional Council will hold a SPECIAL MEETING, Friday afternoon, May 14th, 1948, 2:30, in the Laurel Street USO Building.

The entire period will be given to discussion of "The S. C. Democratic Party, and the Negro." Interest was stimulated to such an extent in the South Carolina meeting last week, this meeting was suggested.

Rev. J. Kenneth Morris, Chairman,

J. M. Hinton, Secretary.

mrs mcroy

WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE
Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH

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Southern Regional Council

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1947

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Mrs. C. C. Weaver
709 Summit Street
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Vice President
Mrs. J. W. Payne
Cherryville, N. C.

Recording Secretary
Mrs. John Hoyle, Jr.
639 South Green Street
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Promotion Secretary
Mrs. Geo. C. Haltom
315 Ardmore Circle
High Point, N. C.

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Assistant Treasurer
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635 Colonial Drive
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Missionary Specials
Miss Lilian Walker
1821 South Boulevard
Charlotte, N. C.

Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities
Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
The Wren's Nest
Tryon, N. C.

Wesleyan Service Guild
Mrs. R. I. Corbett
226 Morgan Street
Marion, N. C.

Student Work
Mrs. W. E. Sparger
252 Willow St.
Mt. Airy, N. C.

Youth Work
Mrs. J. G. Winkler
Box 47
Kings Mountain, N. C.

Children's Work
Mrs. S. A. Rhyne
307 North Center Street
Statesville, N. C.

Literature and Publications
Mrs. D. M. Davidson
Gibsonville, N. C.

Supply Work
Mrs. J. W. Harbison
911 N. Washington St.
Shelby, N. C.

Spiritual Life
Mrs. J. Dale Stentz
~~Shelby, N.C.~~

Missionary Personnel
Mrs. C. N. Clark
146 Franklin Street
Mount Airy, N. C.

Status of Women
Mrs. Mabel Baughman
Box 998
Hendersonville, N. C.

Editor Woman's Page
N. C. Christian Advocate
Mrs. E. Lester Ballard
Box 795
Glen Alpine, N. C.

Address:
Mrs. J. Dale Stentz
Secretary Spiritual Life
~~Shelby, N. C.~~
Concord, N.C.
May 17 1948.

George S. Mitchell
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of May 11 asking for a reply to to a former letter was recieved several days ago. I attended the Conference as a substitute for our Conference Secretary of Christian Social Relations, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames so I forwarded your letter to her for action. My office is in a different field and while I am interested of course in all your are doing and was most interested in the Con ference, we cant all have a part in all the activites of all the organizations. My program is very full and I could not sponsor any groups meetings.

However as I suggested above I forwaded your letter and one from Mr. Johnson, offering assistance in having such meetings etc. to Mrs. Ames and feel sure she will follow up.
I do know that we are having a study course taught at Pfeiffer College in our summer School of Missions and Christian Service June 6-11 on "The Bible and Human Rights". This Course is to be taught by Miss Mary Floyd, Bible Instructor at Pfeiffer College, Meisenheimer, N.C.. She could use I am sure what material you could send on, and might want to purchase the two pamphlets you referred to.
I
With prayers and best wishes for the ultimate results in your field of rich service,

Member

Sincerely Yours,
Mary Stuart Stentz
Mrs. J. Dale Stentz

RECEIVED
MAY 18 1948
Southern Regional Council

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

The Southern Regional Council wants to follow through on getting an understanding in the South of the issues involved in human and civil rights.

One way to do this is to keep a record of discussion meetings held on the subject.

If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present_____ Date:_____ Place:_____

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

No. present- 200. Texas Council of Church Women - Dallas - March 2-4 '48
25 - Houston Commission on Interracial Co-operation March - 24th
125 - Houston Council of Church Women March 10th
21 - Board meeting Texas Commission on Interracial Co-op. Dallas. April 2-3

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

☐ Round table discussion by leaders?

☑ Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?

☐ Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

In all these meetings those present were to take information back to local groups for study & action. Through letters I have urged study of Civil Rights Program in the 12 Presbyteries of Presbyterian Church U.S.A. of which I am State Chairman of Social Education and Action -

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

At the Tex. Council of Church Women it was voted without a dissenting voice to study Civil Rights Program.

Signed: (Name) Mrs. Jas S Crate

Address: 2410 Inwood Drive, Houston 6 Tex.

(OVER)

over

The Council can supply for meetings of this kind either or both of two pamphlets:

"The Condition of Our Rights -- From the Files on Human and Civil Rights in the South"

"To Secure these Rights," -- a digest of the full Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Please sent 14 copies to me.

These pamphlets were planned to fit together and they do. They cost ten cents each, singly or in quantity. We shall be glad to send them quickly anywhere on order.

Also urged the 14 districts of Texas Council of Church Women to conduct study groups. As yet have not had reports from these.

mrs McKay

Scarritt College For Christian Workers

Nashville 4, Tennessee

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
LOUISE YOUNG

May 21, 1948

RECEIVED
MAY 24 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am not using the blank provided for information concerning follow-up meetings on human and civil rights in the south because my information is not sufficiently precise.

The best and, as far as I know, the only follow up has been made by the Methodist Women in their Women's Societies. This has been related to their study of We the Peoples of the United Nations which is current in their program. Mrs. Tilly will doubtless receive a full report of what they are doing.

The only other prospect of a follow up with which I am acquainted is that of the recently reorganized Nashville council. The Rev. Peyton Williams is chairman and Miss Ella Puryear Mims is secretary. A committee made tentative plans for a forum on Law Enforcement Procedures in Nashville. Although the forum has not yet been definitely scheduled, I have some hope that it will be held at some future date.

Cordially yours,

Louise Young

LY:mh

60

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

RECEIVED MAY 21 1948

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One way to do this is to keep a record of discussion meetings held on the subject.

If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 60

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

Macon Branch of N.a.a.C.P.
Held in Negro Baptist Church - Tremont Temple, Macon, Ga.

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

- [ ] Round table discussion by leaders?
- [x] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?
- [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:
Panel discussion - four participants
Primarily presentation of what happened in Atlanta. Two white adults, attorney Thomas Johnson and myself, and two Negro junior college students made statements. - Joseph Kennebrew, Frankye Knight

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

Signed: (Name) Lewis H. Mounts

Address: P.O. Box 448
Macon, Ga.

(OVER)

I regret oversight resulting in delay in reporting. Discussion was night of April 16.

Note. Attorney Johnson, on an earlier date, made a report of Atlanta meeting to the local interracial committee, and I supplemented his report briefly.

The Council can supply for meetings of this kind either or both of two pamphlets:

"The Condition of Our Rights -- From the Files on Human and Civil Rights in the South"

"To Secure these Rights," -- a degest of the full Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

These pamphlets were planned to fit together and they do. They cost ten cents each, singly or in quantity. We shall be glad to send them quickly anywhere on order.

?

RECEIVED
MAY 21 1948
Southern Regional Council

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

The Southern Regional Council wants to follow through on getting an understanding in the South of the issues involved in human and civil rights.

One way to do this is to keep a record of discussion meetings held on the subject.

If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present_____ Date:_____ Place:_____

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
   (Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

   ☐ Round table discussion by leaders?

   ☐ Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?

   ☐ Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

   (If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

Signed: (Name) Lois McCallocle

Address: 25 Beacon Street Boston Mass

(OVER)

Since I was in Atlanta Georgia for the General Alliance of Unitarian Women, headquarters Boston, I attended one day of your conference as an interested outsider.

I have reported enthusiastically on this significant south wide meeting. ~~To~~ me, a one time southerner, it is progress when several hundred southerners can meet in Atlanta non segregated — and eat together! It couldn't have happened a few years ago.

Your findings as reported earlier were most encouraging. I wish we could feel the north is stretching as hard as the south in race relations. In spots they are.

Lois McCalloch

Mrs McKay

MRS. HARRY M. GERSHON
1590 HARVARD ROAD, N. E.
ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
MAY 25 1948
Southern Regional Council

May 24, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Forgive my long delay in answering your letter of March 18 asking for information on an enclosed form concerning local meetings dealing with the subject of human and civil rights in the South. I had been waiting until I was present at such a meeting and that has still not taken place. Therefore it is not possible for me to fill out the Council's form on civil and human rights meetings.

However, your letter of May 10 made me feel quite contrite, and I hasten to report that I have heard considerable comment, most of it favorable, about a number of such meetings which have been held locally. These meetings were before a staff group of the Y.W.C.A., a study group of the Atlanta League of Women Voters, and a general membership meeting of the B'nai B'rith and in other organizations which are constituent members of the Atlanta Jewish Community Council. Now each of these meetings may have been reported by someone else who either participated or was present, but this is the only evidence I have of the influence spread by the southwide meeting here on February 27. And, although my evidence is neither definite nor specific, I have the very genuine feeling that a great deal of interest and a great deal of discussion has been stirred up in the membership of the groups mentioned by the meetings to which I have referred.

With every good wish, I am,

Sincerely,

Rebecca M. Gershon

RMG:elk

Meetings: 1. Workshop at Conference of W.S.C.S. 2. Discussion group in West Pam Beach for that district

Plans

To be held: numerous informal classes throughout state under W.S.C.S.
2. To be part of daily course on American problems for four Youth Assemblies during four weeks of August.

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

RECEIVED
MAY 24 1948
Southern Regional Council

The Southern Regional Council wants to follow through on getting an understanding in the South of the issues involved in human and civil rights.

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If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present_____ Date:_____ Place:_____

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

- ☐ Round table discussion by leaders?
- ☐ Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?
- ☐ Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

Evaluation of two held (see above): very good results group led to see that report agreed with teachings of Bible, U.S. Constitution, and pronouncements of ~~Methodist~~ Methodist Church.

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

Lack of resistance and melting away of prejudice when main items of report really made plain to them.

Signed: (Name) Mrs. Wm. C. White

Address: 876-13th Ave., S.
St. Petersburg 5, Fla.

(OVER)

The Council can supply for meetings of this kind either or both of two pamphlets:

"The Condition of Our Rights -- From the Files on Human and Civil Rights in the South"

"To Secure these Rights," -- a digest of the full Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

These pamphlets were planned to fit together and they do. They cost ten cents each, singly or in quantity. We shall be glad to send them quickly anywhere on order.

Dear Sir -

May 30 - 48

To my knowlege there has been no meeting relative to Human Relations Council since I was in Atlanta. At this time "civil Rights" is dynamite in this state with the political upheaval around us I must admit the picture looks pretty dark. God grant we will not go backward!

Sincerely - Helene G. Alford (Mrs. C.)

RECEIVED
JUN 3 1948
Southern Regional Council

I know of no such meeting thus far. We hope to have them in the Methodist WSCS this autumn

RECEIVED
MAY 31 1948
Southern Regional Council

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

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If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present_____ Date:_____ Place:_____

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
   (Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

   ☐ Round table discussion by leaders?

   ☐ Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?

   ☐ Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

   (If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

Signed: (Name) Mrs. Hubert Weaver

Address: Statesboro, Ga.

(OVER)

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✓ 9/23/48

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HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

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One way to do this is to keep a record of discussion meetings held on the subject.

If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 15 Date: May, 1948 Place: 211 Camp St. New Orleans

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

This was a meeting of the Steering Committee of the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations. At the meeting I gave a report of the Atlanta meeting and urged that our Committee undertake some local educational activity other than what was done in our Institute for Teachers on Race Relations previously reported to your office.

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

- [x] Round table discussion by leaders?
- [ ] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?
- [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:
As a result of this report and the discussion that followed, it was decided to appoint a sub-committee to consider the matter and to return with a set of proposals. Early in June the report of this committee was made and it was proposed that a series of meetings be held in the fall on Civil Rights. This Committee is now getting mobilized. As I understand it, five meetings may be held, beginning shortly after the November elections. The panel method will probably be used, and the sessions may be ~~xxxxxxxx~~ along the following lines: 1. A post-mortem
(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:
(cont) analysis of the 1948 political campaign with respect to the role of the civil rights issues in it. 2. What were the facts reported by the President's Committee on Civil Rights? 3. What were the recommendations of the President's Committee's report? 4. What may be anticipated in the way of civil rights legislation by the 81st Congress and executive action by those elected to office (in November)? 5. What can be done to assure more civil rights on the local level? All this is still subject to approval and implementation.

Signed: (Name) Clarence E. Glick

Address: Dept. of Sociology
Tulane University
New Orleans 15, La.

(OVER)

The Council can supply for meetings of this kind either or both of two pamphlets:

"The Condition of Our Rights -- From the Files on Human and Civil Rights in the South" 20¢

"To Secure these Rights," -- a digest of the full Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. 10¢

These pamphlets were planned to fit together and they do. They cost ten and twenty cents respectively, singly or in quantity. We shall be glad to send them quickly anywhere on order.

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

RECEIVED
JUN 8 1948
Southern Regional Council

The Southern Regional Council wants to follow through on getting an understanding in the South of the issues involved in human and civil rights.

One way to do this is to keep a record of discussion meetings held on the subject.

If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 300

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

The YMCA of the University of Virginia - Charlottesville, Va

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

- [ ] Round table discussion by leaders?
- [x] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?
- [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

One speaker, a lawyer, on the legal phase of the issue, against legal methods

One speaker, a clergyman - the church must function to make real the ideals of the issue.

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

many white persons challenged the anti-legal position. question: If we have guaranteed civil rights, why the law discriminating against negroes?

Signed: (Name) Benjamin F. Bunn

Address: 800 Anderson St, Charlottesville, Va

(OVER)

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

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If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

See other side

1. The number present_____ Date:_____ Place:_____

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

A discussion group of the League of Women Voters drawing from women in the Ansley Park neighborhood. The group meets twice a month in the various homes of its members. Most of the women are members of the League of Women Voters.

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

- [x] Round table discussion by leaders?
- [ ] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?
- [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

_____

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

_____

Signed: (Name) Mrs. Stillman P. Williams, Chairman, Discussion Groups, LWV

Address: 745 Ponce de Leon Terrace, N.E., Atlanta 6, Ga.

(OVER)

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Date	No. Present	Summary of Discussion
4/9	8	Items 6 to 10 of the President's report on civil rights discussed (recognizing that these were the less controversial issues)
4/23	10	Items 5, 4, and 3 discussed. Group found itself stymied on FEPC proposals
5/14	9	Items 1, 2, and 3 discussed. Group agreed it needed more information on the "Negro Point of View." They agreed that someone like Grace Hamilton of the Atlanta Urban League could help them. Mrs. Hamilton was invited to come to the next regularly scheduled meeting on May 28, but as she was to be out of town on this date, the group rearranged its schedule and met on May 21.
5/21	20	Mrs. Hamilton met with this group at the home of the leader, Mrs. Robert Brown, 189 Avery Drive NE. Good discussion followed the points she raised, including the matter of the League's becoming a bi-racial organization in the future.
6/11		A general discussion of the points raised by Mrs. Hamilton will be discussed on this date, and this meeting will wind up this series of discussions.

Mrs. J. Milton Richardson has been presenting the subject for discussion at each group meeting, with Mrs. Brown leading the discussion.

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9/23/46

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

The Southern Regional Council wants to follow through on getting an understanding in the South of the issues involved in human and civil rights.

One way to do this is to keep a record of discussion meetings held on the subject.

If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 17 Date: June 28 - July 3 Place: ~~Presbyterian~~ Young Peoples Conference,

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
   (Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

   Study course of Young People from across the State as ~~part of Young Peoples Conference of Synod of Virginia~~

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

   [/] Round table discussion by leaders?

   [ ] Questions, Discussions
   Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?

   [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

   Used the material in the Report "To Secure these Rights."

   (If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

   Young people were leaders in their own church groups from a number of different communities. Urged them to return home and make effort to interest other people in study of the report that something might be done.

Signed: (Name) Thos. C. Allen

Address: 1444 E. Main St. Richmond 19, Va.

(OVER)

Revised Count
NOV. 10 - 1948

July 13, 1948

States - 10
Towns & Cities -
Orgs. -

Report on Human and Civil Rights Meetings
in the South since February, 1948

The Southern Regional Council requested all persons who attended the Southwide Meeting on Human and Civil Rights, held in Atlanta on February 27, to report any subsequent meetings dealing with civil rights.

As of this date, ~~37~~ 61 such meetings have been reported. Some of them grew, directly or indirectly, out of the Southwide Meeting; others were sponsored by groups which co-sponsored the Southwide Meeting; and still others were independently planned and carried out by other organizations or individuals. In each case, the meeting was attended and reported by some person who was present at the Southwide Meeting.

Meetings Influenced by the Southwide Meeting

In this rough category are included such meetings as were reported to have (a) heard a report on the Southwide Meeting, (b) discussed the findings of the Southwide Meeting, (c) been planned and carried out at the request of the Southern Regional Council, (d) used the material prepared for the Southwide Meeting.

TOTAL NUMBER OF MEETINGS - ~~20~~ 22

TOTAL REPORTED ATTENDANCE - ~~2,100~~ 2,187

Place	Date	Sponsoring Group
Athens, Ga.	March, 1948	Athens Interracial Committee
Atlanta, Ga.	April 20	Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation
Macon, Ga.	March 15	Macon Interracial Committee
Macon, Ga.	April 16	Macon Branch, NAACP
New Orleans, La.	April	Committee on Race Relations
Jackson, Miss.	May 6	Jackson Chapter of AVC
Charlotte, N. C.	April 26	N. C. Commission on Interracial Cooperation
Swannanoa, N. C.	March 1	Swannanoa Chapter of AVC
Columbia, S. C.	March	Sociology Depts. of Furman Univ. and Univ. of S. C.
Blackstone, Va.	Sept 15-17	Methodist Women's Group

Place	Date	Sponsoring Group
Columbia, S. C.	April 29	S. C. Division of SRC
Columbia, S. C.	May 13	Richland County Division of SRC
Greenville, S. C.	March 23	YWCA Business Women's Club
Sumter, S. C.	March	Sumter Book Club
Knoxville, Tenn	March 14	Pan-Hellenic Council
Dallas, Texas	March 2 - 4	Texas Council of Church-women
Dallas, Texas	April 2 - 3	Dallas Council of Church-women
Houston, Texas	March 10	Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation
Houston, Texas	March 24	Houston Interracial Committee
Bristol, Virginia	Unknown	Bristol Interracial Council

Additional Meetings Reported

TOTAL NUMBER OF MEETINGS - ~~27~~ 39

TOTAL REPORTED ATTENDANCE - ~~1538~~ 3,204

SPONSORS--

Florida Conference, Womens Society of Christian Service, Methodist Church
Women's Union, Unitarian Church, Atlanta
Tennessee Conference, WSCS
Executive Board, Baptist General Convention of Texas
Young People's Missionary Volunteer Society, Seventh Day Adventists, Atlanta.
YMCA, University of Virginia
Hungry Club, Atlanta
Alabama Student Conference on Civil Rights
Study Group, Atlanta League of Women Voters
Columbia, S. C., YWCA Business Women's Club
County Council, Crossville, Tenn.
Industrial Co-Ed Club, Atlanta YWCA
Richmond, Va., Committee on Civil Rights
Student YMCA and YWCA, Austin College, Sherman, Texas
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
Florida State Teachers Association
Students at Bethune-Cookman College
Students at Florida A & M College
QUC, New Orleans
Meth. Youth Div. + Bd. of Educ.
Regional Council YWCA, Student D.
Nat'l Student YWCA
Presby. Young People's Conf. of Va.
Va. State Dept. of Educ.
Texas Lutheran College

Comments by Persons Reporting

Charlottesville, Va. - "Many white persons challenged the anti-legal position. [Speaker had taken position against legal enforcement of civil rights.] [They asked] 'If no law can guarantee civil rights, why can the law discriminate against Negroes?' "

West Palm Beach, Fla. - "Very good results -- group led to see that the report [of the President's Committee on Civil Rights] agreed with the teachings of the Bible, the U. S. Constitution, and the pronouncements of the Methodist Church. Lack of resistance and melting away of prejudice when the main items of the Report were really made plain to them."

5-2
9/23/48

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

The Southern Regional Council wants to follow through on getting an understanding in the South of the issues involved in human and civil rights.

One way to do this is to keep a record of discussion meetings held on the subject.

If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 40 Date: 3/5-7/48 Place "Roslyn" near Richmond, Va.

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
   (Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

   Regional Council, YWCA, Student Division

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

   [ ] Round table discussion by leaders?

   [X] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?

   [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

   Discussion of Civil Rights centered around the issue of the moment in Virginia - Governor Tuck's effort to change the election laws. Group voted to write outstanding newspapers, Lieut-Gov. and chairman of opposition to Tuck's program and to call Civil Rights meetings on their campuses.

   (If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

   Group informed about immediate situation in Virginia. Agreed to study whole report and work on other issues.

Signed: (Name) _____

Address: _____

(OVER)

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HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

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If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 50 Date: August 11 Place: Virginia State ~~College, Petersburg~~, Va.

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
   (Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

   Depart. of Education State of Virginia

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

   [ ] Round table discussion by leaders?

   [x] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?

   [x] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

   Served as consultant with two sections of workshop.

   Spoke briefly to entire group on Civil Rights and gave time to questions.

   (If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

   The interest on the part of people to get something done in their own communities.
   A group of select Negro teachers and educators.

Signed: (Name) Thos. C. Allen.

Address: 1444 E. Main St. Richmond 19, Va.

(OVER)

✓ 54
9/23/48

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

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If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 24 Date: 18 - 23 48 (morning) Place: Beersheba

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

Tennessee Conference Women's Society of Christian Service
Mrs. C. B. Clark (teacher)
Nal Miss.

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

- [X] Round table discussion by leaders?
- [ ] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?
- [X] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

The Report of the Pres. Committee "To Secure These Rights" and "The Bible & Human Rights" used as text books for our 5 day study. also "The Conditions of our Rights" by Southern Regional Council was one of the text books
(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

All women willing to accept the facts in the pamphlets & Need South by Southern Regional Council

Signed: (Name) Mrs. C. B. Smith

Address: Donelson, Tennessee

(OVER)

9/23/48

RECEIVED
AUG 26 1948
Southern Regional Council

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

The Southern Regional Council wants to follow through on getting a better understanding in the South of the issues involved in human and civil rights.

One way to do this is to keep a record of discussion meetings held on the subject.

If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 228 Date: Aug 16-20 evenings Place: Beersheba Springs Tennessee

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

Tennessee Conference W.S.C.S.
Mrs. C. B. Smith

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

- [ ] Round table discussion by leaders?
- [x] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?
- [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

We had several speakers covering Civil Rights - Most of the people in the group got a new insight on the subject and were willing to grow. Of course a few were opposed.

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

We had a wonderful meeting. The religious implication was the most interesting to me.

Signed: (Name) Mrs. C. B. Smith

Address: Donelson, Tennessee

(OVER)

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9/23/48

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

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If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 50 Date: Aug. 20 - 22 Place: Bersheba Springs

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

Tennessee Conference Guild
Mrs. Gary Lee, Murfreesboro, Tennessee
Mrs. C. B. Smith

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

[X] Round table discussion by leaders?

[X] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?

[ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

Conditions of our South studied used pamphlets from Southern Regional Council - Digest of Pres. Report.

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

Splendid meeting - a group of young women eager to study & help in making the conditions of South better.

Signed: (Name) Mrs. C. B. Smith

Address: Donelson, Tennessee

(OVER)

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9/23/48

RECEIVED
SEP 3 1948
Southern Regional Council

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

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If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. 4 assemblies - 300 each The number present 1200 Date: Aug. 9 - Sept. 6 Place: Mt. Plymouth Hotel Sorrento, Fla.

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting? (Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

   Methodist Youth Director and Board of Education

3. Kind of meeting: (check) (Classes lasting a week each)

   - [x] Round table discussion by leaders?
   - [x] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?
   - [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

   I gave history of use of Civil Rights: four youth each week reviewed briefly the four basic areas: discussion followed each. Without dissent concluded Civil Rights Bill was entirely Christian in every aspect.

   (If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

   Not only did my class discuss it but it spread to almost every other class and seminars open to whole group were requested.

Signed: (Name) Mrs. Wm. C. White

Address: 1021 - 4th St.
Palmetto, Fla.

(OVER)

RECEIVED
OCT 19 1948
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
OCT 19 1948
Southern Regional Council

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

The Southern Regional Council wants to follow through on getting an understanding in the South of the issues involved in human and civil rights.

One way to do this is to keep a record of discussion meetings held on the subject.

If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 72 Date: 9-15-17 Place: Blackstone College, Blackstone, Va

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting? (Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

   Mrs. Elmer E. Hess, Staunton Va
   Mrs. Roscoe Johnson, Front Royal, Va.
   Mrs. B. M. Hance, West Point, Va.

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

   [/] Round table discussion by leaders?

   [X] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?

   [X] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

   (If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

   Mrs. M. E. Zelly Atlanta taught "Bible + Human Rights" to white group 72 and conducted discussions in workshop.

Signed: (Name) Mrs. Elmer E. Hess

Address: 826 N. Augusta St Staunton Va

(OVER)

✓ 9/23/48

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

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1. The number present_____ Date:_____ Place:_____

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
   (Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

   The AVC of New Orleans put on a series of ~~xxx~~ radio panel discussions on civil rights during the summer -- there were four of them, I believe, at 2 P.M. Saturdays over one of the New Orleans stations.

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

   [ ] Round table discussion by leaders?

   [x] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?

   [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

   I was not able to hear any of the broadcasts but I have heard very favorable comments about them. Both white and Negro speakers took part on the panels. Further details could be obtained from Mr. Ellwood Griscom, 1307½ Audubon St. Mr. Griscom was president of the Tulane Univ. chapter of AVC during the past year and helped set up the programs.

   (If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

Signed: (Name) Clarence E. Ishle

Address: Dept. of Sociology
Tulane University
New Orleans 15, La.

(OVER)

SUGGESTED AGENDA FOR 1948 ANNUAL MEETING
of the
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Exhibition Room, Library of Atlanta University
November 10, 1948

10:00 - 10:30	Registration	
10:30 - 10:33	Invocation - Dr. Benjamin E. Mays	
10:33 - 10:35	Dr. Clement	
10:35 - 10:37	Adoption of order of business	
10:37 - 10:40	Adoption of Rules	
10:40 - 10:42	Minutes of the meeting of November 12, 1947	
10:42 - 10:44	Announcement of Committees - President Paul Williams	
	a. Resolutions	
	b. Nominations	
10:44 - 11:10	Opening remarks by President Williams	
11:10 - 11:30	Activity reports:	
	a. Membership - Miss Margaret Price	2-min.
	b. Publications - Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director of Information	5-min.
	c. The Meeting on Civil and Human Rights Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason	5-min.
	d. Our Tabulation of other similar Meetings Mrs. Jane P. Simpson	3-min.
	e. The Advisory Committee - Mr. R. E. Cureton	3-min.
	f. Other SRC Staff Members Introduced Miss Taylor, Mrs. Saxon, Mrs. Curry, Mr. Way	2-min.
11:30 - 11:37	Importance of Executive Committee's Statement on Civil Rights - Mr. Alfred Mynders	
11:37 - 11:40	Membership vote as to adoption of Statement as SRC policy	
11:40 - 11:45	Finance Report - Mrs. Agnes McKoy, Secretary-Treasurer	
	a. Report on 1948	
	b. Action on report	
	c. Presentation of Budget for 1949	
11:45 - 12:00	Planning for the South - Mr. Charles Smith	
12:00 - 12:30	Proposed 1949 Program- Dr. George S. Mitchell, Ex. Dir.	
12:30 - 12:45	Interval	
12:45 - 1:30	Luncheon	
1:30 - 1:45	Interval	
1:45 - 2:15	Discussion of 1948 and 1949 Program. Led by Dr. Charles S. Johnson	
2:15 - 3:00	Action on 1949 Program. Led by Dr. Charles S. Johnson	
3:00 - 3:15	Report of the Finance Committee. Mr. Paul Williams	
3:15 - 3:45	Action on the 1949 Budget - Led by Mr. J. M. Tydings	
3:45 - 4:30	Reading of, and Action on, Resolutions - Mr. Marion Wright	
4:30 - 4:45	Election to the Board of Directors - Dr. William H. Gray, Chairman of Nominating Committee of the Membership	
4:45 - 4:50	Membership vote on question of electing to Ex-Officio Board Membership heads of affiliated State Interracial Committees, and others deemed closely enough affiliated with the Council	
4:50 - 4:55	Other business	
4:55	Adjournment	

6- Civil Right - Local
Civil Rts. Activities

File

FEB 24 1960
Southern Regional Council

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

The Southern Regional Council wants to follow through on getting an understanding in the South of the issues involved in human and civil rights.

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If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present _____ Date: Feb.12-17 Place: Jacksonville, Fla

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

Woman's Society of Christian Service of Jacksonville Distric
Christian Workers' Training School

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

[X] Round table discussion by leaders?

[X] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?

[X] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

The group favored equality of citizenship rights and determined to secure negro police in the negro sections of this city. Many unequalities were pointed out and the group became aware of many areas of work suggesting that if each Christian put into practise "The Golden Rule" of the New Testament all of our problems in human relations would be solved.

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you: I was particularly gratified to observe the open minds of the members and the willingness to really face up to problems concerning minority groups.

Signed: (Name) Mrs. J. A. Graham

Address: 1086 Wolfe St.
Jacksonville, Florida

(OVER)

6-Civil Rights -
Local Civil Rts.
Activities

March 29, 1949

Mrs. S. A. Graham
1086 Wolfe Street
Jacksonville, Fla.

Dear Mrs. Graham:

You recently sent us a report on a meeting which dealt with civil rights, and we want you to know that we are very appreciative of your thoughtfulness in remembering to do this. I hope you will continue to send us such reports whenever a meeting of this kind comes to your attention.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Meetings at which Mrs. Tilly has spoken on Civil Rights

1. Georgia Workers Meeting at Lillian Smith's place, Clayton, Georgia. About 40 people present. Summer, 1947

2. National Broadcasting Company in New York. October 5, 1947

3. Various Women's Groups in North Georgia, Atlanta, Social Circle, Greensboro, Griffin. Total registration about 1,012. October, 1947

4. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. About 300 people present. December 9, 1947.

5. Woman's Division of Christian Service at Buck Hill Falls. About 250 people were present representing every state in the union and 11 foreigh countries. December 10, 1947.

6. Womens Press Group in Washington, D. C. About 400 people representing all outstanding state papers. December 18, 1947.

7. Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama. 500 people present. January 1948.

8. Wilmington, Delaware. 100 people present. January 1948

9. Group in Maryland. January, 1948.

10. International House in Philadelphia, January 1948

11. Chattanooga Tenn. American For Democratic Action, November 6, 1947.

12. Thomasville Interracial Committee. February 10, 1948

13. Chattanooga Methodist Women, February 2, 1948

14. Vienna, Georgia Interracial Committee, February 11, 1948

15. Macon Interracial Committee, February 13, 1948

16. St. Mark's Young People, February 22, 1948.

17. The Woman's Division of Christian Service, Meeting in Orlando, Florida, March 3

18. Meeting on Human and Civil Rights in Atlanta, February 27, 1948

19. Morris Brown Student Body Meeting, February 26, 1948

20. Central Jurisdiction Woman's Group. Houston, Texas. March 7, 1948

21. Business and Professional Groups. Y. W. C. A. Atlanta March 9, 1948

22. Consumers Cooperative Group. Atlanta, March 18, 1948

23. Atlanta Council of Negro Women's group. March 18, 1948

24. Social Workers Group. March 24, 1948

25. Alabama Division of SRC at Montgomery, Alabama. February 17, 1948
26. Paine College Student Group. March 19, 1948.

27. Intercollegiate Group at Emory University. March 14, 1948.

28. Miles College, Birmingham, Alabama. March 31.

29. Staff of YWCA. April 1. 1948

SCHEDULE FOR MRS. M. E. TILLY (WEEK OF MAY 3)

DAY	DATE	ORGANIZATION	ADDRESS	TIME	IN CHARGE	OCCASION
Mon.	May 3	Freedom House	20 W. 40th St.,NYC	4 pm	Dr. Pohly	Reception & Press Conference
Tues.	May 4	WQYN	70 Pine St., NYC	10:15 pm	M. Dreicer	Interview
		Women's Forum	Hempstead, Long Island	12:30 pm	Mrs. Golding L	Luncheon
		WHLI	Hempstead, Long Island	2:30 pm	Cliff Evans	Interview
		New York Univ.	778 Educ. Bldg., NYC	6:15 pm	Dr. Alpenfels	Lecture
Weds.	May 5	Fellowship Comm. Radio Broadcast	260 S. 15th St. Philadelphia, Pa.	10:00 am	Mrs. Behrmann	Interview
		Fellowship Comm.	To be advised	12:15 pm	Mr. Fagan	Luncheon
		Women's Group	260 S. 15 St., Phila.Pa.	2 pm	Mrs. Behrmann	Lecture
		Jewish Comm. Relations Council	" "	3:15 pm	" "	Reception
Thurs.	May 6	High School	131 Huguenot St., New Rochelle, N. Y	2:30 pm	Dr. Hanna	Lecture
		WFAS	Roger Smith Hotel, White Plains, N. Y.	To be advised	Mrs. Snyder	Interview
		Council for Unity	New Rochelle, N. Y.	8:30 pm	Dr. Hanna	Lecture

Reservation: Hotel Commodore
Monday May 3 - 6

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If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present 125

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
Southern Region
Wm. H. Gray, Vice-Pres.

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

- [x] Round table discussion by leaders?
- [x] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?
- [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:

(attached)

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments — any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

The program of the So. Reg. Council was called to the attention of participants.

Signed: (Name) Wm H Gray

Address: Ala. A. & M. College, Tallahassee, Fla.

(OVER)

From Tom Allen:

Nat. Conference of Church Leaders
Meeting at Hayden., March 31 + April 1.
Workshop on Civil Rights.

Catholic Committee
Richmond, recently
Paul Williams will report.

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

TLC:FGF:esw

72-19-0

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 12, 1946

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

This acknowledges your telegram of July 6, 1946, in which you state that registered Negro voters are being systematically challenged in at least twenty Georgia counties.

This matter has been called to the attention of the Department by the United States Attorney for the Middle District of Georgia. A public statement has been made by him, and it is suggested that you bring any information which you may have regarding discrimination against Negro voters in Georgia to the attention of the United States Attorneys for the Northern, Middle, or Southern Districts of Georgia depending upon the area of the State involved.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General

Theron L Caudle

THERON L. CAUDLE
Assistant Attorney General

October 16, 1946

Mr. Turner L. Smith
Civil Rights Section
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Smith:

I will be in Washington next Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday and I should like very much to visit with you a few minutes if you are in the city. I shall call your secretary sometime Monday and ask for an appointment.

With highest regards and best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

6 - Civil Rights - U.S.
Govt Corresp.

December 2, 1948

The Attorney General of the United States
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Attorney General:

I have the honor to send you, attached, a statement made by myself (not being published) of information obtained by this organization on the events in Toombs County, Georgia, November 20, 1948.

There is considerable informed local opinion that the fact that the murder was done by men who had evidently used the public highways wearing hoods makes the matter a federal case, under title 18, section 52.

I am hopeful that the Department of Justice will prosecute.

The local organization which has shown most interest in the matter is the Georgia Defense Committee, which is composed of the Reverend Mr. W. H. Borders, as chairman, Mr. E. M. Martin, Atlanta Life Insurance Company, treasurer, Mr. A. T. Walden, Mr. C. A. Scott, and Mr. Warren R. Cochrane, 22 Butler Street, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, as secretary.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
cc: Mr. Warren R. Cochrane

6-Civil Rights-U.S. Govt
Correspondence

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

AMC:MWH:efr

144-20-36

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

January 25, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 27 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Acknowledgment is hereby made of your recent letter with a statement attached thereto concerning the incident in Toombs County, Georgia, which resulted in the death of Mr. Robert Child Mallard.

The Department has followed this matter closely and has given it the most careful attention. However, the information in our possession does not indicate a violation of any existing Federal statute. Consequently, the Department does not have the authority to undertake any action.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General

Alex Campbell

ALEXANDER M. CAMPBELL
Assistant Attorney General

July 13, 1944

Mr. John H. Ferguson
Director
C. P. S. Camp No. 108
Gatlinburg, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Ferguson:

I am exceedingly sorry for an unavoidable delay in replying to your letter of June 28. I imagine that you have already made considerable progress, if indeed you have not fully completed your plans.

All of us here have been so busy with trips and other duties that I am afraid that we can be of little immediate help in organizing the course on race relations which you are planning to give. We are, however, sending you under separate cover some literature which I believe will be of considerable use to you. Also, I hope that one of our staff members will find it possible to contribute two or three talks to your group. Let us know what dates will be most suitable to you, so that we can see what the possibilities are of working them into our schedule.

Best wishes for the success of your program.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Separate cover
New Tenth Man
New SRC
Understanding our Neighbors
Study Guide
Sibley, Stop Worrying, Frontier
Publications list

Sent 7/13/44

m

June 30, 1944

Mr. John H. Ferguson
Director
Civilian Public Service Camp No. 108
Box 97
Gatlinburg, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Ferguson:

Your letter of June 28 has reached our office during Dr. Johnson's absence from the city. I am sure he will give your request his attention as soon as he returns.

Sincerely yours,

Jane T. Martin
Secretary to Dr. Johnson

CIVILIAN PUBLIC SERVICE
CAMP No. 108 — GATLINBURG, TENN.
Tel. Gatlinburg 166-J Box 97
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

June 28, 1944

Dr. Guy Johnson,
The Southern Region
Inter-Racial Council,
710 Standard Building,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

We are in the process of organizing a school for the study of race relations to be attended by a number of our men during non-working hours. It is our idea that the school will start within the next couple of weeks and continue for three months. We wish to concentrate on the problem of White-Negro relationships.

Dr. William Cole of Knoxville has suggested that you would be able to furnish us with direction, speakers, and literature. We should welcome whatever assistance you may be able to give. We have only a small amount of money to be used for the school hence we are in need of as much voluntary assistance as it is possible to obtain. We have enough, however, to pay the travelling expenses of a few good speakers. If you have any qualified person who might come here within the next few days to help us organize the course, we would be deeply appreciative.

Thanking you for your co-operation, I remain,

John H. Ferguson

John H. Ferguson
Director

JHF:ash

CPS

~~747~~

July 20, 1944

Mr. Bradford Rowland
Educational Secretary
C. P. S. Camp No. 27
Box F-30, Route 3
Orlando, Florida

Dear Mr. Rowland:

Your letter of July 14 addressed to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation has come to my attention. The Commission has merged with the Southern Regional Council, which was organized in February.

I had not heard of the "Orlando Incident", and I would appreciate your sending me the full story.

All of our staff members are so heavily engaged for the next two months that I doubt very much whether any of us will find it possible to pay you a visit and speak to your group. I wonder whether you have been in touch with Mrs. Henry Havens (2845 Corinthian Avenue, Jacksonville 5) or with Mr. Francis Bridges of the Florida Parole Commission. They are both greatly interested in interracial affairs, and it might be that they could speak to your Camp or at least suggest other persons who might be available.

Perhaps you are already in touch with good sources for obtaining movie films. Tuskegee Institute, for example, has several. I believe the YMCA Motion Picture Bureau, 347 Madison Avenue, New York, can supply you with various films. Among those on their list are "Henry Browne, Farmer," "Negro Colleges in Wartime," "The Story of Dr. Carver," "Tuskegee Institute and Edgar Guest," "The Negro and the Y," and "Introduction to Haiti." If you are not already in touch with the YMCA Motion Picture Bureau I urge you to write to them at your earliest opportunity.

As for pamphlets, we have quite a few, some published by the Council and some inherited from the Interracial Commission. Under separate cover we are sending you some selected pamphlets and a publications list.

If it turns out to be at all possible for one of us to come to Orlando, I shall let you know.

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Separate cover
No. 1, No. 2.
U. our N., Study Guide
White Primary, Publications List , Southern Offensive

7/20

CIVILIAN PUBLIC SERVICE
CAMP No. 27 — ORLANDO, FLA.
Box F-30, Route 3 Telephone 2-0909
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

July 14, 1944

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Have any reports reached you of the "Orlando Incident"? Nine of us in Civilian Public Service Camp # 27, administered by the American Friends Service Committee, gave a party for the graduating class of the local Negro high school. We participated in folk games and refreshments. There were reprecussions when the Klu Klux Klan and the county commissioners heard of it. Ten of our campers have transfered as a result. If you have not already been fully informed about the incident, and care to know more, I shall be glad to send you the full story.

Nine of us are still concerned to work at the Race Problem. We are developing a program of study and action that will be effective yet careful. We do not wish to precipitate any incident that will result in our camp being closed. I write you now for the cooperation of your commission. Our greatest need, perhaps, is to contact good speakers on interracial relations who will be willing to speak to a group of Conscientious Objectors. Also, we are anxious to find activities in which we can work to help cure that cancer on our democracy, the status of the Negro minority. We have a 16mm sound and silent movie projector with which we can show films on the subjct. We shall be glad to know of available books and pamphlets.

May we expect to hear from you? We shall greatly appreciate any help and suggestions you can offer.

Sincerely,

Bradford Rowland

Bradford Rowland
Educational Secretary

SCHOOL OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

CPS Camp 52, Powellsville, Md.

Bulletin, August 1, 1944

Note: The general program of the school having been outlined in the June bulletin, we are devoting the major portion of this issue to articles on specific subjects discussed in class sessions, and to summaries of talks given by outside speakers.

Again we request readers' comment on the school or bulletin.--Ed.

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Pacifism and Labor 7

Advisory Committee 6

Organizing a Union

by Oliver Williams

When a union decides to organize a certain plant, its first step is to select one or a group of organizers--men who are especially adept in this field and who devote their entire time to it.

Upon arrival in the town to which he is assigned, the organizer "sounds out" the townspeople and workers to determine what progress has been made and where to drive the opening wedge of his campaign. He then proceeds with caution to compile a list of persons (both inside and outside of the plant) who are liberal minded and might be sympathetic to unionism. Although an organizer is more protected by law than in years past, he wants to avoid any lawsuits or trouble which might cause bad publicity at the outset of the campaign. He now spends most of his time ringing doorbells to enroll workers in the union, and enlist interested townspeople on the union's side.

As the union gains in strength more open methods may be used. Handbills, speakers, and other educational techniques are employed to point out how workers have been mistreated in the past and the new strength they will obtain through unionism. Loudspeakers are sometimes set up outside the plant to address workers during changes of shifts.

As soon as the company learns of the drive, it may take counter measures to discourage unionization. Raises in pay, reduction of hours, or company unions are often used to persuade workers to be satisfied with existing conditions. Violence is sometimes resorted to, and organizers and active union members beaten and evicted from town. The management may spread propaganda to stir up the townspeople against these "Reds," "communists," or "foreign agitators." Riots may occur if the situation becomes bad enough, with members of both sides killed or wounded. Firing all those who join the union is another means of discouraging organization.

Coercion may also be used by union members to force other workers to join. Social pressure may be put on a worker's entire family--his wife is not invited to the club, other children will not play with his, and the men at the plant cease to speak to him. He may find his auto tires cut and emery dust in its pistons. These methods are not generally approved by the organizer, but often he "fails to notice" them, thus giving them unofficial sanction.

When the organizer thinks he has a large enough membership, a meeting is called to draw up a contract for submission to the management. This contract generally includes wage increases, reduction of hours, seniority clauses, and recognition of the union as sole bargaining agent for the employees. Threat of strike is the ace that the unions hold to force the management's hand. The contract is usually submitted at a strategic time when the employer is less likely to refuse because, for example, of orders he is anxious to fill.

Another method of gaining union recognition is to call on the National Labor Relations Board to hold an election to see if a majority of the workers favors the union as bargaining agent. If the union wins, the NLRB certifies it as the collective bargaining agent.

"Lynching is Fun"

by Ben Segal

Eastern Shore tolerance

Of the 16 recorded lynchings in Maryland since 1885, 11 have occurred in southern Maryland or the Eastern Shore, where the School of Industrial Relations is located. The most recent was at Princess Anne, a town 25 miles from camp, where on Oct. 18, 1933, George Armwood, a Negro, was taken from jail by a mob of over 5,000 men, women, and children, dragged a mile and hanged from a tree on the main street and his body burned.

This was over ten years ago, but race attitudes on the Eastern Shore have changed little since then. The other day, while hitch-hiking, I was given a ride by a citizen of Princess Anne. The conversation veered to the race question: "There are too many niggers on the Eastern Shore," the good citizen said, adding that they were needed to fill jobs now, but "after the war, things will be different." I asked him about the lynching. "Sure, I took part in it and it was lots of fun. We have one about every ten years--that's the best way to keep the niggers down."

And a local paper comments thus upon Edward Smith, a 25 year old Negro who so forgot his place as to curse a white woman in public (he was fined $50 and costs for this offense): "Such tripe should be assigned to a chain gang, if such could be possible....The 'Democrat' has no desire to stir up race prejudice, but something should be done before the situation gets out of hand."

trying to do something

Into this situation has come the school's group on Race Problems, to study and initiate such action as circumstances allow. In an attempt to awaken local citizens to the urgency of race problems, I have organized a group in Salisbury to discuss "race questions."

While the group is small and members' attitudes, with a few notable exceptions, are far from unprejudiced, progress has been encouraging. Weekly discussions have been started and members have reviewed books and pamphlets such as The Races of Mankind, which none had seen or heard of before. The Council Against Intolerance's pictorial exhibit on The Negro in American Life was shown to the group and is now on display at the Methodist Church in Salisbury. Next week the exhibit will be shown at the Baptist Church, after which it is scheduled for use by leaders of the church Youth Caravan and the Presbyterian Church.

In addition, practical methods of facilitating interracial cooperation have been outlined by the group in response to particular problems of its members. For instance, one scout leader was shown how she could integrate her program with that of Negro scouts.

The Salisbury group has been all white to date, but the Negro superintendent of schools has been invited to join, thus breaking the race barrier, a process we hope to extend in the future. Wider community interest is slowly being aroused, and one of the leading churches in town has offered its facilities for the group's meeting in the Fall. All of this may seem like "pink tea stuff" to active workers in the interracial field, but in this Jim Crow culture it is a definite step forward.

Lack of Class Consciousness in American Labor

by Selig Perlman

Note: This subject, discussed in a session of the Labor History course, is treated by Selig Perlman in his Theory of the Labor Movement (ch. 5), of which this article is a condensation. Published in 1928, before the great depression and the rise of the CIO, some of its conclusions may be questioned today, but its historical relevance remains.--Ed.

No other labor movement has ever had to contend with the fragility so characteristic of American labor organizations. In the main, this fragility has come from the lack of class cohesiveness in American labor.

Causes of fragility
1. unsettled wage earning class

The cause of this lack of psychological cohesiveness is the absence, by and large, of a completely "settled" wage earning class. To be sure, the great mass of the wage earners in American industry today will [illegible] However, many of these do not stay in a particular industry for life, but keep moving from industry to industry and from locality to locality, in search for better working conditions. Moreover, the bright son of a mechanic and factory hand need not despair of attaining some small business or a minor supervisory position in the large manufacturing establishments.

If the American fluidity of economic society has preserved and created opportunities for the non-propertied individual of not much more than average ability, those with a higher ability and a gift for leadership have found their upward progression smoother still. Political life in America is open to all who can master the game.

2. free gift of the ballot

Another cause was the free gift of the ballot which came to labor at an early date as a by-product of the Jeffersonian democratic movement. In other countries, where the labor movement started while the workingmen were still denied the franchise, there was no need to convince them that they were a class apart. There ran a line like a red thread between the laboring class and the other classes. Not so, where that line is only an economic one, blurred by the constant process of "osmosis" between one class and another.

3. constant waves of immigration

Next to abundant economic opportunities, immigration has been the factor most guilty of the incohesiveness of American labor. To workers employed in a given industry, a new wave of immigrants, generally of a new nationality, meant a competitive menace to be fought off and to be kept out of that industry. When immigrants acquired higher standards and began rebuilding the unions which they destroyed at their coming, then a new group would arrive to do unto the former what these had done to the original membership. The restriction of immigration by the quota system has at last done away with this phenomenon.

American labor remains the most heterogeneous laboring class in existence ethically, linguistically, religiously, and culturally.

Ben Stahl..... Labor in the War

CIO organizing drive — The CIO is starting a drive to organize 1,000,000 shop workers of the nation's railroads, Ben Stahl, International Representative of the CIO at Wilmington, Del., told members of the school in an address, June 30, on Labor in the War. Despite fears to the contrary, labor has increased in size and strengthened its organization during the war, Stahl said.

The outstanding feature of the war labor situation, however, is the intervention of government in bargaining relations with employers. The War Labor Board, War Production Board, War Manpower Commission and other governmental agencies interfere with the normal bargaining process by limiting labor's wage demands, mobility, and freedom to strike, Stahl pointed out. Indeed, "a union organizer must be a lawyer" today, and the average union leader's function has become to persuade members to await WLB directives and to dissuade them from independent action.

labor worried about jobs — Primary concern of labor today is with post-war production, since industry's transition to peace threatens to leave 15,000,000 workers unemployed in the future, he said. The disposition of government-owned plants is an important factor in this connection.

In addition, labor is worried about the attitude of returning soldiers to union organization, and is attempting to meet possible antagonisms by a program of education and an insistance upon service men's rights to their former jobs. However, the directive of Selective Service that soldiers must be given absolute priority in jobs is opposed by unions, since it disrupts the long established seniority systems that have guaranteed job security to workers of long experience.

Bennett Schauffler..... The NLRB

The role of the National Labor Relations Board in war and peace was discussed by Bennett Schauffler, NLRB regional director for Philadelphia, at the July 25th session of the school.

NLRB aids labor growth — The NLRB is responsible for much of the growth of organized labor in recent years, by guaranteeing labor's right to strike and bargain collectively, Schauffler declared. These safeguards, in turn, have encouraged labor's cooperation in war production, a cooperation superior to that of the last war.

"Our country is faced with two alternatives in the future of collective bargaining;" he stated, "further expansion in direct bargaining across the table between employees and management, or additional government intervention in that procedure. The great danger in the post-war period is that management will buy off union leadership, thus destroying the structure of free bargaining relationships."

Now that labor's powers have grown, it must exercise restraint in the use of those powers and "clean its own house," Schauffler warned, "or else labor's enemies will clean house for it." He predicted that the NLRB might take the settlement of jurisdictional disputes into its own hands in the future, if labor is unable to handle the problem itself.

Advisory Committee

The Advisory Committee of labor experts is now reaching completion. Functions of the committee are to aid in the development of the school program, as well as to provide speakers and literature on labor problems. It should be understood that reference to organizational affiliations in the following list is for purposes of identification only, and implies no endorsement or connection between the school and that organization:

Roger Baldwin, director, American Civil Liberties Union
Jack Barbash, War Production Board, labor division
Merlin Bishop, international representative, United Auto Workers
Leroy Bowman, supervisor, Bureau of Adult Education, New York State
Reed Cary, Leeds and Northrup Co.
John Connors, director, Workers' Education Bureau of America
George Counts, Teachers College, Columbia University
Nelson Cruikshank, War Manpower Commission
Kermit Eby, assistant educational director, CIO
John Edelman, legislative representative, Textile Workers' Union
Harry Fleischman, executive secretary, Socialist Party
Chester Graham, National Farmers' Union
Frank Graham, public member, National War Labor Board
Robbert Hoppock, editor, Occupational Index
Laurence Hosie, Labor Temple
E.C.Lindeman, New York School of Social Work
Harry Laidler, executive director, League for Industrial Democracy
Benjamin Marsh, secretary, People's Lobby
Morris Milgram, executive secretary, Workers' Defense League
Broadus Mitchell, research director, ILGWU
A.J.Muste, executive secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation
James Myers, industrial secretary, Federal Council of Churches
Clarence Pickett, American Friends' Service Committee
Liston Pope, Yale Divinity School
A.Philip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Naomi Riches, Baltimore Social Security Board
Lawrence Rogin, educational director, Textile Workers' Union
Bennett Schauffler, Phila. regional director, NLRB
Jack Schuyler, United Service Organizations
Willard Townsend, United Transport Service Employees' Union
Willard Uphaus, national secretary, Religion and Labor Foundation

John McCandless..... Labor and Political Action

The CIO's Political Action Committee is no more than "an auxiliary to the regular Democratic campaign," John McCandless, secretary of the Chester, Del., Newspaper Guild, told the school assembly on July 11.

Speaking on Labor and Political Action, McCandless outlined the organization and operation of the PAC under the chairmanship of Sidney Hillman. "Seventy-five to 80% of the CIO membership will probably vote for Roosevelt in the coming election," he estimated, although espressing disagreement with the aims of the PAC.

He suggested that the aims of labor would be better served by the creation of a farmer-labor party along the lines of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation, pursuing an independent program of fundamental economic reform, rather than working through existent political parties.

Ben Marsh..... Does Labor Want Peace?

Most exciting speaker to address the school last month was Ben Marsh, lanky, white-haired, 67-year old secretary of The People's Lobby, who spoke July 20 on Does Labor Want Peace?

"I won't say that labor doesn't want peace," Marsh said, "but it doesn't know how to get it and is scared stiff of it. Labor has absolutely no program but war for full employment."

hits racketeering, free enterprise

Marsh excoriated the "racketeering" of American labor leaders who have, he said, established themselves in office with high salaries and undemocratic union machines, accepting the exploitation of capitalist economy. "There is no possible future for labor under the system of private enterprise which keeps millions in poverty and unemployment. The rich are willing to do everything for the poor except to get off their backs." However, he saw little hope for a change in union leadership "until labor gets cracked down" by government and big business.

predicts World War III

Marsh predicted that 3,000,000 troops would remain abroad at the conclusion of this war, "because no jobs are available for them here." "As long as war is the only way to get full employment, we shall have wars," he said. "All the essential steps for World War III have already been taken by the present Administration. The international controls essential to prevent war can never be achieved until there is at least in all large nations public ownership of major industries, natural resources, and credit."

George Houser..... Pacifism and Labor

Action projects secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, George Houser led an informal discussion on Pacifism and Labor, July 27, commenced by the reading of a statement of the FOR Labor Committee:

> "It is vital for the preservation of democracy itself that the majority of people without great economic holdings organize to safeguard their rights as citizens....Intuitively, organized labor has developed the use of certain non-violent techniques. Pacifists who wish to see the power of non-violence pervade the whole of society, have been uniquely interested in the labor movement....
>
> "Pacifists are fearful lest the labor movement lose during these war years those characteristics which make it so important a part of our democracy....Organized labor must face the grave question whether war itself is not the chief enemy of the common people."

A four point pacifist program on labor was outlined:
1. Support independent labor organizations wherever possible.
2. Keep organized labor free from domination of employers and government
3. Carry on intensive trade union education against war.
4. Persuade labor groups to the power of non-violent direct action.

CPS

~~77~~

August 7, 1944

Mr. Bradford Rowland
Educational Secretary
C. P. S. Camp No. 27
Orlando, Florida

Dear Mr. Rowland:

Thank you for sending me a copy of The Race Problem and the Orlando Unit. I think that this is a well-written appraisal of a very difficult problem, and I feel that the members of C. P. S. Camp No. 27 have resolved the situation with dignity and common sense.

If you could spare us half a dozen copies of the report, please send them, and let us know the cost, if any.

I am still hoping to have an opportunity to pay you a visit.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

(Mr. Bradford's enclosure circulated to Miss Fisher and Miss Clay, etc.)

CIVILIAN PUBLIC SERVICE
CAMP No. 27 — ORLANDO, FLA.
Box F-30, Route 3 Telephone 2-0909
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

~~479~~

August 4, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson,

Thank you for your letter of July 20. I shall contact the people you suggest and use the sources of films you mention. It is good to know you have us in mind should one of you come to Orlando.

Enclosed is a copy of The Race Problem and the Orlando Unit which tells the story of what has come to be known as the "Orlando incident" in C. P. S. circles. We shall be glad to hear any comments it may provoke to your mind.

Many thanks too, for the pamphlets you sent.

Cordially,

Bradford Rowland

Bradford Rowland
Educational Secretary

(See Mr. Bradford Rowland's letter, 8/7/44)

Civilian Public Service Unit,
Box F-30, Route 3,
Orlando, Florida

File

June 4, 1944

THE RACE PROBLEM AND THE ORLANDO UNIT

This statement represents an attempt at an objective analysis of our experiences with race relations crystallized in our minds by a significant incident, a party given by members of the camp at the local colored high school in honor of the graduating class. The repercussions have so far resulted in the withdrawal of six men from the Unit with additional withdrawals anticipated.

I. The Background For some eight months the Orlando Unit has been in close contact with the traditions and mores of white supremacy in an area tinged with liberal influences. Concern for the problem of race was not foremost in the minds of the men who were selected for the unit. We came because of an opportunity to participate in a significant public health project. The Unit was weighted heavily with men primarily interested in training for foreign relief work which was to receive the chief emphasis in our free time educational program. In theory therefore the pressing problems of racial intolerance, segregation, and discrimination which lay at our doorstep were to consume a relatively insignificant amount of our time and attention.

It was quite evident from the start that by reason of being in CPS we could not overlook this vital problem. Discrimination and segregation in transportation facilities, in housing, in education, and in the attitudes of those we came to know all were factors that struck us forcibly as we began our work. Being new to the South we were fairly content for a time to observe and learn. Most of our energies were concentrated on the development of our work project.

Our first opportunity to participate actively as a group in race relations soon arose through a contact made with the principal of the Hungerford School, a colored private institution doing a creditable job in preparing students from far and near to become responsible citizens. The school needed some help in the construction of a milk shed and repairs for a pump house which we were in a position to give. It took four to five men the space of several Saturday afternoons to complete the job. For this we were commended by the school and other friends in the community. About the same time every man whose blood was good gave a pint of it to the blood bank most of the men earmarking it for Negro use. Shortly thereafter the principal of the Hungerford School accepted an invitation to have supper and spend the evening with the unit in a discussion of the work being done at the school and general problems in the South. In the course of the evening he pointed out that his interest lay in working for equality of opportunity and better social conditions. He had no particular concern for segregation per se.

Minor repercussions came from Southern friends who had seen or heard that the Negro principal and his wife had visited and eaten with the unit. We were advised that it would be well to exercise caution in the future, that a delicate matter of public relations was involved. The reaction of the camp in general was to minimize criticism out of a feeling that it arose primarily from a sense of fear of what the neighbors might think or from a sort of conditioned response against "socializing" with colored persons. We knew Southerners felt that way but considered it only right and proper for us to act as we felt as long as we did so unassumingly and didn't involve Southern whites in our associations with colored friends.

Our experiences on the project working in colored communities and our growing contact with a variety of southern opinion made us realize that there were some things

we could not do without strong reactions. We persisted in "small" things -- addressing colored people "Mr." and "Mrs.", showing respect in our contacts on the project, and being careful to show courtesy on the buses. Two men had the experience of seeing a colored person forced from his bus seat when the driver displayed a knife. The men made known their sympathy to the Negro. Men working at the colored high school gradually won the confidence of the more active students and teachers through their general interest in the school and help given in the Hi-Y Club.

As the school year drew to a close, the men working on the school crew became interested in working out a social evening in honor of the senior class. The first suggestion was to have them at the camp for an outdoor supper, games, and singing. The men by this time were fully aware of the risks involved in crossing the "color line" in this way. The high school principal had previously refused an invitation to supper with the unit with the remark that the Klan still rides. A portion of the camp felt that the time had not yet come to have a social of much proportions on our own grounds and pointed out the possible consequences to the colored guests as well as to the unit. The opinion was expressed that there were many other things of a positive nature yet untried that could bring about better relations. There was no necessity in making a direct attack on the policy of segregation without greater experience with the problem. The men agreed but a few were still primarily interested in giving a party to the senior class before it scattered following graduation day.

II. The Crisis With the tacit support of most of the unit a small committee planned the details of a party at the high school in the colored section of town. Seven men attended the party and assisted in running off the Virginia Reel, folk games, singing, and the serving of refreshments. The party was considered highly successful. The principal, teachers and seniors soon lost their self-consciousness as they entered into the various games all of which appeared new to them. We were impressed with the social grace of the youngsters and noted that a number of them took the pains to thank each one of the men when the evening ended. The remark of a young teacher in parting was, "I believe this is the first time the senior class has been honored in this way". In the days following, a marked increase in friendliness and mutual appreciation was noticed as the CPS men went about their routine on the school building.

The party was given on May 16th. For political reasons repercussions came later. On May 29th after the election of the county commissioners had taken place, the high school principal asked the organizer of the party to drive into town with him to interview interested persons who had heard of the party and had demanded an explanation. In the course of the next forty-eight hours the seriousness of the situation was made plain. A teacher who had personal grievances against the principal had informed a member of the Klan of the "socializing" at the school between the races. The American Legion was also informed and the information passed on to the county commissioners. The principal and CPS man were questioned in detail to determine the extent of the intermingling at the party. Later in the morning of the 29th the County Health Unit, the agency responsible for our work, was advised of the situation by the commissioners and asked to withdraw the Unit. The next day a representative of the State Board of Health, the Director of the local Health Unit, and CPS #27 Director, Ralph Townsend met with the commissioners. They agreed to retain the Unit providing those who organized the party or felt unable to refrain from social intercourse were transferred to another camp. It was stipulated that the Orlando Assistant Director be removed. The Health Department gave a liberal interpretation to the commissioners' decision through having each man decide whether or not he can conscientiously remain and work within a framework of racial segregation. Remaining did not involve a categorical refusal to interfere in the racial issue. The meaning of the word interfere was left ambiguous.

III. Unit Opinion In a meeting of the camp to discuss opinion of the commissioners' decision, six men explained their intention to transfer including three men who had not participated in the party. Others were undecided pending a clarification of their thinking.

Without attempting a complete summary of the various attitudes since expressed in a number of personal written statements, the thinking of those desiring to withdraw from the Unit included:

1. The commissioners decision was in effect a directive specifying with whom we could not eat, the way in which we should address a person, the place and manner of our associations with members of another race. Limitations imposed on conscientious action in accordance with Christian, democratic principles left no alternative save withdrawal.

2. The social customs we were expected to adhere to in remaining, so infringed on the principle of racial equality and restricted individual action in working toward the elimination of segregation, the basic problem in the issue, that reasonable progress could no longer be made.

3. If one is primarily interested in foreign relief studies, withdrawal is the only moral and effective action possible. Willingness to remain within a system of inequality without working energetically on the racial front in things one can do is an untenable position. A vacancy thus created should be filled by a person actively interested in a thorough study of southern problems and able to participate in a forward looking program of education with the whites and for the negroes while maintaining the "color line" and with the full realization that progress will be painfully slow. The issue of race is of greater importance than the public health work and should certainly be the major off-hours concern of the men. It was felt that withdrawal from this situation was not analagous to giving up a foreign relief operation in which the very survival of the people might be at stake. To save human life and start the processes of rehabilitation would take priority over direct action on social issues.

4. Realizing the probability that the AFSC would withdraw from the administration of this Unit, a representative such as Tom Jones should interpret the AFSC position on race to the officials concerned with our work. The ambiguous statements of the Health Department with respect to our race policy and future activities need clarification. We can't remain under false pretenses.

The thinking of those who elected to remain took the following line:

Any real progress made in the cause of better race relations below the Mason-Dixon Line can come ultimately only through the experience and work of those intimately acquainted with both white and colored attitudes which have been conditioned by generations of "white supremacy" policies. Since these attitudes are in large part emotional, no effective pacifist attack on the custom of segregation can be made without first educating the Negro in the techniques and sacrifice involved in non-violent direct action the eventual success of which implies, in part, the gradual education of the white southerner too through personal contact and participation with him in activities for the advancement of the Negro's welfare. To act effectively one must in practice accept the "color line" and take the slow path to reform.

The following are among things to do here and now:

1. If this colored community could work together to meet small common needs, it would encourage discussion and meeting to act on other, greater needs. There is an important place for constructive thinking and leadership to give a sense of satisfaction and faith to others who would become better equipped to do more for themselves and their fellows. For example, this community's Negroes are naturally dissatisfied with the available recreational facilities which consist of one movie house, one playground (whites have seven) and a lake in which to swim about three miles from town. There are occasional programs in the high school auditorium; otherwise there is nothing else to do except to work, eat, sleep, and talk. More convenient swimming and added recreational facilities may be more than the local inter-racial committee can achieve, but an occasional educational movie isn't more than the Negroes themselves could arrange.

2. There may be less need felt for a credit union, but there is a need. Negroes would be proud to deposit money earned in their own bank and use their collective funds for investment in community enterprises.

3. Negroes own very few stores and are likely to be humiliated and sometimes cheated when they buy. With some encouragement they might be brought to study co-operative buying and establish their own small store.

4. Probably a white person with sufficient understanding could talk to colored church groups reminding them that discrimination must be fought by themselves as well as by whites. That's a hard thing to say, however, and there are few individuals who should say it. A subject more encouraging than challenging would be to tell of beaten peoples' success through co-operatives to emphasize that in this community there are possibilities of real achievement.

5. Help arrange for and encourage educated Negroes to speak to white church groups on aspects of "What It's Like To Be a Negro", the purpose being to awaken some understanding and to help break down white emotional barriers to inter-racial co-operation.

6. It is important to recognize that masses of Negroes are personally convinced they don't stand much chance in life of achieving freedom or security. They feel they will always be held down or knocked down by whites. So they lack initiative being unable even to hope that there are answers to their needs and problems. They live for today without plans for tomorrow feeling that their tomorrows may be taken from them. They live within themselves; their neighbors have troubles as deep as their own and evidently nothing can be done. A vital thing to tackle in this sense of hopelessness. Nothing constructive or positive can come without faith.

PLEASE POST

Sept. 8/44

Wrote Little that although I will get to Education Conf. at Gatlinburg, I'll have such a short time there that I'll not be able to visit Camp 108.

YBJ

July 28, 1944

Mr. Arthur Little
C. P. S. Camp No. 108
Gatlinburg, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Little:

Thank you for your note of July 25. I think it is pretty certain that either Dr. Reid or I will attend the meeting of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education at Gatlinburg in early September, and we shall certainly want to spend some time at your camp.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

CIVILIAN PUBLIC SERVICE
CAMP No. 108 — GATLINBURG, TENN.
Tel. Gatlinburg 166-J

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

July 25, 1944

Dear Dr. Johnson:

If you or Dr. Reid, or any of your staff, attends the meeting of the Committee of Southern Regional Studies here, please know that you will be most welcome in making our camp your headquarters.

We are four miles from town, and this may not be too convenient for you, but if you would like to stay here, we would be well compensated by having you in our midst.

Sincerely,

Arthur Little

Arthur Little

CPS

November 24, 1944

Mr. Douglas R. Johnson
Civilian Public Service Camp #21
Cascade Locks, Oregon

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Your letter of November 3 regarding peace-time conscription has come to my desk. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation has been absorbed by the Southern Regional Council. As stated in our Constitution and By-Laws, the Southern Regional Council is a democratic organization, belonging to its members. Therefore it would be necessary for our members to direct us to fight against peace-time conscription before we could undertake to do so, since this issue is not one of the fields of operation to which we are specifically committed.

Sincerely,

ROSA LEE JAY

p. 68

Civilian Public Service Camp #21
Cascade Locks, Oregon
November 3, 1944

Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I urge you to use your influence to defeat the peace-time conscription bills shortly to be considered in Congress. Conscription will foster international distrust, hatred, and anarchy, and will stimulate similar legislation in other countries, thus promoting the vicious circle of an armament race ending in war.

These days we hear it fairly mentioned that the next war will be inter-racial. Therefore it seems to me to be directly in line with your policies to join in the fight against conscription.

Very truly yours,
Douglas R. Johnson

PEACETIME CONSCRIPTION?

(REPRINTED BY SPECIAL PERMISSION)

THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER 18, 1944, ISSUE

WHAT KIND of military system does the United States require? Hitherto we have depended upon a small volunteer army to guard the nation against civil disorder and sudden attack from abroad, with a small number of national guard regiments for duty in the several states and a small reserve of officers in civilian life. We have cherished no purposes and contracted no obligations which required the maintenance overseas of large bodies of troops. It was *after* our entry into the First World War that Congress, following a prolonged debate, decided to adopt universal conscription as a war measure. When the conflict was over the army, backed by interests which stood to profit from the militarization of the country, attempted to secure the permanent establishment of the European system. However, this attempt failed because the nation was resolute in its determination to return to our traditional form of military organization. Following the fall of France in 1940, Congress again voted for universal service. The argument which carried the day was that conscription would prevent our involvement in the Second World War.

Today only pacifists criticize universal conscription as a necessity of war. But now this nation is being urged to make universal military service a permanent feature of our national life. The powerful Citizens Committee for Universal Military Training, which headed the drive for peacetime conscription in 1940, is again campaigning. This time it seeks no temporary change to meet an emergency. Instead it asks for a clean break with our traditional military policy and the establishment in time of war of peacetime universal conscription. It has the publicly stated support of Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, General George C. Marshall, the American Legion and Mrs. Roosevelt. Its carefully timed and cumulative drive is expected to come to a climax when the army and navy throw their full support behind peacetime conscription after the election.

We have previously paid our respects to the dishonest character of a campaign which seeks to bring about this radical change of national policy by subterfuge, keeping the issue out of the election but preparing for decision as soon as possible afterward by an uninstructed Congress. Now we invite attention to the grave consequences of forcing a decision on a matter of this importance in time of war. Such an action would instantly raise the question as to why this country finds it necessary to depart so hastily from its traditional military system. Each of our allies would immediately be provided with reason to question our good faith. Our adoption of conscription as a peacetime necessity would mean either that we do not intend to reduce Germany and Japan to military impotence, or that sooner or later we expect to turn our armies against one of our present allies.

Where is the justification for this American adoption of militarism? It can be logically maintained, we admit, that we would need a large conscript army if we were to decide to keep Germany and Japan partially intact as buffer states between ourselves and Russia in the east and west. We would need to keep millions of men under arms if we plan to fight either Russia or Great Britain or both for the domination of the world. We would need universal service if we crave the tinsel and trumpery of empire. But we will not need conscription if we carry this war through to a victorious conclusion and then resume our historic role of non-aggression as the most powerful and secure continental power on earth.

The propagandists for peacetime conscription clutter up their arguments with the usual military irrelevancies which have so often in the past proved effective smoke screens to conceal their real purposes. They wring their hands over the shocking state of physical unfitness which the present draft has revealed in young American men. Conscription, they imply, would lift the level of physical well-being of these citizens. This is pure eyewash, as a moment's reflection reveals. How can the conscription of young men overcome organic disabilities contracted in infancy or early childhood through disease, malnutrition or simple starvation? The medical division of the Selective Service System has itself declared that raising the general level of physical fitness is impossible until we are prepared to begin in the earliest school years. Why does not Secretary Stimson consult his own military experts before he attempts to set forth conscription as a device to "add to health and future life expectancy" of the country's manhood?

Another familiar misstatement which is frequently being repeated as pressure for peacetime conscription increases is that compulsory military service teaches

discipline. The answer to that is a question of two words: What kind? The discipline of the drill sergeant is not the self-discipline of democracy. Military discipline provides excellent training for citizenship in a totalitarian society. It does not prepare men for the responsibilities of an order in which they must think for themselves, in which they must exercise freedom of choice and initiative of action within the democratic process for the general welfare. Conscription, which must be accepted as a regrettable but unavoidable necessity in time of war, is repugnant to peacetime America. It can be tolerated only if it is proved to be necessary because of a clear and present danger.

Both of these arguments are irrelevant to the real question with which our nation is confronted. That question asks: Does the security of the United States demand that Congress now, in time of war, vote to impose on the country a permanent system of universal, compulsory military training? The answer to that question is No. Without prejudice to a decision either way after the war is over, it can be stated categorically that no facts yet brought forward by the advocates of this proposal have even touched the fringes of this question. It is a question whose answer deserves complete exploration before the nation is committed to the incalculable cost and the moral dangers of the course which is being urged. Its answer requires some kind of description of the dangers against which conscription is directed. Against whom are we preparing to fight a third world war before the second is ended?

The one suggestion which the champions of compulsion have put forward in answer to this question is contained in their claim that conscription is necessary if the United States is to carry out its obligations to the world security organization. How can they be sure what these obligations will be while the organization is still not endorsed by a single government? How can they know that we cannot fulfill our obligations if we revert at the end of the war to our voluntary system of military service? May it not equally be possible that huge conscripted armies may prove a hindrance instead of a help to a world security organization? They are certain to constitute a temptation to governments beset by economic instability to seek escape from domestic crises in foreign war or the preparation for war.

From any point of view which dares to state its major premise, a decision now for peacetime conscription would be a blunder of the first magnitude. That is why the following church bodies have already spoken in opposition to a wartime decision for peacetime conscription: the General Conference of the Methodist Church, the Northern Baptist Convention, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., the General Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, the annual conference of the Church of the Brethren. Numerous subsidiary groups of these and other denominations have also spoken in like vein. The Federal Council of Churches will consider the matter before its biennial meeting next month. With several of the principal denominations having spoken for delay, it is unlikely that that body will do anything else than oppose a decision to adopt peacetime conscription now.

It is probably too much to hope that Congress will pay any attention to the churches on this matter. If the secret forces which sometimes mysteriously move that body agree among themselves, they may sweep Congress off its feet before the churches have time to act. But if enough time is available, the churches may make themselves heard in unmistakable and irresistible power. For they speak for the fathers and mothers of America whose ideal for their children does not include the entanglement of generation after generation in the toils of militarism. They speak for the millions of their sons now fighting in the valleys of death all over the world.

The conscripters do not want to let these men state their views. The only nation that ever tried that was Australia. Twice in the First World War Australians under arms voted against making conscription permanent. Our men would do the same today. That is one reason why an attempt is being made to get the issue settled before they come home. It must not be allowed to succeed.

Write to your Senators and Representatives now, urging them to oppose peacetime conscription

For further information, additional copies of this flyer, or suggestions for action, write

OREGON COMMITTEE OPPOSING PEACETIME CONSCRIPTION

Norman F. Coleman, *Chairman* **Mrs. Nancy Renwick, *Secretary*** **John P. O'Hara, *Treasurer***

602 Stock Exchange Bldg. **BEacon 3247** **Portland 4, Oregon**

Printed in 100% Union Shop

February 1, 1954

Mrs. F. O. Clarkson
Cherokee Road
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Clarkson:

You and Mr. Clarkson were as kind to me as could be.

It occurred to me only yesterday, Sunday, that it may well have been Mr. M. Moran Weston who wanted the letter from you and not Oscar Lee; and when I could consult my notes, that was confirmed. If you haven't already written, you might address your letter to either Mr. Weston or to Dr. Pepper at the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

If you have been more than commendably prompt and have already written to Oscar Lee, never ming, because I am sure Oscar Lee will show a copy to Mr. Weston.

Again my warmest appreciation of understanding and kindness.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

JOSEPH L. CLARK
1421 FOURTEENTH STREET
HUNTSVILLE, TEXAS

April 19, 1954

RECEIVED
APR 20 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S, Mitchell
Executive Director
SouthernRegional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr, Mitchell:

I am pleased to acknoeldge receipt from your office of Memorandum # 1, relative to the approval of a grant from the Fund for the Republic to assist in the program of the Southern Regional Council and affiliated or cooperating groups.

The action of the Directors of the Fund for the Republic is commendable and highly appropriate. I know of no agency better qualified from the standpoint of purpose and personnel than the Southern Regional Council to administer the monies of such a foundation as the "Fund".

Please accept my heartiest commendation for the patient and painstaking work you have done in bringing this matter to a successful termination. You are to be congratulated.

I am sure that Mrs. Crate will be taking steps soon to insure prompt cooperation of the Texas Commission on Race Relations in this matter.

With personal regards and continued good wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

J. L. Clark

J. L. Clark

CC:
Mrs. J.S.Crate

April 20, 1954

Mr. Joseph L. Clark
1421 Fourteenth Street
Huntsville, Texas

Dear Mr. Clark:

How kind of you to write. I think of you as one of the real props of the TC.

Our whole purpose is to strengthen in each state a body which can continue after this part of SRC help is over. If you and your friends will put yourselves solidly to the job, I will have no doubt that Texas will come out with a stable and still more effective organization in this field.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

April 22, 1954

Miss Emily Clay
1020 Granada Street
Clearwater, Florida

Dear Emily:

We appreciate the clippings, and the message. More work, but more to do it with.

Come up this way some time!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Roland Hayes' picture is in the Constitution this morning - to sing at Spelman.

EMILY H. CLAY
1020 GRANADA STREET
CLEARWATER, FLORIDA

Congratulations!
I'm happy for
you + SRC.
Emily

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI

UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

UNIVERSITY DEVELOPMENT

April 24, 1954

RECEIVED
APR 28 1954
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta
Georgia

Gentlemen:

Having noticed the recent news item concerning the $240,000 grant from the fund of the Republic, Ford Foundation, may I inquire as to how the University of Mississippi may be of service.

In the event you have any literature or announcements concerning the utilization of this fund and its availability to state universities, I shall be glad to receive such information.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh Clegg

Hugh Clegg

April 30, 1954

Mr. Hugh Clegg
The University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Clegg:

Many thanks for your letter of Apri
24th.

The grant will be used to strengthe
in each of the twelve Southern states, exis
ing race relations organizations, mainly by
enabling them to take on paid personnel. I
Mississippi the Chairman of the SRC is Rabb
Charles Mantinband, 808 Mamie Street, Hatti
burg, Mississippi.

I do hope that the University will
take a friendly interest in the development
of our program in the state.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

New Correspondence
Cl

December 1, 1955

Mr. and Mrs. Gerald Clark
7 Cornelia Street
Apartment 4C
New York 14, N. Y.

Dear The Clarks:

We found with chagrin the other day that we hadn't written you since receiving your note and the copy of Jerry's article in Weekend. We are assuming that by now you are re-established in New York complete with new addition. On this assumption, our heartiest congratulations.

We read Jerry's article with great interest. I must confess that I thought at the time he had dealt a trifle harshly with the deep South. But in the light of more recent happenings, I have revised my opinion. I am afraid you gave us exactly the press we deserve. Needless to say, I appreciate the favorable references to me and to the Southern Regional Council.

I was in New York a few weeks ago while you two were presumably away. But I may be back again soon, in which case I will give you a call.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

Emily Clay 1020 Granada St.
Clearwater - Feb. 6, 1956, Fla.

Dear George,

In kindness to you, I should use the typewriter, but I'm too lazy to "haul it out" at night after using one off and on all through the day. I'll try to scribble a little more legibly than usual!

Thank you very much for your letter telling me about Dr. Alexander's death. A few days earlier I received a clipping from Elizabeth Matthews, in Atlanta, who worked with us so many years in the Interracial Commission, but it was very brief. I searched the papers down this way, as well as Newsweek, but found no mention of Dr. A. That seemed very strange, in view of the notable work which

he had done through the year. I am thankful that he did not have a long illness.

Thank you for paying me the compliment of asking me to write something about Mr. Alexander and the Commission. I wish I could do it. You know, however, that I am no writer, and I would not be satisfied to do a half-way job. Consequently, I shall have to pass up the opportunity to express appreciation for all that Mr. Alexander did for the Commission and the South.

The furor over de-segregation is distressing and alarming. I wonder why it could not have been handled in a different way. It seems to me that the South is suffering a great backset

in race relations. In the old days Dr. Alexander used to say that you could not legislate changed attitudes and I wonder sometimes if he wasn't right.

You will be interested, I'm sure, in the enclosed editorial from last Sunday's Clearwater Sun. I agree with Colonel Clearwater that the Governor of Florida has sunken to great depths by taking his recent stand against the Supreme Court decision, but then he wants to be re-elected!

I paid my dues in the Florida Council, but my job keeps me so tied down that I cannot be active. I hope, however, that the necessary support will be forthcoming and that a strong, effective organization will be

developed.

Best wishes to you and other Council friends.

Sincerely,

Emily H. Clay

To: HCF
From: GSM

I am sorry for the somewhat old-fashioned note struck by Emily Clay.

GSM

June 27, 1956

Mr. James J. Clark
Graduate Student
College of William and Mary
Williamsburg, Virginia

Dear Mr. Clark:

You and I cross paths incidentally because I do things with Lanier Hunt and he does things with you. Lanier wrote me the other day that you were to be at William and Mary.

I hasten to pass on to you my links with the College. I have a daughter named Ellen Mitchell who goes there. But that is immaterial because she is back in Atlanta this Summer, and next year she puts in a junior year in France. So she won't be around this Summer.

But I have a permanent friend at the College named Warner Moss who teaches government. Do go and see him. Good egg. Never mind any further excuse. Walk up to his house on Powell street and tell him you and George Mitchell have some hook together and Warner and his nice wife, Dorothy, will be your friends.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mr. R. Lanier Hunt

August 1, 1956

N. B. Close
General Delivery
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear N. B. Close:

I am not quite sure that N. B. Close is your real name, but as you have given General Delivery as your address, I will hope this letter will reach you.

Thank you so much for sending me the copies of Southern Reposure. I am certainly making use of them. The paper is delightful and you have used ridicule and satire as good weapons, and I hope those to whom I have given the copies will make use of the ammunition in it.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) M. E. Tilly,
Director of Women's Work

MET:mef

COPY

Office of the President
CLARK COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

August 5, 1960

Dr. H. Earl Cunningham
Post Office Box 871
Nashville 2, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Cunningham:

I appreciate your willingness for me to make the change in the date that I am to address the Leadership School from Wednesday evening, August 10, to Tuesday evening, August 9. This will facilitate my leaving at noon on Wednesday, August 10, to go to my meeting in Chicago.

I have talked with Dr. Harold Fleming regarding the change of date, and he has graciously consented to make the change with me.

Sincerely yours,

JPB:m

James P. Brawley
President

JPB:svm

cc: Dr. Fleming
Reverend Lowery

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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•
ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

September 18, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you very much for your thoughtful letter with regard to our publication on Race Relations in the United States. Eric Lincoln has undertaken to write the pamphlet and I am sure will be discussing this with you at some point in the future. I appreciate your comments. They are very helpful and we will be sending you first drafts of the manuscript as they are received.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC:re

October 5, 1961

Dr. Eric Lincoln
Clark College
240 Chestnut Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Eric:

I hear from Oscar Cohen that you will be writing an ADL pamphlet on Race Relations in the United States. This assures a good publication.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
cc: Oscar Cohen

CLARK COLLEGE
ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF
THE ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

October 10, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you very much for your encouraging letter of October 5 concerning the booklet on Race Relations I am preparing for ADL. I shall be calling on you soon for some advice.

In the meantime, I shall be lecturing at Howard University late next month, and while in Washington I should like very much to have the opportunity to talk with Harold Fleming about a project in Community Relations I would like to see established here at Clark. Prior to my trip to Washington, I would appreciate an opportunity to go over what I have in mind with you as I feel your advice and criticism would be of exceptional value. If you could give me an appointment sometime within the next two or three weeks, I would consider it a personal favor. Generally, I can get away from Clark after 10:00 a.m. in the morning.

Very truly yours,

C. Eric Lincoln
Administrative Assistant

CEL/adh

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

Pauline

Send "on" Clark col.

October 11, 1961

Mr. Eric Lincoln
Administrative Assistant
Clark College
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Eric:

I am not a hard man to see. Why don't you give me a call a little ahead of time whenever convenient for you and I am sure we can get together.

The only days I now know of which would be difficult are October 17, October 25, November 2 and 3, and November 6 to 9.

Looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

Cr. ref. Lincoln

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

C. Eric Lincoln
Clark College

REGARDING

Application for Guggenheim Fellowship and LWD's recommendation on behalf of Lincoln

DATE(S)

Correspondence from James Mathias &&&&&&&
dtd: 11/14/63
LWD REPLY - 12/17/63

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

&&&& "G" - gen. corresp. (John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fd.)

File "Cl" gen. corresp.

March 24, 1964

Professor Burce L. Clayton
King College
Bristol, Tennessee

Dear Professor Clayton:

Mrs. Albright suggested I read your article on William Garrott Brown. Thank you for sending it to us. I greatly enjoyed it. I do not know whether you are familiar with our little magazine, New South. I am sure Miss Long, its editor, would be delighted if you would consider contributing to it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (February New South)

Rec'd 1/20/66

TIDEWATER FAIR HOUSING, INC.

1845 Karen Lane
Virginia Beach, Va., 23451
January 18,1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In December of last year Rev. Robert Combs of the Virginia Council on Human Relations forwarded to you a copy of the activities of the Tidewater Fair Housing Committee as of Nov. 20,1965, with a proposed program and budget for one year. Our hope is that foundation funds will come to our assistance since most of us on the local committee are better able to give of ourselves than our limited finances. We would be happy to hear from you in this connection, with you suggestions as to what we need to do to qualify for such assistance.

I am planning on being in Atlanta for a meeting of the Continuation Committee of the National Conference of Friends on Race Relations on the weekend of Feb. 4th--6th, during which time I would like to talk with you further. My plane arrives at 10:05 on the 4th and I should be free until the later part of the afternoon.

I shall be looking forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,
Robert O. Clapp
Robert O. Clapp
Co-chairman, Tidewater Fair Housing, Inc.

Enc: Revised Fair Housing Statement
Activities through Jan., 1966

TIDEWATER FAIR HOUSING COMMITTEE

TFHC

In Co-operation With
The Presidents' Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing
And
The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

GENERAL AIMS:

To support and encourage freedom of residence in our community so that all persons, regardless of race, religion or national origin, can secure the housing they desire and can afford.

SPECIFIC AIMS:

To carry forward educational programs to inform the residents of our community about the nature of discrimination in housing and what can be done to combat it; to encourage owners and landlords to offer their properties on a nondiscriminatory basis; to give full co-operation to potential buyers and renters and to carry forth programs to stabilize newly integrated neighborhoods.

OFFICERS AND CHAIRMEN appointed November 1965 (Make up the Executie Committee)

There is a monthly meeting (the second Tuesday night of every month) at 8:00 PM at Virginia State College, Norfolk Division, in Tidewater Hall (main building with auditorium and cafeteria), Room 110.

Co-Chairmen: Mr. Norman Pollock, Norfolk (623-6012) and Mr. Robert Clapp, Virginia Beach (428-6900)

Recording Secretary: Mrs. Mary Rose Curtis (623-2973)

Telephoning: Mrs. Kitty Schwab (853-8680)

Corresponding Secretary: Mrs. Grace Curtin (JU3-1487)

Treasurer: Lt Cmdr. William Schwab (853-8680)
Dues are $1.00 annually for each member

Listing Service: Mr. Harry Reid (622-3038)

Speakers' Bureau: Dr. William Brazziel (855-1393)

Publications' Committee: Mrs. Edythe Haskett (625-4155)

Bibliography Committee: Mrs. Sylvia Waters (627-7024)

"Welcome Wagon" Committee: Mr. Ellis James, Jr. (853-2950)

Sponsors and Friends Committee: Rev. James H. Curtis (623-2973)

Stabilization of Neighborhoods Committee: Dr. William Brazziel (855--393) and Mr. Norman Pollock (623-6012)

Buyers' Education Committee: Mr. Charles L. DeJournette (853-5123/627-0215)

Accomplishments of Tidewater Fair Housing, Inc., Nov. 20-Jan. 18,1966

1. Groups contacted and support solicited as Friends of Fair Housing:
   The Christian Temple, Norfolk
   The Virginia Beach Society of Friends
   The Christian Action Committee of the Norfolk Area Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church
   The Portsmouth Council on Human Relations
   The Virginia Beach Board of Realtors--conversations with the president

   Scheduled meetings for January:
   The Norfolk Ministerial Association
   The Virginia Beach Ministerial Association
   The Virginia Beach Council of Church Women

2. Legal incorporation nearly consumated

3. Statement solicited from the Norfolk-Portsmouth Board of Realtists (Negro) in opposition to newspaper listings: For Sale, For Rent to Colored. Correspondance with newspapers.

4. Listing service inaugurated; home owners asked to offer homes on open occupancy basis.

5. Executive and Open Membership meetings held monthly.

6. 100 Fair Housing Handbooks purchased and in the process of being sold.

7. Layout of brochure presented to the Executive Committee.

8. Stabilization committee visits a newly integrated neighborhood.

Respectfully submitted,

Robert O. Clapp

Robert O. Clapp
Norman Pollock
Co-chairmen, Tidewater Fair Housing, Inc.

Bring up
Feb. 4
To See PA + M.S. today

January 20, 1966

Mr. Robert O. Clapp
Co-Chairman
Tidewater Fair Housing, Inc.
1845 Karen Lane
Virginia Beach, Virginia 23451

Dear Mr. Clapp:

Mr. Moreland Smith, the director of our Urban Planning Project and I will be available all day on February 4. We look forward to seeing you sometime during that day.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 3/30/66

CLARK COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

GEORGE McMILLAN
Journalist In Residence

March 28, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

May I pin down now your kind offer to hire one of my Journalism Workshop students this summer? How about $75.00 a week as a salary? I think it is going to take that much to get one of the students I have. I just placed one young man with THE NEW YORK POST at $128.10 a week and the MEMPHIS COMMERCIAL APPEAL is after me to furnish someone at $85.00 a week. THE WASHINGTON POST is paying $110.00--and all of these salaries are for summer apprentices.

What I am hoping is that I can find someone for you who can work for less because he or she lives in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

George

George McMillan

GM/c

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

March 30, 1966

Mr. George McMillan
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

With some reluctance, since it has serious consequences on our other student employment, we can meet the $75.00 a week salary. Pat asked me to pass on to you the hope that we can have a really outstanding student, and that we may be able to interview several before making a decision.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

(4)

CLARK COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 4, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Enclosed is a complimentary season ticket for the Clark College 1966 football season. A schedule of games is listed below. It is a pleasure to share this ticket and schedule with you; and we shall look forward to seeing you as often as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian W. Henderson

Vivian W. Henderson

VWH/ds
Enc.

CLARK COLLEGE - 1966 Football Schedule

Sept.	24	Lane	Atlanta, Georgia
Oct.	1	Fort Valley	Griffin, Georgia
	8	Tuskegee	Tuskegee, Alabama
	14	Knoxville	Chattanooga, Tennessee
	22	Savannah (Homecoming)	Atlanta, Georgia
	29	Morehouse	Atlanta, Georgia
Nov.	5	Open	
	12	Alabama	Montgomery, Alabama
	19	Open	
	24	Morris Brown (Thanksgiving)	Atlanta, Georgia

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

See Clark College

October 12, 1966

Dr. Vivian W. Henderson
President
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Vivian:

Many thanks for the season ticket for the Clark College football season. I look forward to taking advantage of this on several occasions.

See you in some northern city again one of these days.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Rec'd June 13, 1967

1305 Lynnbrook Drive
Arlington, Va. 22201
June 10, 1967

Dear Paul:

Just got a communication about constitution, etc. from American Friends of Wilton Park. Looking down the list of officers and board of directors, I was delighted to see ANTHONY on the board. I was amazed to turn the page and find CLAPP there --

Anyway, congratulations, I think.

Hear you just returned from England, and that you didn't find it too much to your liking. I leave next Monday -- I am following the Wis. crew (our #2 son is captain this year) to the Henley Regatta. Can you imagine it -- I am going to be a sports reporter? I shall visit relatives before I come back; hope to see Bath, Stonehenge, Cotswold, etc. for a few days before the 21 days are up.

See you at the board of directors' meeting. (We DO have meetings, don't we?)

Most sincerely,

Analoyce

Analoyce E. Clapp

File "Gen"

June 16, 1967

Mrs. Analoyce E. Clapp
1305 Lynnbrook Drive
Arlington, Virginia 22201

Dear Analoyce:

It's true you and I are both officially Friends of Wilton Park. As a matter of fact, I was elected a vice-president as well as being the only Southerner in the gathering, though the records don't indicate that, which may be just as well.

There will be periodic board of directors meetings, all in the East I expect, so we should be getting together sometime in the Fall.

Hoping your trip is enjoyable. Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Dear Al:

Thank goodness there is not the confusion about the quality of your excellent photographs that there is about paying for them!

By now your firm will have received payment for the other two bills and you will have learned that this payment also deducted the advance of approximately $204 for this portion of the work.

m The problem is this; your itemized bills add up to the ~~xxxxxx~~ exenditnes ~~xxx~~ itemized. Therefore, in each bill $200 and $204 is unaccounted for and not reflected in your invoices. To pay these amounts we ~~xxxx~~ will have to have still other itemized bills showing how these funds were spent.

Our auditors are pretty strict about these kinds of things, as we pay them to be. Although, in my memory I don't recall us ever having as much difficulty paying any bill following prompt and proper billing. sinc.pa

File "Al" General
Al Clayton

Green
cc
RHA

10-4-67

File "Cl. gen."

CLARK COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 26, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Many thanks to the Southern Regional Council for Pat Watters and Weldon Rougeau and their assistance to the Presidents of the Atlanta University Center with our students. They did us a significant service, and we appreciate it.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian W. Henderson

VWH/ds

cc: Mr. Pat Watters
Mr. Weldon Rougeau

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

You are invited to come by the residence of
President and Mrs. Vivian W. Henderson
1125 Fountain Drive, S. W.
Monday, October 14 8:00 - 10:00 p.m.
to say hello to
Dr. Stephen J. Wright
President, United Negro College Fund

Dr. Wright will be in the city to deliver the Convocation Address opening the centennial year at Clark College.

R.S.V.P. Regrets Only
524-7762

Called
Oct 9, 1968

file

The Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy
Clark College
240 Chestnut Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314
(404) 525-5293

PROPOSAL FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF THE WASHINGTON RESEARCH PROJECT
---First draft only

1.0 INTRODUCTION: This document proposes the establishment of the Washington Research Project of the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy for the purpose of conducting studies in the formulation of public policies at the Federal level. The Washington Research Project will provide educational opportunities for graduate and advanced undergraduate student, will develop research opportunities for students and faculty, and will utilize its developed expertise in seeking resolution of Federal public policy problems effecting the lives and well being of people living in the South. The Project will encompass both educational programs utilizing internships, research projects, special seminars, workshops, and conferences and a related major research effort. The Project will be an integral part of the activities of the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy.

This proposal projects the operation of an office in Washington from which the major activities of the Washington Research Project will

be run. The office is to be staffed by three or four full-time staff members who will hold the joint positions of Fellows and Instructors with the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy. The Washington office will include necessary secretarial support and materials for the work of the Fellows. The Project will also include the development of a two-semester seminar program to be conducted during the first semester at the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy and during the second semester at the Washington Research Project in Washington. The second semester of the seminar will provide student internships under the direction of the Fellows of the Project. In addtition, supporting research capacity will be provided through the development of a research assistant program for work in Washington, or at the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy, or in the field. The project will also support the development of undergraduate and graduate education at the schools of the Atlanta University Center by providing educational assistance to relevant courses offered at the Center. The research and intern programs will provide significant publications to be used in workshops or conferences for the public and the development of new courses or instruction in existing courses at the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy or the schools

of the Atlanta University Center.

2.0 THE SOUTHERN CENTER FOR STUDIES IN PUBLIC POLICY: The Center is an academic institution being developed on the campus of Clark College at the Atlanta University Center in Atlanta, Georgia. The Center has been established to develop a competence among graduate and advanced undergraduate students in understanding and dealing with public policy issues and to service the public by bringing to bear upon these issues the resources developed by the Center through its educational programs.

Planning is presently underway to determine the structure of the Center and the programs it will conduct during the first year of operation. The Washington Research Project will be the first major educational and research program to be undertaken by the Center. It will partially form the base of what will be the major programs of the Center. The Center is being designed to incorporate into its activities seminars, lectures, workshops, conferences, internships, and individually creative basic and applied research projects . The Washington Research Project as it developes with the Center will eventually encompass most of these activities.

3.0 THE WASHINGTON RESEARCH PROJECT

3.1 FEDERAL PUBLIC POLICY: The Project will be concerned with the formulation of, content of, problems raised by (and their resolution) present Federal public policy, especially as made at the administrative level, which directly effects the health and welfare of, particularly, people living in the South.

3.2 PURPOSES: The purposes of the Project are primarily to develop educational and research opportunities for faculty and graduate and advanced undergraduate students to enhance their capacities to deal with and understand public policy issues. The Project will also seek to develop through extensive research an expertise on the development of public policy at the Federal level and to bring this expertise to bear upon the making of Federal public policy.

The following specific pruposes are suggested:

3.2.1 To provide educational opportunities through which public policy formulation and programing can be understood and studied by students;

3.2.2 To provide on the scene problem solving opportunities

and contacts with policy makers for student through internships in Washington;

3.2.3 To improve the research and writing capacities of students and their abilities at dealing with public policy problems;

3.2.4 To improve instruction and coursework in related subjects at the schools of the Atlanta University Center;

3.2.5 To provide additional research opportunities for students and faculty on current Federal public policy questions;

3.2.6 To develop in-depth research and published materials on Federal public policy;

3.2.7 To service local groups and the public at large with the provision of these studies, conferences and workshops on Federal public policy;

3.2.8 To seek the resolution of Federal public policy questions an expertise developed through research.

3.3 ACADEMIC PROGRAMS: The academic program in the first two years of the project will consist of a two-semester seminar program to be conducted during the first semester at the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy and during the second semester through internships at the Washington Research Project. The first-semester seminar will serve as an introduction to policy making at the Federal level through investigation into several types of Federal programs, the public policy issues involved in the program, and the means by which these issues are or might be resolved. The seminar would attempt to develop some of the principles governing Federal public policy decision making and to develop some understaning of different types of Federal programs and administrative structures. As this seminar would serve as the basis for the second-semester seminar program in Washington, the types of programs considered would depend to a great extent upon the areas of research being undertaken by the Washington Research Project and the areas of research in which the students would be involved as interns in Washington.

The second-semester seminar will take place in Washington through the Washington Research Project. Each student from the first-semester seminar will be assigned as an intern to the Washington Research Project office and assigned a specific research project under the direction of one of the Fellows at the office. In addition, the intern will be given other shorter projects as they develop in the office. The seminar will meet weekly with the Fellows to discuss the research projects being undertaken, the activities of the office, and other matter effecting the formulation of public policy at the Federal level. Also, exposure as far as possible to the activities of the nation's capitol through luncheons, special visits, and special seminar meetings will take place.

Both seminars will be for credit at the the Center and Clark College and through Clark at the schools of the Atlanta University Center and other schools in the Atlanta area and the South. The first-semester seminar will be directed and graded by a faculty member hired by the Center for that purpose. The second-semester seminar will require the preparation of an extensive research document by the intern. It will be graded by the Fellow to which he is assigned, or by the entire groupd of Fellows,

or by an instructor hired to coordinate the intern program and to do the grading.

Students will be selected by the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy through a committee created for that purpose. Students in their junior or senior year of college or in a recognized graduate program at the schools of the Atlanta University Center or at institutions of higher learning in the Atlanta area or throughout the South will be eligible.

The first seminar will begin with the spring semester of the 1968-69 academic year and the first second-semester seminar will take place in Washington during the summer of 1969. While the second-semester seminar is taking place in Washington, the Center will begin another seminar similar to the first spring seminar . At the end of the summer, these students will go to Washington for fall semester as interns in a seminar similar to the summer second-semester seminar described above. During the fall semester another seminar will begin at the Center and these students will go to Washington during the spring semester. Finally, during the spring semester of

1970, another seminar will be begun and these students will go to Washington during the summer of 1970.

Recognizing initial time factors and the difficulty of internships during the regular academic year, the following schedule of interns is projected:

Summer, 1969	6
Fall, 1969	4
Spring, 1970	4
Summer, 1970	8.

However, as the opportunities arise, additional slots could be created and funded at a later date.

3.4 RESEARCH: Research activities at the Projectwill be conducted at two levels. The Fellows of the Project will conduct on-going research in the formulation, content, needs and directions of Federal public policy. This research will be the basis for publications on current public policy issues to be published by the Center. The Fellows will also be responsible for developing a program seeking the application of their developed expertise in the implementation of Federal public policy.

The second level of research activity will consist of part-time research assistance on specific assignments directed by the Fellows of the project. This research will be in support of the on-going

research conducted by the Fellows and could take place in Washington, or at the Center in Atlanta or in the field as directed by the Fellows.

The Fellows at the Project will be selected by the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy. Research Assistants will be selected jointly by the Fellows and the Center.

3.5 PUBLICATIONS, CONFERENCES, AND OTHER ACTIVITIES: The research documents developed by the Fellows, through the intern seminar, and by the research assistants will be published by the Center to the extent that they are publishable. The publications will be distributed to public officials, educators, students, and others as is necessary to disseminate the findings of the Washington Research Project. They will be the basis, along with the developed expertise of the Fellows, and the various interns, instructors, and research assistants, for the development of conferences and workshops for local public officials, students, and other interested persons including community action organizations.

3.6 STRUCTURE: The Washington Research Project will be a division of the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy. As such it will

be independant in its administrative arrangements in so far as the Washington aspects of the Project are concerned. The Fellows will be responsible for the hiring of the necessary secretarial staff, acquiring the necessary physical facilities, and furnishing them with office equipment and supplies. All salaries of the Fellows and the employees of the Washington Research Project in Washington will be paid by the project in Washington. The funds for the operation of the office and salaries will be transmitted to the Project office to be spent out of the Project's bank account in Washington.

Research Assistants, interns, instructors, and necessary supporting staff will be employed and paid by the Center or Clark College. Travel and publications will be coordinated by the Center. Thus the budget will be split into two categories: one portion necessary to fund the on-going research activities in Washington and another portion to fund the research assistant program, the intern program, publications and activities conducted by the Center.

The Washington Research Project, including the on-going research activities, the research assistant program, the internship program

and related programs taking place in Washington, will be under the day-to-day direction of the Fellows although they shall be directly responsible to the Director of the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy andits National Advisory Board.

3.7 BUDGET: The following budget is recommended to support the Washington Research Project of the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy during the academic years 1968-69, 1969-70:

Staff: Four fellows in Washington @ _____ per year for 2 years	_____	_____
Instructor at the Center @ $3,000 persemester for 4 semesters	$12,000.00	
Research Assistants _____hours @ _____per hour	_____	_____
Interns @$400/month 6-summer, 1969, 3mos. 4-fall, 1969, 4mos. 4-spring, 1970, 4mos. 8-summer, 1970, 3mos.	$29,600.00	29,600.00
Secretaries		_____
Washington _____@_____per year for two years	_____	
Atlanta 1 @ $4,000 per year for two years	$8,000.00	

Administrative	_____
Office space in Washington_____	
Office equipment in Washington_____	
Office supplies " "_____	
Postage, telephone in Washington_____	
Supplies in Atlanta---------_____	
Postage, telephone in Atlanta_____	
Travel	$5,000.00
Publications	$2,000.00
Misc.	_____
Total	_____

May 12, 1969

Mr. Bron Cleveland
141 The Prado, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Bron:

Enclosed is the check covering your expenses.

It is a very hectic time but I hope we can lunch soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

RECEIVED
DEC 14
Southern Regional Council

December 10, 1953

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am preparing to give a report to the senior class in Human Relations at the University of Miami concerning "Human Relations in Employment."

As a graduating senior about to enter the business world, I am particularly interested in this topic and would appreciate receiving printed material that would be helpful in constructing this presentation.

Sincerely,

William H. Conroy Jr.

William H. Conroy, Jr.
5798 S. W. 59th Street
Miami, Florida

FEPC
Negro income
Municipal workers

December 16, 1953

Mr. William H. Conroy, Jr.
5798 SW 59th St.
Miami, Fla.

Dear Mr. Conroy:

Several items related to Negro employment in the South have gone to you under separate cover: "A Look at FEPC," "Negro Family Income in the South," "Negro Municipal Workers in the South," and a bibliography of "Sources on Fair Employment Practice Legislation."

Several reports not included in our FEPC bibliography would be helpful:

Davis, John A. "Negro Employment: A Progress Report," FORTUNE (July, 1952). Reprints from Community Relations Service, 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

Dewey, Donald. "Four Studies of Negro Employment in the Upper South." Washington: National Planning Association, October, 1953. Available from the Association, 1606 N. H. Ave., NW, Washington 9, D. C. $1.25

Hope, John II. "Three Southern Plants of International Harvester Company." Washington: National Planning Association, September, 1953. Available from the Association. $1.75

U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Negroes in the U. S. Their Employment and Economic Status," BLS Bulletin No. 1119. Available from the U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. $.30

If you are interested in the integration of Negroes into Southern industry, the John Hope study analyses the experience International Harvester has had in integrating its three Southern plants.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

Charge for materials:

Pamphlets	$.30	Postage	$03	Total	$.33

January 19, 1954

Mr. Donald Comer
Avondale Mills
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Comer:

Last year I wrote you and asked if you could help our Council with some fiscal nourishment; and you write that you were budgeted up for 1953, but I should "try you again" in '54. I try.

We've put the year on getting people educated toward tolerance and democratic action in whatever situation may result from the forthcoming Supreme Court decision. We've had notable cooperation from all the Churches and from many organizations with local roots. Our "Questions and Answers, the Schools and the Courts" has sold 30,000 copies, entirely for use by locality leadership; and a companion booklet, "A Check List for Your Local Schools" has helped many small discussion groups to find the facts on present differences between white and Negro schools and to build supporting opinion for agreed improvement. I send the two pamphlets and a few recent issues of NEW SOUTH.

I had much pleasure a few months ago at Tuskegee in calling a roll of Southerners of an earlier generation who first bent our economy toward the discipline of industry and praised them as carriers of a more fruitful tradition than some whom we commemorate in equestrian bronze: Hammett, and D. A. Tompkins, and Captain Smythe, and your father whom I recall interviewing at his roll-top desk at the mill.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

Enclosures

FOUNDED IN 1897 BY GOVERNOR B. B. COMER

SELLING AGENTS FOR FABRICS
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RECEIVED
FEB 1
Southern Regional Council

Birmingham, Alabama

January 28, 1954.

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 342, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

I have your letter George and I am going to have to ask you to pass me by again. Things are not too good for the moment and I am trying to conserve rather than to expand right now.

Yours very truly,

Donald Comer.

DC:sm

February 4, 1954

Mr. Robert R. Coveyou
129 Orchard Lane
Oak Ridge, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Coveyou:

This is in belated response to Martha Gerrard's kind letter of January 23. Perhaps the most useful thing I can do for you is to send you a copy of this letter dictated today to the head of our forces in Mississippi.

Alfred Mynders, Editor of the Chattanooga Times, is also Chairman of SRC's now-quiescent division in Tennessee. He is especially well informed about school matters. Any of your friends who could talk with him would be assisted. If there were funds to enable me to come up and meet with the group at Oak Ridge, I think that I could give them a good deal of experience and encouragement from other places.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh
Enclosure

March 23, 1954

Mrs. J. H. Cook
Slater, S. C.

Dear Mrs. Cook:

Dr. Mitchell asked me to write you that the National Planning Association's studies of Negro employment in the South are available from the following address:

National Planning Association
1606 New Hampshire Ave. NW
Washington 9, DC

"Three Southern Plants of International Harvester" by John Hope II (SO - 6:1) sells for $1.75. "Four Studies of Negro Employment in the South" by Donald Dewey (SO-6:2) covers the North Carolina area and sells for $1.25.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

March 23, 1954

Mrs. Gretchen Conduitte
Jackson Free Library
Jackson, Tenn.

Dear Mrs. Conduitte:

We are very glad to learn that the Jackson Free Library is doing everything that it can to give regular service to Negro patrons.

Since the publication of the survey several other libraries that failed to return questionnaires, or have changed policy since the query, have written to tell us that they too belong on the list. We are planning to list these in NEW SOUTH in the near future, along with the information that Darlington, S. C. has recently elected a Negro library board member.

Dr. Reddick and I have been exchanging responses from the two articles, and I know he will be particularly interested in your letter.

I sent two copies of the library issue to you separately on March 18th. We are able to distribute only a limited number of publications free and would appreciate your sending ten cents each for the issues.

Thank you for your interest and information.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

Glencoe Union Stain
MADE IN U.S.A.

Community Chest and Council
201 SOUTH STREET
HARRISBURG, PA.
PHONE 8-8387

HAROLD R. PROWELL, PRESIDENT
B. CARL WHARTON, 1ST V-PRES. RUSSELL J. CHARLES, 2ND V-PRES.
CHARLES H. GRAFF, TREASURER
L. S. MULLER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

April 22, 1954

Mr. Harold Fleming, Assoc.Dir.
Southern Regional Council
62 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I read in the New York Times a week ago of the sizable grant made to the Council. I just wanted to write to say how happy I was to read that your work had been recognized and that now you would be able to expand your activities.

I know that you are now too busy to engage in polite correspondence. You don't have to reply to this letter but sometime in the future let me know of the results of your work if you publish such an interim report for I am very interested.

Please give my best to Jane and the baby.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank A. Cleaver
Assistant Director

Community Chest and Council
201 SOUTH STREET
HARRISBURG, PA.
PHONE 8-8387

HAROLD R. PROWELL, PRESIDENT
B. CARL WHARTON, 1ST V-PRES. RUSSELL J. CHARLES, 2ND V-PRES.
CHARLES H. GRAFF, TREASURER
L. S. MILLER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

April 23, 1954

Mr. Harold Fleming, Assoc.Dir.
Southern Regional Council
62 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I forgot to include in my note yesterday one special piece of information. While in North Carolina I was tremendously impressed by Dr. Floyd Hunter at the School of Social Work in Chapel Hill. He is author of the book, "Community Power Structure" and has received a grant from the Ford Foundation to do special studies in the field of race relations as they relate to the Community Power Structure.

Floyd and I became very good friends and if you have not had contact with him it might be a good idea to do so for he has a lot of information that might be of value to you.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank A. Cleaver
Assistant Director

RECEIVED
APR 26 1954
Southern Regional Council

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EST. A AVONDALE M 1897

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PELL CITY, ALA.
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Birmingham, Alabama

July 1, 1954.

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
Wesley Memorl Bldg.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have just seen a copy of the Augusta Courier and notice that my name is still listed as a director of the S. R. C. I would be glad for you to let the records show that I am no longer a member or director of this group.

Yours very truly,

Donald Comer

Donald Comer.

DC:sm

RECEIVED
JUL 1 1954
Southern Regional Council

July 6, 1954

Mr. Donald Comer
Avondale Mills
Sylacauga, Alabama

Dear Mr. Comer:

We had seen the Roy Harris "exposure" of this good Southern Regional Council, and had been sorry for the gay and evil way in which the paper had listed various of our sometime Board members, implying disapprovable connections!

We did of course cease to list you as a Board member at the end of your one-year term (1949-50). SRC isn't the sort of show that continues to carry Board people after resignation or expiration of term!

Our best guess-reconstruction of how such "historians" as the one used by Mr. Harris proceed is that they make use of the documents required of hundreds of foundation-assisted organizations by the House Committee on Foundations, in its first period when the late Congressman Cox of Georgia was Chairman. Among other papers required was a complete list of all persons who had been, or were then, Board members or officers, with their terms. In good faith we sent up the list, only to confront at a later date the near-certainty that it was "mined" by would-be red-hunters, who evidently took the list and began to hunt for scandalous items which could link this or that person with some outfit that had incurred criticism at one time or another. These "researchers" amaze with their gall; I merely make mention that practically all of those included in the Harris effort are impeccably patriotic -- yourself most emphatically included. 'Tis but an incident that though the terms of the Board membership were fully available no mention is made of these terms; a reader is left with the impression, as quite naturally you were, that all are currently officially related to us.

Here is a copy of a letter we have been prepared to send to any responsible newspaper which should pick up the Augusta Courier's "charges." As of this writing no-one has, so the letter is unsent, but it accurately expresses our views. I send, also, a letter which the President of SRC has mailed to the Attorney-General of Georgia.

Sorry so rascally a matter takes your time.

My continuing admiration for your concern in matters truly helpful to the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.
(written by Dr. Mitchell
Signed in his absence)

Cokesbury BOOK STORE
72 BROAD ST. N.W. • ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Lloyd H. Snyder, Jr., Manager
Telephone: WAlnut 8935

July 6, 1954

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Congratulations on your part in the recent study "The Negro and the School." I sincerely consider this a most interesting, informative and important book, and hope that it will receive the wide reading it deserves.

Perhaps some of your friends will be wanting to know where they can secure this, and we wanted you to know that we are keeping this in stock in both the cloth and paper bound editions. All current copies are the revised edition with the Supreme Court Decision.

We will also have the other books in this series of studies as they are published.

Cordially,

COKESBURY BOOK STORE

Lloyd H. Snyder Jr.

Mananger

LHS:esm

FOUNDED IN 1897 BY GOVERNOR B. B. COMER

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Sylacauga, Alabama

July 12, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JUL 14 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of July 6th came on to me to Comer, Alabama. To tell you the truth, I just don't remember how and when I became a member of your Council. I was a member of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. I attended their first Conference in Birmingham, when Mrs. Roosevelt came down , as you remember. But I afterwards resigned from that Conference because I didn't feel like it was really representative.

My recollection insofar as your Southern Regional Council; I found myself in disagreement regarding your position on race relations. It seems to me that I wrote you that I was thoroughly in sympathy with the intentions and purposes, but I didn't like the procedure.

I remember so well the very pleasant evening that Mrs. Comer and I spent with you and Mrs. Mitchell on our back terrace at our home in Birmingham. And I hope that if you are ever in Birmingham again that you will let us know so that we will have the pleasure of having you out for another dinner on the terrace.

Very sincerely,

Donald Comer
jsv

August 28, 1954

Mrs. Ida Belle Coan
213 Rigby Street
Manning, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Coan:

That was nice of you to join us, and we appreciate it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS
FRANKLIN ADMINISTRATION BUILDING
THIRTEENTH AND K STREETS NW.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

September 30, 1954

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director for
Program Development
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

Thank you for your letter commending our progress in the integration of the schools. The splendid cooperation of our school personnel, the parents and the community has added greatly to the smoothness of the transition.

Enclosed is a copy of the handbook on intergroup education which was prepared by our curriculum department.

Sincerely yours,

H. M. Corning

Hobart M. Corning
Superintendent of Schools

HMC/gm

SUMMER HOME
NEW HOPE, PA.
TEL. NEW HOPE 3420

MORRIS LLEWELLYN COOKE
CONSULTING ENGINEER
CHESTNUT HILL • PHILADELPHIA

FOR MAIL • PHILADELPHIA 19, PA.

November 14, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
906 Lullwater Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The foreign economic aid program has been transferred to the State Department, and the appointment of John B. Hollister (a lawyer until recently a sort of general manager of the Hoover Commission) to devise policies and administer the approximately three billion dollar program, has been confirmed.

The first year of any new set-up in Washington is a time of tension. Any Administration is sensitive to public approval or disapproval of new policies. Consequently we two - signers of this letter - who have both been directly interested in Point Four since its inception and before, believe that now is the time to establish a citizens' advisory committee to observe, appraise and influence decisions of a policy character during the next few years.

We believe this committee should be composed of about 50 persons who conceive of Point Four in the broad terms of a major international peace effort along economic and social lines - more than half of them chosen from outstanding citizen leaders or men of broad public recognition and influence, the balance from those who have had major responsibility for administration and policy in the Point Four field, government and non-government. At first the committee can be served through the facilities of the Public Affairs Institute without much cost. As the burden of work requires, we would seek to obtain the services of a full-time secretary.

The committee would not undertake work requiring any great amount of time of the members. As occasion demanded, it would examine a major policy issue by committee or otherwise and decide how best to handle it, by a meeting with those responsible, press release, or otherwise. We believe the very existence of this committee would have a salutary effect on the administration of Point Four.

We are writing to ask whether you deem this proposal practicable and important enough to warrant you in joining with others of like mind in establishing the committee. Before the membership of the committee is announced, we will send you a list of your associates.

Sincerely yours,

Morris L. Cooke

Morris Llewellyn Cooke

Dewey Anderson

Dewey Anderson

RAILROAD STATION • ALLEN LANE, P. R. R. TELEGRAPH • CHESTNUT HILL, PHILADELPHIA TELEPHONE • C. H. 7-4104

Engagement (?)

Nov

November 15, 1955

Mr. Morris Llewellyn Cooke
Consulting Engineer
Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia

Dear Mr. Cooke:

Many thanks for the letter of November 14th, signed by yourself and my warm friend Dewey Anderson.

Perfectly willing to serve, but I haven't any means of meeting expenses of getting to conferences.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED
12-1-54
Southern Regional Council

Route # 2
Greenville, S. C.
November 30, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Exective Director
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am a student at Furman University and I am taking a course in Child Welfare and I am writing a term paper on "The Trends in Deseregeration". I secured a copy of the "New South". It will certainly help me in writing this paper and I wonder if you would mind sending me some pamplets which deal with this subject.

Thank You for your time and efforts.

Yours truly,
William M. Cox
William M. Cox
Route #2
Greenville, S. C.

December 2, 1954

Mr. William M. Cox
Route #2
Greenville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Cox:

The Council has never been rich enough to supply its publications for scot free, but we try to be helpful. I can send you two or three back numbers, and do.

I have also written to your library at Furman and told them that they ought to subscribe to New South.

I think you would find that a lawyer named Richard Foster, with offices in the Curb Market Building, would have a complete file of the back issues of New South. He is chairman of the South Carolina Division of the Southern Regional Council.

Ordinarily, what we do with somebody who needs dope, and who sends no ten cents', is send him a publications list. But they told me that the publications list is in the process of re-mimeographing and none can be had.

I suggest that you would find suitable heads of your paper to be in the fields of employment, professional associations, municipal services, recreation, governmental participation, and education -- higher and less high.

Best luck. Hope you get an "A".

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
New Souths sent under separate cover.

ALBERT E. COBO
Mayor

REV. JOHN E. COOGAN
Chairman

JOHN J. CONSIDINE
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City of Detroit

COMMISSION ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS

902 CITY-COUNTY BUILDING
400 WOODWARD AVENUE
DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN
WOODWARD 5-4200, EXT. 7191

JOHN H. LAUB
Secretary-Director

BEULAH T. WHITBY
Assistant Director

Community Services
JOSEPH C. COLES

Education Division
ALMA F. POLK

Research Division
RICHARD V. MARKS

NEW ADDRESS
1106 Water Board Building
735 Randolph Street

January 10, 1956

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I hope you remember that I spoke to you at NAIRO about the possibility of coming to Detroit for a community program. I am sorry that I did not get this letter to you before you received one from Dr. Robert Frehse for the Program Committee of the Coordinating Council on Human Relations.

I have been authorized by the Detroit Chapter of the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority to invite you to be the principal speaker at their regional conference which convenes in Detroit May 5, 1956. The Sorority will pay your travel and living expenses while you are in Detroit. This Sorority conference is closed to members only.

We thought that it would be excellent if while you are here you could also speak to a wider community group for the Coordinating Council on Human Relations. This is a federation of about fifty agencies in the Detroit area which have a special concern for human relations. I function as the Executive Secretary for this Coordinating Council. The date would have to be Friday, May 4 rather than May 17 as stated in Dr. Frehse's letter. The reasons for this change have been explained to Dr. Frehse.

I hope that you can work these requests into your schedule. I'll write you in detail later about the content of your speeches. Now I am especially eager to get confirmation of these dates.

You made a fine contribution to the NAIRO Conference, and it was good to see you again.

Sincerely,

Beulah

(Mrs.) Beulah T. Whitby
Assistant Director

BTW:McC

9C-
DE

January 12, 1956

Mrs. Beulah T. Whitby
CITY OF DETROIT
Commission on Community Relations
1106 Water Board Building
735 Randolph Street
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Mrs. Whitby:

I have received your letter inviting me to Detroit on May the 5th and outlining the change in schedule for the meeting with the Coordinating Council from May the 17th to May 4. I will be glad to speak to both groups, Alpha Kappa Alpha and the Coordinating Council.

Thank you for your kind words about my contribution to the NAIRO Conference. Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director

FBR:mf

cc: Dr. Freshe

January 26, 1956

Mr. R.L. Cousins
State Education Department
Education Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Cousins:

I forward separately some account of the recent honor done your brother.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

April 30, 1956

Mrs. Beulah T. Whitby, Executive Secretary
Coordinating Council on Human Relations
City of Detroit
Commission on Community Relations
1106 Water Board Building
735 Randolph Street
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Beulah:

Have received your letter and wire and am looking forward to seeing you this Friday and Saturday.

Biographical material for introduction might include:

Reared Coral Gables, Florida
A.B., M.A., University of Miami (Florida)
Doctoral study, NYU
Professor of Human Relations, University of Miami (three years)
Summer teachings: NYU, University of London, Sorbonne, University of Heidelberg, University of Michigan.
Assistant Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia

I will stay out at my brother's house while I'm in Detroit and will thus save Alpha Kappa Alpha some money. I will call you when I get into town very probably Friday morning.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBRmcf

RECEIVED DEC 14 1956

HELEN LOUISE COHEN
94 OLIVER STREET
ROCHESTER 7, NEW YORK

Dec. 11/56

Dear Dr. Mitchell:-

Here you are in print!

Thanks for seeing it through and for sending me all the material - Glad to have the pamphlet, too -

Best wishes -

Sincerely

Helen L. Cohen

Please tell the secretary the bill may have started on May 22, but it did not reach me. I do read my mail, upon the ads, and suspect bills extremely!

HELEN LOUISE COHEN
94 OLIVER STREET
ROCHESTER 7, NEW YORK

RECEIVED JAN 2 1957

Dec. 27/56

Dear Dr. Mitchell:—

I'm not trying to keep this correspondence going — only thought you would want the enclosed. Just saw it, for the Mrs. Cousins, like everything else, picked up during the pre-Christmas jam.

This "Stanley Moss" is a prolific reactionary (?) — definitely not the world-wise "letters to the Editor" as a vocation, one would suspect. I know nothing about him except that he is against anything

[He is not to be confused with the thoroughly O.K. Stanley Morse, son of the late Josiah Morse, friend of your family at U. of S.C.]

In the same copy of N.R. is some of your resignation from SRC — which I regret — More power to you, Coherism!

Perhaps you will not see in this, but I hope you will — thanks for yours of Dec. 17 — ("posthumous", wasn't it?)

Happy New Year in your new home! Can't coming to the frozen northern prairies? Sincerely,

Helen L. Cohen

January 2, 1957

Miss Helen Louise Cohen
94 Oliver Street
Rochester 7, New York

Dear Miss Cohen:

I was glad to see the business done by the wretch Stanley Morse. But we have all thought the matter not worth pursuing in further printed letters.

Morse's letter contains a variety of lies.

(1) I was not an incorporator of SRC. This silly error was made originally (I would guess), by some clerk for the man Roy Harris, who runs a smelly sheet called the Augusta Courier. I think the object may have been to fill the hole left by the careful omission from the list of incorporators of the respected Bishop Arthur Moore.

(2) The "apparent" purpose of setting up the SRC in 1944 to escape condemnation as a red front would be disproved on simple dates. I don't remember when in 1944 the House Committee spoke against the SCHW, but it must have been late in the year, and SRC was chartered in February, 1944, on the basis of discussions and meetings running back into 1942.

It is most doubtful that Ralph McGill was ever a member of the SCHW (no discredit -- he just disliked the people). At any rate he editorialized against it from the beginning, and he was always a friend of ours.

But I am not in the business of running down the SCHW; I sat on its Board for two years or so, and helped it push what I thought were worthy causes.

I am gone off to Scotland, March 8th. I will cease duty status here January 15th, and pack and get rid of my house. I propose to buy a croft in the remotest Highlands, perhaps near Applecross. We will have a two-unit motel there next door, and you must please come and stay. It will be wide open for free each year when it shall have taken in enough to get me at the bottom edge of British income taxes!

You have been a kind friend. I glory in Charleston, and still expect her charm to come to the surface in public purpose.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

7BR

Cox Roost
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee
April, 1957

Greetings!

Eight months ago the Coxes moved their roost just across the Mississippi border to a spot called, of all things, Whitehaven! We found a sheltered lot with many trees and high hedges on either side to give us a certain sense of security. The new housing developments and the crowded city seemed impossible to us after the beauty and peace of Providence. So when we found this spot we decided to settle here with the trees and the illusion of seclusion! When the final note is paid, we'll be a frisky 70 and 76.

Another, and perhaps more important, reason we chose to locate here was due to the good reports we had of the churches and schools. We live about one mile from the school where Carol is a sophomore, Pat is in the 8th grade of Junior High, and Ann is in the 5th grade of the Grammar School. They are finding places for themselves in school and in the very active program of the Whitehaven Presbyterian Church. Carol won an award as best actress in the High School last November during a tournament of class plays. Pat and Carol are on the Senior and Pioneer Councils at the church and played on the basketball team, which won the tournament in the Church League in Memphis. The transition from a school of 350 students to one of over 3,000 seems to have been quite painless thus far. The temptation to get into too many activities compels one to evaluate the needs and one's capacities and interests.

Lindsey finds herself chairman of 8th grade sponsors, a 9th grade Sunday School teacher, and World Mission Chairman of her circle. Once a month she cooks supper for about 65 men of the church. She is one of the church volunteer workers in the program at Western State Mental Hospital. Daily Vacation Bible School, Summer Church Camp Conferences, and helping with the church softball team should speed the summer months.

Since October 1, 1956, Gene has been serving as Director for the Rural Development Program for the Division of Home Missions of the National Council of Churches. The work, which is both new and challenging, will take him eventually into most of the southern states. The U. S. D. A. has designated something over 50 counties as pilot projects in its Rural Development Program and Gene's responsibility is that of encouraging church participation and program at the local level.

Many of you have written us concerning the outcome of the serious situation in which we found ourselves in the winter of 1955. As we wrote last Christmas, our future was very uncertain. The work at the clinic improved after the new Sheriff took office in January, 1956, and our hopes of staying on seemed brighter for a time. Then as the school year closed for the children, rumors and threats started again. By mid-June we finally faced the fact that our contribution might be of more value in other areas. There are no words to express the sadness which came with the breaking of ties with the many loyal friends in Mississippi.

The blessings of hard physical work were appreciated those last days we were together at Providence. Dave was treating patients up through the last night. Sue was busy packing at home. Shirley Henderson and Lindsey kept occupied helping Dave and getting ready for the moving van at the clinic. And so, finally, early on July 26, 1956 the Minters headed west in their "covered station wagon"--new horizons, new hopes for service! What a lucky state is Arizona! The Hendersons moved to Mt. Beulah Christian Center, Edwards, Mississippi, where both Shirley and James are participating in the new program there. Our great loss has been the companionship of friends with whom we could share freely those things closest to our hearts and know that there would always be sympathy and understanding and fellowship.

And so here we are. Perhaps it is good to be uprooted just as middle age starts to make one feel settled and comfortable. Our concern now is to keep from becoming too active. We do hope anyone coming this direction will stop for a visit. The airport is less than 10 minutes from our home. A local bus from Memphis passes in front of our door and will take you to the heart of the city in about 30 minutes. Highway 51 is just a long country block to the east and highway 61 is about 2 miles to the west of us. We always welcome visits from old friends or friends of friends, so "you all" come!

Thanks for the wonderful Christmas messages of love and concern. They have certainly helped us this first Christmas away from "Home"!

Affectionately yours,

Gene & Lindsey
Carol, Pat & Ann

May 15, 1957

Dr. W. H. Collie
309 Third Street
West Palm Beach, Florida

Dear Dr. Collie:

This will introduce Marvin Jones, a good friend of SRC's and mine, who has accepted the directorship of the Northwest Branch of the Y. M. C. A. in Fort Lauderdale.

I would personally appreciate it if you and your good wife would make a point of welcoming him and his family to the South Florida area. They are a delightful couple and you will be well rewarded in calling them friends.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Roth,
Assistant Director

FBR:cj

May 31, 1957

Mrs. E. M. Comer
Secretary to the President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Comer:

Please know our deep appreciation for the many tasks you and Miss Davis have performed for us during this last collection of conferences. We are most grateful for your generosity and patience.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

W. H. CORKREAN
REALTOR — LA 5-9336
847 Cornell Ave.
Albany, Calif.

RECEIVED JUN 26 1957

June 22, 1957

Mr Harald C. Fleming.
Southern Regionald Council.
Atlanta Ga.

Dear Mr Fleming;

I read about you and your good work in Sun. 23, San Francisco Examiner, copy enclosed, I am also sending a News item from our local El Cerrito Journal, which should be of interest to you and your associates.

Sincerely yours.
W.H. Corkrean
W.H.Corkrean.

MONEY MAKING FARMS • RANCHES • HOMES • MOTELS • HOTELS • RESORTS • BUSINESSES

June 27, 1957

Mr. W. H. Corkrean
Realtor
847 Cornell Avenue
Albany, California

Dear Mr. Corkrean:

A word of encouragement as far away as California is especially appreciated. It was very thoughtful of you to send me the copy of Mr. Price's article and the excellent clipping from the El Cerrito Journal.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosure - 1 copy of "Toward the South of the Future."

RECEIVED AUG 22 1957

Community Council

OF GREENVILLE COUNTY

110-A West McBee Ave. Dial 5-7310

GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

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ROBERT L. WALDROP, JR.
1ST VICE-PRESIDENT

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W. C. NAU
REV. JOHN A. PINCKNEY
MRS. W. B. PRICE
MRS. WILLIAM SCHULZE
L. L. STANLEY

W. GORDON BUNCH
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

August 21, 1957

Mobile Office
Albert J. Foley (Spg Hill)
Dade Co. Council Comm. Rels.
(Bill Wms)
Nville Conf.
(New Orleans)
Daytona Beach
(Davidson)

Mr. Harold Flemming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Flemming:

The Community Council of Greenville County has been requested to study the need for and propose a workable plan (if the need exists) for the formation of an Interracial Arbitration Commission. Such a group would not be a pressure or political organization but one to work towards increased understanding between all population segments, faiths, etc.

A Committee is at work exploring all angles to this. It is interested in obtaining information about other such groups with specific reference to:

1. Why they were formed?
2. Who spearheaded the movement?
3. What is their purpose?
4. What are they doing?
5. What are they achieving?

Any leads that you may give to the location of such groups and the persons to whom one could write for information would be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

John A. Pinckney

Rev. John A. Pinckney,
Chairman

JAP:bm

member UNITED FUND agency

September 6, 1957

The Reverend John A. Pinckney
Chairman
Community Council of Greenville County
110-A West McBee Avenue
Greenville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Pinckney:

My apologies for this delay in answering your letter of August 21, but it has taken some time to determine what there might be in the South that is similar to the kind of committee you have in mind.

We have found very little in communities comparable to Greenville in location and climate of opinion. There have been several in recent years, but they seem to be mostly inactive. You are familiar, I am sure, with the bi-racial committee appointed several years ago in Rock Hill. More recently, the mayor of Mobile, Alabama appointed a bi-racial committee to be concerned with arbitration of racial problems, alleviation of tensions, and an increase of communication between Negro and white citizens. I believe that this committee is still formally in existence but there has been no evidence of its activities for some time. A letter to the mayor of Mobile or to Father Albert J. Foley of Spring Hill College there would no doubt yield more details about the formation and functions of that commission.

As you may know, a group of private citizens of both races make up a very active Nashville, Tennessee Conference on Community Relations. This group includes in its membership representatives of both races, the various religious denominations, and various community leadership groups.

Its stated purpose is "to retain the friendly relations our community has achieved in many fields, and to help resolve, in a lawful manner, unresolved problems, prejudice, discrimination, and group tension, upon a friendly, firm, and lasting basis." In line with the more advanced situation in Nashville, this group actively supported the court approved plan of the local school board for gradual school desegregation. However, it has in common with your proposed commission the fact that its formative purpose was not advocacy but harmonious resolution of community differences. More information could be obtained by writing the chairman, Mr. Maclin P. Davis, Sr., 709 Westview Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee.

Another community that has begun very gradual desegregation - Charlotte, North Carolina - has an interracial group made up of civic leaders of both races. This is the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Council on Human Relations, 121 E. Third Street, Charlotte, North Carolina. This group has also supported its school board's plan for gradual desegregation, but again has been primarily concerned with maintaining good relations in the midst of officially determined change in the schools.

We know of other local interracial groups in the lower South, but it does not seem to me that they would offer much in the way of precedent for the quasi-official body you have in mind.

We are glad to know that the Community Council of Greenville County is engaged in this kind of constructive exploration. If we can be of any further assistance to you, do not hesitate to call upon us.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Circulate

People Helping People in Fulton, DeKalb, and Cobb Counties

RECEIVED OCT 3 1957

TRI-COUNTY COMMUNITY CHEST

167 Walton St., N. W., Box 1038, Atlanta 1, Ga. / JAckson 5-3481

OCTOBER 2, 1957

Dear Friend:

This year more than ever we need your cooperation and support in making the Social Agencies Section of the 1957 - 58 Community Chest Drive a big success.

Once again we would like to ask your cooperation in making plans to this end.

First, will you look at the drive with the thought that it is not a duty but a real opportunity to be of service to your fellow man?

Second, will you make your own pledge a generous one?

Third, will you ask <u>each member</u> of your staff to give as much as they can in order to make the 1958 goal go over the top?

The Goal for Social Agencies this year is $3500 without your help we won't be able to raise it.

This letter is just a little reminder because each year the agencies have given as much cooperation as could be asked from anyone and we are secure in the knowledge that you will again join us with the same fine spirit.

Sincerely yours,

C. M. Lowe
(Mrs.) C. M. Lowe

N. M. Towns
(Mrs.) N. M. Towns

CML/mek

GOAL $2,335,098

CAMPAIGN CHAIRMEN / HENRY BOWDEN, M. E. GRANT, CARL KOTCHIAN, JACK TARVER

SAY YES

To Your Tri-County Coummunity Chest

because . . .

© Copyright 1957
Walt Disney Productions

Serving people of Fulton, DeKalb and Cobb Counties

1957 Red Feather Agencies

of your Tri-County Community Chest

Encls: Highlander Folk School propaganda sheet
Congressional Record - July 24, 1957
Myles Horton's Statement
Firing Line Analysis

October 10, 1957

Mr. Ed Conry
WALL STREET JOURNAL
Burnett Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Ed:

As I promised, here are a couple of antedotes to the poisonous propaganda that T. V. Williams supplied me with. I thought you might also be interested in the statement that Highlander Folk School put out.

I hope your swing has been successful and that you have all the raw material you need. Sorry we missed connections, but perhaps we can remedy that before too long.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

Collins

October 23, 1957

Mr. Robert F. Collins
Attorney
1470 North Claiborne Avenue
New Orleans 16, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Collins:

It was a real pleasure to meet you and have a chance to discuss some of our mutual interests the other evening on the plane from Atlanta to New Orleans. I am enclosing a copy of our study "Prosegregation Groups in the South" in which you expressed interest.

Let us know if there is any further information or service which we can render to you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant.

Enclosure.

EFV:fcl

JAMES C. DONNELL, II
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OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CORPORATE BODY: NATIONAL BOARD OF YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

291 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

DIGBY 9-0700

RECEIVED OCT 30 1957

October 28, 1957

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Friends:

I am writing to ask your designation of the best book or other publication that affords authentic account of the founding, policies, development and achievements of the Interracial Commission, which Dr. W. D. Weatherford informs me merged into the Regional Council. I will hope for one that remains in the market for purchase.

Will you add please the meaning of a pamphlet or brochure that sets forth the present program and scope of the Southern Regional Council?

With thanks, Yours Sincerely

Ethan T. Colton, Sr.

Ethan T. Colton, Sr.
103 Overlook Road
Upper Montclair, N. J.

October 31, 1957

Mr. Ethan T. Colton, Sr.
103 Overlook Road
Upper Montclair, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Colton:

Your letter of October 28th concerning the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and the Southern Regional Council has been referred to me. I am mailing you a copy of our brief account of the origins and aims of the Southern Regional Council and a copy of the Congressional Record of July 26, 1957. You may also be interested in having a look at a thesis written by Edward Flud Burrows entitled: The Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 1919-1944. This thesis was done at the University of Wisconsin and you would be able to borrow a copy through the New York Library interagency loan facilities.

If we can be of additional help concerning your thesis, please do not hesitate to write. We also would like to see a copy of your finished work.

With very best regards,

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/mf
Enclosures: 2 - Origins and Aims of SRC
Congressional Record, Friday, July 26, 1957

November 7, 1957

Mr. Ed Cony
Wall Street Journal
Burnett Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Ed:

Thank you very much for the recent clippings you sent me.

I thought the Tuskegee story excellently done and so did Harold. He asked that I send along his appreciation for mention of the Council, and for the general positive elements in the article.

I do hope I will see you soon here in Atlanta as you indicated in your last telephone call. Please do not hesitate to call on us whenever we can possibly be of help.

Again thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

RECEIVED DEC - 2 1957

Nov. 28/57

Helen Louise Cohen

94 Oliver Street, Rochester 7, New York

Dear Mr. Fleming: -

H 10.00 CR
Rhs

This enclosed will cover my subscription to Hist Southw plus a donation to SPL for this current year.

I continue to wonder, however, about your business methods. I seem never to receive a notice that my subscription is up and I received quite approach some form of notification annually from your office. This form of

"self-service" is not much to my liking - I could easily forget all but your organization appear to be eager to send reminders - May I depend on hearing from you in the future?

Sincerely

Helen L. Colvin.

mc

Is there any news from the Mitchells? I presume they really did become crofters in the Highlands.

December 4, 1957

Miss Helen Louise Cohen
94 Oliver Street
Rochester 7, New York

Dear Miss Cohen:

In the absence of Mr. Fleming your letter of the 28th has been called to my attention.

We are most grateful for your contribution and for your continued interest in the Council. Our receipt is enclosed and we have noted that your subscription to New South has been paid for the coming year.

As to our business methods, I am afraid you are right in that they leave room for considerable improvement! In this particular instance however, we have you listed in our category of "associate members." This term continues to identify a few of our good friends from outside the region who remain with us from the time when the council had a general membership in the South. Since earlier in the year you were kind enough to contribute to the George Mitchell Tribute Fund we did not feel that you should be billed for New South.

We do hear from the Mitchells occasionally. They are in Scotland; address, The Lodge, Glencoe, Argyll, Scotland. They are building a house and doing much of the work themselves. From the pictures they have sent, it is in the remotest of the Highlands. They seem to be enjoying the experience but

it is questionable that such activity can be called retirement!

Again, we are most grateful for your interest in and support of the Council and we will see to it that you are not left with the "self-service" method in the future.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Enclosure - 1 official receipt

December 10, 1957

Mr. A. E. Cox
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Cox:

Here are the promised Georgia Education Commission's folders on Highlander.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Encls.

VIA AIR MAIL

February 6, 1958

The Commodore Hotel
42nd Street at Lexington
New York, New York

Dear Sirs:

This is to request a single reservation for February 12 and 14; time of arrival, uncertain, approximately 4:00 P. M., on the 12th.

I will appreciate a confirmation at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

February 6, 1958

U. S. Department of Commerce
Room 604, Volunteer Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send us the two publications, Population Mobility, By State and Population Mobility, Farm, Non-farm Movers. Enclosed is check for three dollars and twenty-five cents in payment.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encl. (check)

VIA AIR MAIL

February 21, 1958

The Commodore Hotel
42nd Street at Lexington
New York, New York

Dear Sirs:

This is to request a single reservation for March 5th and 6th; time of arrival uncertain.

I will appreciate a confirmation at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

KINGSTON COMMUNITY CHEST

162 WELLINGTON ST., SUITE 11 Telephone 2-2674 KINGSTON, ONTARIO

COMBINING THIRTEEN INDIVIDUAL APPEALS FOR THE LOCAL NEEDS OF THE SALVATION ARMY, VICTORIAN ORDER OF NURSES, CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., CANADIAN NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR THE BLIND, GIRL GUIDES, BOY SCOUTS, KINGSTON WELFARE COUNCIL, ST. VINCENT DE PAUL SOCIETY, ST. JOHN AMBULANCE, SUNNYSIDE CHILDREN'S CENTRE, ARTHRITIS AND RHEUMATISM SOCIETY.

February 28, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh, Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

While attending the recent PR Conference of the United Community Funds in Cleveland I met several people from Georgia whose names I can no longer remember. However, they suggested that if I contacted you I might be put on your mailing list for ~~additional~~ occasional pieces of information relative to the question of integration in the south.

As a Canadian interested in affairs beyond our own Dominion, I would appreciate receiving any mailing pieces that are available.

Yours sincerely,

John W. McCallum
Executive Director

March 4, 1958

Mr. John W. McCallum
Executive Director
Kingston Community Chest
162 Wellington Street, Suite 11
Kingston, Ontario, Canada

Dear Mr. McCallum:

Thank you for your letter of February 28th requesting information on what is happening in the integration processes in the South. I am sending you, separately, a number of pieces of material which I hope you will find informative. I am also sending with this letter our publications list.

We have an excellent little magazine, New South, the subscription to which costs $2.00 per year. Several issues are being sent with the packet of materials and if you believe the magazine sufficiently worth while we would welcome your subscription. We will put you on the mailing list for other materials which from time to time we send out.

It is always good to hear from Canada for I spend most of my summers up there just outside Hamilton. Thank you for your interest in our problems down here.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enclosure.
FBR:fcl

March 19, 1958

Mr. Glenn Brooks
Committee on Government and Higher Education
108 West Thirty-Ninth Street
Baltimore 10, Maryland

Dear Glenn:

We were glad to be of assistance in sending those extra clippings and you must excuse us for our zeal in sending along our own correspondence file. It is well that this was to a friendly source and not to one of the people mentioned in the news clips, or the gold medal would have been a lead weight on an anchor chain!

You are right, the Alcorn case is reported in vague and ambiguous terms. I believe, as you indicate, the real story was too hot to handle.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT AND HIGHER EDUCATION

108 West Thirty-Ninth Street • Baltimore 10, Maryland

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DR. J. L. MORRILL
STAFF
DR. MALCOLM MOOS, *Director*
DR. FRANCIS E. ROURKE, *Assistant Director*

March 18, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Again, sir, we owe you a gold medal for your assistance. The newspaper clippings on the recent activities of southern governors are eye-openers. The Alcorn A & M case was one that had completely slipped past us. Don't you think the articles about that student strike and the firing of the president are unusually ambiguous and vague, as if the real story was too hot to state in clear terms? That was the impression I got. And while the South Carolina case has to do with private colleges, there is no question about what Timmerman would do if a similar situation arose in a state college.

Incidentally, in the zeal of the SRC to give us information, you included your own correspondence file in your last letter. I herewith return it, and don't even ask for a reward.

Cordially,

Glenn

Glenn Brooks

GB:jm

March 13, 1958

Mr. Glenn Brooks
Committee on Government and Higher Education
108 West Thirty-Ninth Street
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Glenn:

I have had our Research Assistant go through the files for information regarding State interference with institutions of higher learning. They are enclosed. The most legitimate instances you will find among the enclosures are: 1) Governor Griffin's interference with the Georgia Tech Sugar Bowl game, 1955; 2) Allen University and Benedict College in South Carolina; 3) Legislative protest when a Negro student singing a lead in an opera at the University of Texas; and 4) Alcorn A & M College student strike and Governor Coleman's action in Mississippi.

This was just a hurried search through the files but it indicates the type of action being taken by State Governments in interfering with college and university activities. Finally, the clipping on the return of Federal funds by Clemson University indicates a conflict of State law and Federal grants with non-discriminatory clauses.

It was good to see you while you were here in Atlanta en route to the meeting in Athens. If we can be of further help, as they say at the Fund for the Republic, please feel free to call on us.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl
Enclosures.

new file
file in US Govt Depts

December 17, 1957

Dr. Malcolm Moos, Director
Committee on Government and Higher Education
108 West Thirty-Ninth Street
Baltimore 10, Maryland

Dear Dr. Moos:

Thank you for your kind letter of December 9th. We were only too happy to assist Mr. Glenn Brooks, your representative.

I am sending with this a copy of an article from The New Republic which pretty well summarises the Guy Wells episode. The outcome of the affair is not specified in this article. What happened was this: 1) Dr. Wells' title of President Emeritus was taken away from him by the Board of Regents. 2) The State Retirement Fund Board refused to take away his retirement benefits.

Dr. Wells is still the "happy warrior" and is doing a good job of reaching some of the power structure of the state with a message of democracy.

If we find any further information which might be of interest to you we will be happy to send it along.

Please give my regards to Glenn Brooks.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enclosure.

FBR:fcl

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT AND HIGHER EDUCATION

108 West Thirty-Ninth Street • Baltimore 10, Maryland

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STAFF

DR. MALCOLM MOOS, *Director*
DR. FRANCIS E. ROURKE, *Assistant Director*

December 9, 1957

Dear Mr. Routh:

On behalf of the Committee on Government and Higher Education, I am writing to thank you and Mr. Fleming for your kind reception of our representative, Mr. Glenn Brooks, while he was conducting field work in Georgia.

We look forward to reading the information about the clash between Dr. Wells and the powers-that-were.

Should anything further turn up in Georgia that you think might be relevant to our interest, we would very much like to hear about it. Meanwhile, be assured that we deeply appreciate the assistance you have already given us.

Sincerely yours,

Malcolm Moos

Malcolm Moos

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Charge to the account of SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. $

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1206

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

March 21, 1958

COMMODORE HOTEL
42nd STREET AT LEXINGTON
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

PLEASE RESERVE SINGLE ROOM MARCH 25 AND 26.

WIRE CONFIRMATION COLLECT.

HAROLD C. FLEMING
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco

437 MARKET STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 5 • EXbrook 2-3877

For equality of right and opportunity without regard to race, religion, or ancestry

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ANNIE CLO WATSON, Secretary • EDWARD HOWDEN, Executive Director • DR. HELEN E. AMERMAN, Assistant Director

April 28, 1958

Dear Colleague:

About a year ago you were kind enough to furnish us with information about press practices respecting racial identification in news stories.

With apologies for taking so long, I am happy to enclose a copy of the report compiled on the basis of that research.

If at some future date we can be of help to you on such a fact-finding survey, we shall gladly try to return your helpfulness.

Sincerely yours,

Helen E. Amerman

Helen E. Amerman
Assistant Director

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VIA AIR MAIL Special

June 13, 1958

The Commodore Hotel
42nd Street at Lexington
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Would you be kind enough to reserve a single room with bath for Mr. Harold C. Fleming for the nights of June 18th and 19th (Wednesday and Thursday)? Please confirm these reservations.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to Mr. Fleming

MF

June 18, 1958

Mr. Charles Livermore, Executive Secretary
Commission Against Discrimination
270 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Chas:

The strange crunching noise you hear out of your south window is your old sea dad eating crow because of the tragic developments in the Pennsylvania elections. 'Course, being a Southerner, I am taking it in liquid form - old crow with branch water; it's the branches you hear crunching.

On to 1960!

Me too,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Carbon copy to Honest John Lariet

MEMO : From the Executive Suite of CHARLES LIVERMORE

27 May 1958

Dear Fred:

Oh the bitterness of it. Hot on the heels of the postman with your letter came the newsboy with the Pennsylvania election returns.

Now all we have to do is wait til 1960. Then in the best tradition of the North, I will buy you a drink -- and drink it.

Likewise,

Chas.

COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

711 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

JUL 7 1958

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your letter responding to our request for information on your development activities.

We are sorry to have bothered you with our questionnaire since your organization does not conduct the type activities on which we are gathering information.

Sincerely,

Donald R. Gilmore

Donald R. Gilmore
Assistant Director
Area Development Division

July 2, 1958

Mr. Robert H. Ryan
Director
Area Development
Committee for Economic Development
711 Fifth Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Ryan:

Enclosed, uncompleted, is your survey form on area development activities. As an organization principally concerned with race relations, this Council is interested in the economic development of the South and resulting opportunities for both white and Negro Southerners. We do not, however, carry on the kind of activities with which your survey is concerned.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

711 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

6/23/58

June 20, 1958

HCF

Miss Katherine Stoney
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, South East
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Stoney:

The Committee for Economic Development recently established an Area Development Program, the objective of which is first to learn more than is currently known about what contributes to economic growth at the local and regional levels of the economy, and secondly, to assist development efforts directed toward achieving sustained growth. In case you are not familiar with CED, we are enclosing a short statement outlining its objectives and composition.

CED is currently engaged in a comprehensive survey and evaluation of various types of development activities being carried out in the United States by a wide variety of public and private organizations.

The name of your organization, as one that conducts development activities, was given us by a state planning and development agency. We have drawn up a survey form to gather information on the development activities of your organization and other similar groups.

We shall appreciate it very much if you will answer the questions on the enclosed form which apply to your organization and return the completed form to CED by July 8. Even if you engage in no development activities, please indicate this and return the form.

Your replies to the questions will be kept in strict confidence! They will not be seen by anyone other than authorized employees of CED who will edit and tabulate the replies which will be combined with those of other organizations for interpretation and evaluation purposes. We will, of course, send survey participants a summary of the findings.

A duplicate copy of the questionnaire is enclosed for your files as well as a self-addressed, postage-paid envelope for your convenience in replying.

Sincerely,

Robert H. Ryan

Robert H. Ryan
Director
Area Development

SURVEY
of
Development Activities

CED

LOCAL, REGIONAL and
STATE DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS

August 11, 1958

Mr. Elmer A. Carter, Commissioner
State of New York, Executive Department
State Commission Against Discrimination
270 Broadway, New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Carter:

Thank you for your letter of August 7. I will be glad to pull together a summary of my proposed statement for Harry Golden who by-the-by is an old friend of mine. I hope to get at this the latter part of this week. Our Executive Committee meets tomorrow and I'm pushed just now, but I didn't want to leave you dangling. Hence, this brief note.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

September 12, 1958

The Commodore Hotel
42nd & Lexington
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Would you please reserve a single for Mr. Harold Fleming for September 17 and 18.

Please use the enclosed stamped envelope for confirmation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/hs

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Ltr. to Gov. Leroy Collins of Florida with cc to SRC
from a Mr. William L. Williams

REGARDING

"The Columbians" and the organization's chief constituents

DATE

November 24, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Corresp. Gen. - "Wi"

VIA AIR MAIL

November 26, 1958

The Commodore Hotel
42nd Street at Lexington
New York, New York

Gentleman:

This is to request reservation of single room for three nights beginning Monday, December 1st. I should reach the hotel between 10 and 11 P. M.

If time permits, a confirmation will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

K.C., Mo
18 December, 1958

Dear Fred,

I don't like to bother anyone around the holiday season, believing that such times could be better employed in contemplating the true Christmas Spirit, the joy of giving and receiving, the tree and everything around it including that bottle of Old Grand-dad, or, if you're that kind of character, your navel. But you will agree that time is running out on my article. Unless I do something with it fairly soon, practically everything I've said will be said by someone else--if it hasn't already--and the average editior's reaction will be--"old hat". So, Freddie, if you will arouse yourself from whatever you people do in the South at this time--and I haven't kept in touch lately since the border guards have been tightened and the barbed wire increased--gather up all the comments, criticisms and possible sources of eager editors and ship them to me--not forgetting the article itself--I'll remember you at the office party next week--the one starting this week-end, that is--and silently drink you a toast.

I do want to get the damned thing over with and out of my hair as well as mind. If it has a chance--with revisions--to get published somewhere, fine; if not, I'll file it with all my other memoirs and go on to something else.

All the very merriest to you and let's have a nice time in Chicago in March.

Regards,

Bill

ref'd

6 Jan 59

VIA AIR MAIL

December 31, 1958

The Commodore Hotel
42nd Street at Lexington
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

This is to request reservation of single room for three nights beginning Monday, January 5th in the name of Mr. Harold C. Fleming.

Please confirm this reservation by wire collect.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to Mr. Fleming

MF

January 6, 1959

Mr. William H. Gremley
Executive Secretary
Commission on Human Relations
City Hall, 25th Floor
Kansas City 6, Missouri

Dear Bill:

With sincere apologies for the long delay in getting it back, I am returning your Ms on "Leave the South Alone" or perhaps better entitled: "Why the South Can't Be Left Alone."

Several of our professional staff members have read the Ms and I quote from their comments:

"Makes a number of important points - well written, but somewhat belabors a number of the points."

"Omits a number of important points (e.g., outmoded political system, other controlling institutions, leadership factors)."

"Deals with the South as homogeneous - does not deal with the great variations among sub-regions or states. There is no solid South, even on this issue."

"Tends to be patronizing toward the South; infers that practically all Southerners think and feel alike on this issue."

"Well done generally but too long."

"Blends the professional approach and the popular language rather well; would be helpful to get it on the market."

My own feeling is that in its present form it is longer than most magazines will accept. It would seem then that two alternatives are open to you: 1) tighten it up considerably, or 2) divide it into a series of articles - with some expansion of each.

Once more, sorry it took us so long; hope this helps. One last thing, The Reporter, The Progressive, The New Republic, or The Nation are most interested in this sort of analysis.

Best wishes for the New Year.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure - 1 (Manuscript)

March 9, 1959

The Commodore Hotel
42nd Street at Lexington
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Please reserve a single room for three (3) nights, beginning Monday, March 16, in the name of Mr. Harold C. Fleming; late arrival.

Please confirm reservation by return mail.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF

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Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
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NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 (4-55)

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MARCH 13, 1959

HOTEL COMMODORE
42nd STREET AT LEXINGTON
NEW YORK, NEW YORK.

PLEASE WIRE COLLECT CONFIRMATION ON HOTEL RESERVATION FOR MR. HAROLD C. FLEMING, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 63 AUBURN AVE., ATLANTA, GA.

MRS. MILDRED FLOWERS

VIA AIR MAIL

March 16, 1959

The Commodore Hotel
42nd Street at Lexington
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

You are holding hotel reservations for Mr. Harold C. Fleming for three nights beginning tonight, the 16th.

This is to request cancellation on these reservations, since Mr. Fleming will not be making the New York trip.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to Mr. Fleming

MF

Bridgeport Inter-Group Council, Inc.
925 Main Street — Telephone EDison 6-3577
Bridgeport 3, Connecticut

JC

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RECEIVED APR 24 1959

April 22, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are hoping that you can supply us with information we were unable to find in our local library. It is most likely that you have done a study or know of a study on the subject.

What newspapers in the country mention the race of an alleged criminal in reporting a crime - and which papers do not? Also, which states, if any, have laws forbidding the listing of the race or national origin of a criminal?

Thank you very much for your cooperation in this matter.

Truly yours,

Frank J. Corbett

Frank J. Corbett

FJC:ec

April 30, 1959

Mr. Frank J. Corbett, Executive Director
Bridgeport Inter-Group Council, Inc.
925 Main Street
Bridgeport 3, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Corbett:

Mr. Fleming asked me to answer your letter of April 22, 1959, concerning newspaper policies toward alleged criminals. I am sorry to have to write that we cannot be of much help to you. We have no study on individual newspapers and their practices in this area, nor can I turn up any information which would lead me to believe that any states prohibit the use of race or national origin in news stories.

The book "State Laws On Race And Color" published in 1950, does not list any such laws. The nearest it comes to this subject is the prohibition in certain states of literature which tends to expose any individual or religious groups to hatred, ridicule or contempt.

I am enclosing a copy of a pamphlet the Southern Regional Council published about ten years ago, called "Race In The News." This is a general treatment, however, and I don't believe will be of much value to you in answering the questions you pursue in your letter.

Again I am sorry we cannot be of much aid to you in your project.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosure

May 7, 1959

Chamber of Commerce of State of New York
65 Liberty Street
New York 5, New York

Gentlemen:

Please send us a list of Chambers of Commerce in the United States. We are enclosing a check in the amount of one dollar for cost.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Enclosure

56

May 8, 1959

Mr. L. Lee Coleman
37 Hamilton Road
Glen Lennox
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Lee:

Paul Anthony asked me to answer your letter of May 5, 1959, concerning limited distribution of books.

The policy of SRC in this matter is that books that we have in quantity are available for distribution to key leaders. The ones we now have on hand are:

ACTION PATTERNS IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION — A GUIDEBOOK
SEGREGATION By Robert Penn Warren
THE LOUISVILLE STORY By Omer Carmicheal and Weldon James
THE NEGRO POTENTIAL By Eli Ginsberg

We also have additional pamphlets such as The Baltimore Story, The Economic Aspects of School Closings, and The Truth about Desegregation in the Washington, D. C., Schools, which are available to key leaders.

Let me know if you can use any of this material.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

37 Hamilton Road
Glen Lennox
Chapel Hill, N. C.

May 5, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony, Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your prompt reply to my letter addressed to Fred Routh. The materials and information you sent will be useful.

I would like further clarification on one point: In response to my inquiry as to whether non-Council books and publications are available for giving to key persons, you sent one copy of The Louisville Story, without any statement as to policy. I will be able to make good use of this book, but would like to know whether additional copies of it and others are available for limited, sparing use with key leaders I talk with. If so, which ones are available besides the Louisville one: the Dobbs book?--Tumin?--Brooks Hays?--A.D.L. desegregation series? In the past some of these have been supplied for my use as a consultant; but no one has ever told me whether I could occasionally give them to community informants.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely yours,

A. Lee Coleman

A. Lee Coleman

ALC/anc

cc: Dr. John Hope

37 Hamilton Road
Glen Lennox
Chapel Hill, N. C.

May 15, 1959

Mr. John Constable, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

Thank you for your letter providing the information I requested about Council policy in regard to distribution of non-Council publications. Since I have now completed my work in Durham and Raleigh, this may be largely in the category of "information for future reference." However, I am writing some follow-up letters and may get some requests for publications in response to these.

Meanwhile, I would appreciate receiving two copies of The Louisville Story and one of Action Patterns in School Desegregation. I have already given a Durham school-board member the copy of The Louisville Story that Mr. Anthony sent, and I believe I can place these copies in strategic places in this area. If I get more requests, I'll send for more.

I have the pamphlet Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools but not The Baltimore Story which you mention. If the latter is a correct title, I'd like several copies of it. I do not have Economic Aspects of School Closings and would be glad to receive one or two copies.

Thank you, and best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Lee

A. Lee Coleman

ALC/anc

Request for: The Louisville Story (2 copies)
Action Patterns in School Desegregation (1 copy)
The Baltimore Story (several copies -- if correct title)
Economic Aspects of School Closings (1 or 2 copies)

Material sent:

The Louisville Story (2 copies)
Action Patterns (1 copy)
Economic Aspects (2 copies)

May 18, 1959

Dr. A. Lee Coleman
37 Hamilton Road
Glen Lennox
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Lee:

Thank you for your letter of May 15. We are sending you, under separate cover, copies of the material you requested.

The Baltimore Story is the one you already have.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

VIA AIR MAIL June 11, 1959

The Commodore Hotel
42nd Street at Lexington
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Please reserve a single room for two (2) nights, beginning Wednesday, June 17, in the name of Mr. Harold C. Fleming.

Please confirm reservation by return mail.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Executive Director

MF

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

September 23

MF--

Please send biog. data on Dabbs to the following, at request of Bob Thompson:

done 9/23/60 MF

Mr. Ernest C. Cooper
402 First Federal Building
St. Paul 1, Minn.

HCF

EDWARD S. CORWIN
OLD STONE HOUSE, STOCKTON ROAD
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Oct. 7, 1949

Dear Leslie — My sincere apologies for neglecting so long your letter of Aug. 11th — The crux of the matter is that not until two days ago did I have time to give some attention to that Special Report; & even now my examination of it has been "spotty" — yet I feel that it bears out the optimistic evaluation of the Southern situation given in your letter.

I'm glad of it — for what with prevalent strikes and the sky

filled with ~~with~~ Russian Sputniks and Satellites, the world doesn't present a very pleasant outlook for one who feels already the weight of 81 years!

Thanks for your letter and for the Special Report

Blessings on you & yours; & do come & see us in the near future.

Ever yours with warm regard —

Edward S. Carson

October 21, 1959

Hotel Commodore
42nd Street at Lexington
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Please reserve a single room in the name of Harold C. Fleming for the nights of Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday; October 27 - 29. Mr. Fleming will be arriving in the late evening on Tuesday.

Confirmation by return mail would be appreciated.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to Director

mf

October 21, 1959

file "Co" Gen. Corresp

Professor Edward A. Corwin
Old Stone House
Stockton Road
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Professor Corwin:

Many thanks for your letter of October 9. I am glad that you found our special report to have some interest, and peculiarly glad that you detected some optimism in it. I did not feel very optimistic when I wrote it and I was afraid the results would show it. I did try, however, to keep the hard, bright flame of hope aglow and am glad that some of it shone through. As we put out things that I think might interest you, I shall sent them on.

I don't travel often, but I think that when I do get North again I shall take a detour, if necessary, if only for a few hours. In the meantime, give our best wishes to Mrs. Corwin.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

NOVEMBER 16, 1959

HOTEL COMMODORE
42ND STREET AT LEXINGTON
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

RESERVE SINGLE FOR HAROLD C. FLEMING, NOV. 18 and 19 (WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY). MARK LATE ARRIVAL NOV. 18. PLEASE CONFIRM. WIRE COLLECT.

MILDRED FLOWERS
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E.
ATLANTA, GA.

VIA AIR MAIL November 25, 1959

The Commodore Hotel
42nd Street at Lexington
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Please reserve single for Harold C. Fleming for two nights (Wednesday and Thursday) December 2 and 3. Mark late arrival.

Please confirm by return air mail.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to Mr. Fleming

MF

VIA AIR MAIL

January 6, 1960

The Hotel Commodore
42nd Street at Lexington
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Please reserve single for two nights beginning Wednesday, January 13th for Harold C. Fleming. Late arrival.

Confirm by return mail.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to Mr. Fleming

MF

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$
S
E

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL.	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

JULY 15, 1960

THE COMMODORE HOTEL
42ND STREET AT LEXINGTON
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

RESERVE SINGLE AIR-CONDITIONED ROOM FOR HAROLD C. FLEMING FOR THREE NIGHTS BEGINNING JULY 19. CONFIRM BY WIRE COLLECT MONDAY.

MRS. MILDRED FLOWERS
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E., RM. 432
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

July 26, 1960

Mr. John Collins
107 Jackson Street
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Mr. Collins:

I enjoyed our conversation yesterday afternoon and will look forward with interest to further word of your proposed project. Will Campbell's address is:

Associate Executive Director
Department of Racial and Cultural
Relations
National Council of Churches
P. O. Box 1083
Nashville, Tennessee

I am adding the name of Mr. Brewster Kneen to our general mailing list.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

September 6, 1960

The Commodore Hotel
42nd Street at Lexington
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Please reserve single rooms for the following two (2) persons:

Mr. Harold C. Fleming - late arrival
(Three nights beginning September 18)

Mr. James M. Dabbs - late arrival
(One night - September 20)

Please confirm by return mail.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF

CONFERENCE ON MAJORITY RULE IN CONGRESS

Mayflower Hotel * December 28, 1960

As organizations with an interest in legislation which has been impeded in the past by the existence in Congress of roadblocks to the democratic process, we cordially invite you to participate in a conference on "Establishing Majority Rule in Congress."

The Conference will be held at 10:00 A. M. on December 28 at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D. C. At the meeting, we will learn from representatives of the Democratic and Republican parties their plans to implement pledges in their party platforms to improve Congressional procedures. The Conference will serve also to dramatize the interest of a great number of public service organizations in Congressional procedures which permit the will of the majority to prevail.

As you know, the issues of rules reform are manifold and complex. In the House, the problems include the composition of the Rules Committee, the near veto power of the committee over measures reported by legislative committees, and its power to kill legislation passed by both Houses of Congress by refusing to permit a conference. In the Senate, the roadblocks include the filibuster, undemocratic procedures in legislative committees, and the failure of conference committees to follow the expressed will of the Senate.

Democratization of congressional procedures in some or all of these areas is crucial to the enactment of legislation for the general welfare.

Thus, we hope that you will be able to participate and will invite six representatives of your organization to attend. The National Education Association, Conference of U. S. Mayors and AFL-CIO are among the organizations which have indicated they will participate. We will write to you again about the details of the program.

Sincerely yours,

Nathaniel S. Keith
President, National
Housing Conference

Louise Stitt, Chairman
Board of Directors
National Consumers League

Rudolph Danstedt, Director
Washington Office, National
Association of Social Workers

Roy Wilkins, Chairman
Leadership Conference
on Civil Rights

We do_____ expect to attend the Conference on December 28 at the Mayflower Hotel in the East Room.

do not_____

Number of delegates_____

Please reserve single_____room(s)
double_____room(s)

Signature
& Title_____

Organization_____

Mr. William L. Taylor
Conference Coordinator
1341 Connecticut Ave. N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF MILDRED FLOWERS

TELEGRAM - telephoned in Jan. 25, 1961

COMMODORE HOTEL
42nd STREET AT LEXINGTON
NEW YORK

PLEASE RESERVE SINGLE ROOM FOR HAROLD C. FLEMING 2 NIGHTS BEGINNING MONDAY, JANUARY 30. REPLY COLLECT BY NIGHT LETTER.

MILDRED FLOWERS

July 17, 1961

The Honorable Eugene Cook
Attorney General
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Gene:

Let me thank you again for receiving our foreign correspondents on Friday. We were very anxious to show them every extreme of life and ideas in Atlanta on this race business, from Atlanta's Negro slums to plush west-side residential sections -- and distinguished Georgia viewpoints ranging from yours to Dr. Benjamin Mays.

I fancy it's not easy to face the incredulous wonder and firm differences of viewpoint which you encountered in our foreign visitors, so I compliment you on your interview. It is hard these days to find so gracious and literate a segregationist, and we hope you will do as much for us again.

It was really very good of you to give us an hour on such short notice. It would have been quite distressing for the Council and for the State, I think, if you had not helped us out since Mr. Gear and someone in your office had broken appointments with them.

My best to Julia.

Gratefully,

(Miss) Margaret Long
Director of Information

ML:lec

P.S. Did you ever get hold of a print from Jackson of a picture of my daughter? If not, I'll come over some morning to look at yours.

M.L.

December 4, 1961

Dr. Sam Cook

Please tell class they are only asked to read " The Negro and the Ballot" - the green one - for next week.

Leslie W. Dunbar

Montez,

Please let Bob Coles (when he comes ~~on~~ in (next week, I believe) see this correspondence. It may be filed after he's seen it.

mmj

RC
mmj-file

July 9, 1962

Mrs. Frances Coe
3580 Watauga
Memphis 11, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Coe:

I was in Madison a few days ago and Bill Foster showed me the confidential report you sent him on loan regarding the adjustment of the 13 Negro children in desegregated classrooms of Memphis. It is an interesting document.

I realize that this has to be kept close but I wonder if you would be able to let us have a copy for a while. My special reason for asking is that during the past year Dr. M. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist, has been working on our staff, supported by grants from the New World Foundation and the General Education Board, in studying the problems of children in desegregated schools of Atlanta and New Orleans chiefly. I know that he would be tremendously interested in this report.

Incidentally, Bob is someone whom either you and our other friends in Memphis or the Memphis School Board might well take advantage of. He has learned an awful lot in the last year. If you ever wanted him to come to Memphis for a quiet visit, I am sure he could.

W We still remember very pleasantly the time that Pam spent with us. I hope she is well and happy at the AFSC.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

July 19, 1962

RECEIVED
JUL 20 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

Please excuse the delay in my answer to your letter of July 9 - have been out of town. I am naturally most sympathetic to your request for Dr. Coles to have access to our year end report on the 13 Negro 1st graders but after thinking it over realize I am not at liberty to send it to you. I shouldn't have sent it to Bill but he has been here so often and taken such a hand in our deliberations that I yielded to temptation. I'm sure you understand how important it is for me to keep the confidence of both my fellow board

members and the administrative staff - and I try to tell them of anything I say or do - in advance.

My suggestion would be for you to write our president, Mr. Wm. D. Galbreath, 317 Poplar Ave, and tell him of Dr. Cole's project and ask if there is any report on our 1st year children that could be made available to him, stressing that it would only be used in a general way - with no reference to specific children or schools.

It is so hard not to do what I want to in this whole area - and to try to weigh both what I ought to do - and what it is wise to do.

Pam is on an AFSC community service

project in Bisbee, Ariz. and quite thrilled with the opportunity -

Sincerely,

Frances Coe

RC
mj-file

July 20, 1962

Mrs. Lawrence Coe
3580 Watauga Avenue
Memphis 11, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Coe:

I can well understand your hesitation in circulating the report. I think that I shall pass on to Bob Coles, when he returns later in the summer, your suggestion that we write to Mr. Galbreath and leave it up to him whether to do it or not. Please let us know if you are ever in Atlanta.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

2901 Paseo Tranquillo
~~1618 Castillo St.~~
Santa Barbara, Calif.
October, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. NW
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

That book of mine, THE SEGREGATIONISTS, is finally into print, and I have asked my publisher, Appleton-Century-Crofts, to dispatch a copy to you right away.

I hope you like it, and will be interested in seeing what sort of attention you give it in THE NEW SOUTH magazine. Too, I'd be glad to hear any additional personal responses you have to it.

Let me thank you again for your help and your hospitality when I was visiting Atlanta last year.

Hope everything is going well with you and yours.

My best,

Jim
James G. Cook

PS: I'm teaching English and journalism this year at Santa Barbara City College.

November 5, 1962

Professor James G. Cook
2901 Paseo Tranquillo
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Jim:

I received last week a copy of your book; many thanks. I hope to read it soon, and we shall have a review in New South and will send you a copy. A quick glance through the book makes me think it's awfully good, and I wish you all the best with it.

Let us hear from you. I hope you will be working on other southern topics soon and that we may have a chance to see you or at least correspond with you about them.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

The Segregationists

November 26, 1962

Mrs. Murray Cox
2316 22nd Avenue
Gulfport, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Cox:

I have just heard of your husband's passing. I and all my associates here at the Council are deeply grieved. I had met your husband just once, when he visited at my home last Spring, but I have known much of his work during the past couple of years and have admired him as one of the courageous men and good Christians of our time.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

March 22, 1963

The Honorable Bert T. Combs
Governor of Kentucky
State Office Building
Frankfort, Kentucky

My dear Governor Combs:

A copy of your February 24th speech which you presented to the Chicago Conference for Brotherhood has been made available to us. We here at the Southern Regional Council felt this to be a very significant address and, therefore, have included excerpts from it in one of our Leadership Reports. As you will see, excerpts from a speech by Secretary Hodges of the 25th are also included in this report.

The enclosed copy is being sent to you for your information and files.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

TELEGRAM - TELEPHONED IN MAY 24, 1963

News of the hiring of Negro police and the removal of "colored" and "white" signs in Madison County has reached us here. We know of the role that the Community Service Committee is playing in this continuing progress. I extend to you the congratulations of our organization.

File

Lord
Sec

To: Mr.
J. E. Harris
Atlanta Life Insurance Co.
Pulaski Pike
Huntsville, Alabama

"Gen. Corresp"

August 22, 1963

Mr. H. V. Covell
Deputy Chief of Police
Metropolitan Police Department
Room 5080
Municipal Center
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Covell:

We have been advised by Mr. Paul Rilling, Executive Director of the Commissioners' Council on Human Relations, that a request for a civil rights press pass to cover the August 28 rally should be made to you. May we have a pass issued to Miss Margaret Long, Editor, New South, the Council's monthly magazine. If this cannot be mailed, Miss Long will pick up the pass on arrival late on the afternoon of August 27.

We appreciate your attention to this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD

Regional Office: Sewanee, Tennessee, Lyric 8-5668

BEN F. CAMERON, JR.
Regional Director

November 12, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Since the first meeting of the Special Committee on Examining Center Policy last October a great deal of progress has been made in the desegregation of College Board testing centers in the South. In view of the progress that has been made, and of work under way at the present, it seemed best that a meeting be held in the winter rather than in the fall, so that something approaching a final report might be made.

We would like to meet in Atlanta on one of the following dates:

January 31
February 3
February 4

We would like to know if one of these dates is feasible for you, and shall appreciate your returning the enclosed postal card.

Sincerely yours,

Ben
-gb

BFCJr:gb
Enc.

Dictated by Dr. Cameron,
but transcribed and signed
in his absence.

Cr ref "7"

November 27, 1963

Mr. John Hodges → Corning Glassworks Foundation
717 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hodges:

I am later in writing to you than I would have been, but you, of course, know why. I have to confess also that all which has happened has jarred our conversation a bit out of focus in my memory. If this response is not directly to your inquiry, I hope you will feel free to raise your questions with me again.

I suggested to you, as I recall, that you talk with Mr. Wiley Branton and with Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy, Executive Secretary of the Taconic Foundation.

The two businessmen of whom I spoke were Mr. James Nelson of Douglas Aircraft Corporation in Charlotte, and Mr. Ray Richardson, Personnel Manager of Honeywell-Aeronautical Division, Minneapolis. I am not pessonally acquainted with either gentleman, but I heard Mr. Nelson talk on minority employment most interestingly and intelligently at a meeting we co-sponsored in December 1962; and Mr. Richardson testified, impressively, ahead of me at a Senate meeting hearing last Summer. I have read from the same hearings the excellent testimony of Mr. Joseph Ross, President of Davidson Brothers, Inc., of Detroit. Mr. Ross was for some years manager of

Davidson's store in Atlanta; a Macy's subsidiary.

Some other names of people.

(1) John Feild, former Executive Director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, and formerly a lot of other things, including the Michigan FEPC; John now wears a couple of hats, but might most conveniently be addressed as Consultant to the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation whose offices are in the Empire State Building in New York.

(2) Philip Hammer, President of Hammer & Company Associates, 1413 "K" Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.; Phil also has operations in the South (he started here); and is one of the most well informed persons anywhere in the whole area of business and social problems.

(3) Harold C. Fleming, my predecessor, and Executive Vice President of the Potomac Institute, 1501 - 18th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.; Harold, among other things, recently has prepared, under contract, the studies which the Defense Department used in organizing its own programs of affirmative merit employment, both for itself internally and for its contractors.

(4) Charles Silberman of Fortune Magazine.

(5) Ray Marshall, Department of Economics, University of Texas; Ray is probably the country's leading authority on labor unions and racial discrimination.

(6) Paul Norgren, Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University.

(7) Jack Patterson, Southeast correspondent for Businessweek, with offices in Atlanta; I don't know what Businessweek's policies are regarding consultation with its reporters, but I do know that few people have greater first-hand information about how southern businessmen view their social responsibilities.

(8) John Wheeler, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina; John is, though a generally unpublicized figure, one of the most influential Negro leaders of the South, and has been, from its inception, a member of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

(9) Vivian Henderson, Visiting Professor of Economics, North Carolina State College (see enclosure).

(10) Eli Ginzberg, Professor of Economics, Columbia University, a very knowledgeable man.

Let me know what I have omitted to answer, and if there is anything else we can help with.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

Chas Edwards
Powelsy
St Childs

John Hodges
Corning Glassworks Foundation
717 Fifth Ave,
New York,

Mrs Spearing

File "Co" gen corresp.

March 25, 1964

Mr. Robert Cohn
1642 Bank of Georgia Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bob:

Finally found it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Campus Censorship, by Daniel Pollitt)

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

"CO" general correspondence

REGARDING:

Final passage of the Civil Rights Bill by the Congress of the United States. Enclosed - Statement by THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

DATE
June 30, 1964

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Correspondence filed under U. S. GOVERNMENT - Department of Commerce.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

"CO" general corresp.

REGARDING:

RE: NATIONAL CITIZENS" COMMITTEE for Community Relations pending passage of the Civil Rights Bill.

DATE
July 2, and 21, 1964

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Correspondence filed under BOARD - Nat Welch.

PA (1)

1843 S Street , N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20009
17 February, 1966

Dear Paul,

I recently saw in one of our local papers where Southern Regional Council had received from the Ford Foundation a $300,000. grant. You were expecting the grant, I believe, when I last talked with you and I was quite happy to read that it had come through successfully.

This will certainly give you a broader basis for your present work plus room for expansion, I should hope. A propos to the field internship position I hope that you will now consider re-establishing it. I personally feel that this will give individuals who think that they will be of service in the area of human relations a chance to try themselves.

Regretfully I couldn't (perhaps didn't is the more appropriate word) except your offer. But presently my work in mathematics with those "DAMN COMPUTORS" has been both interesting and rewarding. This has given me a chance to work in several areas where I have faced new and challenging problems and material. When I return to graduate school I think I'll try and find one with a program in computor science in addition to higher mathematics.

In such a short time all of my plans seem to have undergone complete revamping. The first change being the fact that I have been classified 1-A. Here I could and should go off onto a long tirade against the stupidty and lack of know-how shown by the doctors who administer the physical. But since nothing but four-letter come to mind I'll skip it.

My job doesn't offer me a deferment and even though my doctor sent a strong statement attesting to some physical incapabilities I still passed the examination.

The second change is to delay graduate school for at least another year, if I can somehow get around the draft board. The reasons relate to finance and the learning possibilities in my present field.

Again let me say the best of success in your work to both you and Al. (Additionally I'd like Al to read this letter.) And should I get to Atlanta and I have some "extra" (Ha,Ha) time, (And who has?) then I'll certainly stop by.

Oh yes please give my regards to Sam Adams. Thanks.

Sincerely,

Max Courtney

file
co. gen
corresp

April 7, 1966

Mr. Max Courtney
1843 S. Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

Dear Max:

Al and I very much enjoyed your letter, the news in it, and your thoughtfulness in writing us.

Ford has made us sort of rich, but richness has its own problems. You recall the comment in the Bible about that "Eye of the Needle."

We both send our condolences on your good health and hope that you will yet be able to convince everybody that you are anything but healthy.

It is very bad news to know that you continue your interest in computers, and even plan more formal education along those lines.

Again thanks for writing and do come visit us at the earliest opportunity.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Rec'd 7/28/66

(2)

COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF THE ATLANTA AREA, INC.

215 Palmer Building, 41 Marietta Street, N. W.

Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Telephone 525-7695

MEMORANDUM

May 31, 1966

TO: Community Health & Welfare Agencies

FROM: Mrs. Eleanor Metzger, Chairman
Committee on Revision of the Directory of Community Services

Enclosed you will find draft of the information concerning your agency to be included in the new directory. At the top of the page are the headings under which the agency will appear in the classified section.

If we do not hear from you ~~within a few days~~ by July 29 we shall assume that this meets with your approval.

EM:mlg
Enclosure

Coordinating Planning and Fundraising Group
Planning Board
Inter-racial + Intergroup Understanding

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
1944

[illegible]eenth Street, N.W. JA 2-8764
[illegible]anta, Georgia 30303

Paul Anthony, Executive Director

FUNCTION: To improve social, civic, economic, and racial conditions in the South through educational methods.

SERVICES: Information and consultation through traveling consultants; studies the course of change in the economy and institutional life of the South; publishes magazine ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~; supplies speakers for non-political discussion of southern issues; assists in the organization and support of non-political state and local organizations conducting educational activities in the field of race relations; supplies facts about southern institutional patterns ~~[illegible]~~ and their changes ~~[illegible]~~; sponsors projects in urban planning, community organization and regional development ~~[illegible]~~.

AREA SERVED: Southeast.

AUSPICES: Voluntary.

SOURCE OF FUNDS: Foundation grants.

File
CO - Gen.
Cr. ref. Southern Regional Council, Gen.
re: listing in Directory of Community Services - Atlanta

July 28, 1966

Mrs. Eleanor Metzger
Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc.
215 Palmer Building
41 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Metzger:

The information concerning the Southern Regional Council, as described in your memorandum of May 31st, is an excellent summary of our interests. Thank you for including us in the Directory.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

"CO" GENERAL

REGARDING

TRAVEL EXPENSES FOR OTIS COCHRAN TO TRAVEL ABROAD TO GHANA

DATE

5/31/67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

AIR MAIL

August 4, 1967

Mr. John Otis Cochran
Awndome Secondary School
Box 33
Tsito, Volta Region
Ghana, West Africa

Dear Otis:

When I get overseas I loose my head, too. I got your message loud and clear! Here is our money order for $50.00.

Believe me, man, you will earn it when you get back.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc. - Money order $50.00

FOWLER, WHITE, COLLINS, GILLEN, HUMKEY AND TRENAM

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

FIRST FEDERAL BUILDING
TAMPA, FLORIDA
228-7411

CITY NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
MIAMI, FLORIDA
377-2791

FLORIDA NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA
896-0601

CABLE ADDRESS
"FOWHITE"

PLEASE REPLY TO:
P. O. BOX 1438
TAMPA, FLORIDA
33601

August 24, 1967

NS
6?

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

iTOW
1966
S NS
BB 8-29-67

Gentlemen:

Recently I learned of a report, which your group has published, on the experience of Negro children in the slowly desegregating schools of the Deep South. The document is entitled: "In Their Own Words -- A Student Appraisal of What Happened After School Desegregation."

Would you please send me a copy of this document and such other information you may have easily available concerning this subject.

Sincerely,

LeRoy Collins

File
Collins, LeRoy

August 31, 1967

The Honorable LeRoy Collins
Fowler, White, Collins, Gillen,
Humkey and Trenam
P. O. Box 1438
Tampa, Florida 33601

Dear Governor Collins:

We appreciate very much your interest in our publications. We mailed you on the 29th several publications related to school desegregation and we are mailing today, under separate cover, a Publications List and the current copy of NEW SOUTH.

We have added your name to our mailing list so that you will receive all of our future publications as they are issued and our quarterly, NEW SOUTH.

Sincerely yours,

James N. Wood, Jr.
Executive Assistant

JNW/km

File
Co Gen.

October 8, 1967

Dear Paul,

I greatly appreciate your making it possible for me to register. I was so upset and afraid I would not get to go to school. Thank you.

I am trying to sort out things, at the moment, get my classes in order, and find a job. I am also trying to get some student activity going on the campuses - I'm sure there's some alternative to rocks and fires. I'll let you know how it goes.

I still want to talk to you further about law school, when you have time.

Affectionately,

Otis

4330 Hartwick Rd. #509
College Park, Md. 20740
23 November, 1967

Dear Paul,

I thought I'd take a few minutes this evening and drop you a note regarding a friend of mine who is leaving Washington to become the new minister of Central Presbyterian Church. As much as we hate to see him leave this area there is the consolation that he will be an asset to Atlanta community and his new church there.

He is active in community work (e.g. home rule, civil rights) and particularly now with the "hippy" community. Dr. Taylor's present church is in the midst of the Washington equivalent of New York's Washington square. It is presently a focal point for various programs, activities and the like to people in the area.

I am enclosing an article about him that I have clipped from the Post. I'm writing all of this because

in our recent conversations he has expressed an interest in finding out about the life, the hopes, the problems of Atlanta as well as certain expectations from Central Presbyterian and its Congregation.

Through people like you and Dr. Griffen I'm sure he could gain some insight on the things I've mentioned above. And I'm also sure that you'll find him a dynamic and responsive person. Both your names I'm going to pass on to him and I feel sure that a pleasant rapport will be established here.

As for myself I am taking 9 hours at the University of Maryland towards a masters degree in Computer Science. Additionally I work 20 hours a week at Goddard Space Flight Center in Maryland as a Programmer. It may be a while yet before I can start seriously looking but I think I'm going

to return to the South because there are enough middle class type educated Negroes in Northern cities who have forsaken the South, who speak disparagingly of it and yet they're not willing to try and hasten a slowly changing system.

It never ceases to amaze one still that from this same group for volunteer slum and ghetto projects we get no help. Even students at Howard who advocate the "Black Power" concept are not willing to help in tutorial programs or volunteer recreation activities. This disturbs me greatly. I wish I could reconcile (or even rationalize to myself) these conflicts but I can't but I won't stop looking for answers.

All is going well I hope with the Council and its work. Is Al still with you and if so how is he doing? Please give him my regards.

Sincerely,

Max Courtney

Fabian Bachrach Photo

THE REV. JOHN RANDOLPH TAYLOR

. . . resigns

Dr. Taylor Accepts Call To Atlanta

The Rev. Dr. John Randolph Taylor, pastor of the Church of the Pilgrims (Presbyterian) and a leader of the Southern Presbyterian Church, has resigned his pastorate to accept a call to Central Presbyterian Church, Atlanta.

Dr. Taylor, who has been here 11 years, will begin his new duties before the end of the year. At the Atlanta church he succeeds the Rev. Dr. Fred R. Stair, now president of Union Theological Seminary, Richmond.

Dr. Taylor has served on the General Council of his denomination and was one of the f unders and the first chairman of the Fellowship of Concern. The Fellowship has provided financial and other assistance to 40 Southern Presbyterian ministers forced from their pulpits or otherwise penalized for a liberal stand on civil rights.

File "Co" gen

~~45~~ acknow
rcd MMJ

November 28, 1967

Mr. Max Courtney
4330 Hartwick Road #509
College Park, Maryland 20740

Dear Max:

How good to hear from you. I appreciate the news of Mr. Taylor's coming and will look forward to meeting him.

I am also delighted to know that you are thinking seriously about coming back South. If there is anything we can do to help you please let me know.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

file "Co" gen'

March 1, 1968

The Commentary Library
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Gentlemen:

Recently we subscribed to your magazine which we would like to continue receiving. However, it appears that you believe we have alos subscribed to Commentary Library. We have not, and do not wish to.

If the only way we can receive the magazine is to belong to the Library, forget it.

Under separate cover we are returning to you "Out of the Whirlwind." We will also return to you any other unsolicited books we receive.

Yours very truly,

James N. Wood, Jr.
Executive Assistant

JNW/km

Enclosures

12 May 1968

Executive Committee
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

It would seem, after having read your statement in the New York Times of April 9, 1968, that, perhaps, we share, in part at least, a common philosophy, and therefore, we take this opportunity to share with you knowledge of what is available in Vermont for boys and girls.

While we are a very small operation and do not touch the lives of many children at one time, it is our hope that we may inspire others to do what we are doing, in other private camps, and kindred operations.

We share with you the hope and the certainty that we will all soon be able to live as human beings on a planet in space, in harmony and good will, without regard to any of the differences that now keep people at odds.

Sincerely,

Don Cruikshank

Don Cruikshank

HIGH RISE HUMAN RIGHTS PROJECT

A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO OUR CHILDREN

The greatest challenge to this age is the recognition of the oneness of mankind. The painful but inevitable broadening of each man's allegiance from his own ethnic, religious, national, cultural and economic group to the wider embrace of all mankind constitutes the central revolution of our time. Every human person is being affected by this revolution, which calls for changes in the provincial attitudes and behavior of all the people of the world. The recognition that mankind belongs to one family under one God brings with it the responsibility to respect and to help one another in every way.

Human Rights are not intended to be the exclusive prerogative of a few, to be parcelled out at the legislative discretion of human institutions. We believe rather that human rights are God-given and hence inviolable.

Under any pretext, discrimination or unjust restriction against persons poisons our relationship and thereby creates conflicts which threaten to destroy our civilization. This is undoubtedly the gravest sickness infecting our age. The dynamic accomplishments which could result from a truly organic and unified society, freed from all prejudical attitudes, are thus denied us. Social repression and enforced degradation have created masses of people unable to exercise the functions of citizenship, making it impossible for them to contribute to the advancement of civilization and to enjoy its benefits.

Individuals are entitled to equal opportunities for developing their unique talents, since variety, not blind conformity, is a basic characteristic of a progressive society. An equal standard of human rights must be upheld throughout the world.

Because of these beliefs, the directors of High Rise (formerly North Hollow Encampments) pioneered, in 1963, what they believed to be a vital, modern program for youth – a summer camping experience where young people from the impressionable ages of 8 to 15, an age of natural enthusiasm and capable understanding, can come together from as wide a variety of backgrounds as possible, on common ground, to live in understanding, enlightenment and friendship each making his or her own contribution to the whole, while being involved in an active outdoor camping program.

High Rise is more than a camping experience. It is a program:

★ designed to overcome the provincialism that separates people,

by temporarily moving them geographically, i.e., to camp.

by providing the place and atmosphere in which communications can occur which would lead to the recognition that man is one family.

★ designed to help in the intellectual, emotional, physical and spiritual growth of each child.

★ that calls for a form of follow up that would relate the child's experience to his home, school and community.

★ that calls for vitally needed support on the part of all who recognize these truths to be self-evident.

Mr. & Mrs. Donald H. Cruikshank, Jr.
Directors of High Rise
North Hollow, Rochester, Vermont 05767

May 1968

High Rise

SUMMER ENCAMPMENTS for BOYS and GIRLS
ROCHESTER, VERMONT

DIRECTORS

Mr. and Mrs. Donald H. Cruikshank, Jr.

Here is our 25' x 50' swimming pool and "all-purpose" building where we can eat inside and have entertainments and get togethers. Also the main house where the Cruikshanks live year-round – nature barn and workshop are attached.

1968 SEASON
BOYS: June 30 – July 27 GIRLS: July 31 – August 27
Enrollment 60 – Ages 8 – 15

an institution for recreation and education licensed under the laws of the state of Vermont, accredited by the American Campers Association, founded in 1963, dedicated to the health, happiness, inspiration and development of all children.

Location: High in the heart of the Green Mountains in the geographical center of the state of Vermont, about 4 miles up from the picturesque little town of Rochester, can be found the perfect location for a place of growth and inspiration with its 1800' elevation and long view out over valleys, fields, farms and distant mountains.

Purpose: The directors feel that a happy month in the clear, crystal clean, mountain air of the beautiful, beckoning country of Rochester, Vermont is a must for every child to whose life they can make a contribution regardless of his race, religion, nationality, or economic background.

They have dedicated their energies and their facilities to:

the oneness of mankind
the common foundation of all religions
the essential harmony of science and religion
the elimination of prejudice of all kinds
the independent investigation of truth
the understanding and communication between peoples

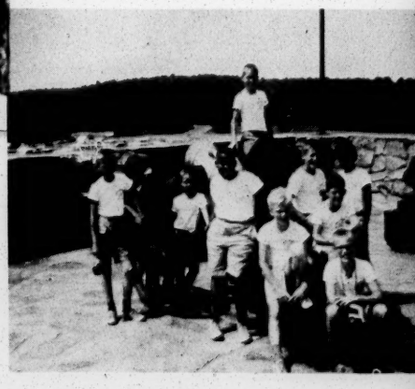
as stepping stones to universal peace and an ever advancing civilization.

The first aim of the directors is to develop the campers into the kind of boys and girls who know how to take care of themselves while camping out in the woods, how to recognize in themselves talents and abilities, to be aware of the same in others, how to win without conceit, how to lose without resentment, how to consider each other at all times, how to prepare themselves in perspective and responsibility for their future world citizenship, how to be keenly alive to everything that goes on around them whether it is a spittle bug hidden in his spittle or the magnificent display of Northern Lights, and to build healthy minds and bodies.

Although the boys and girls are given the fullest protection against disease and danger, the directors purposely do not shield them from all difficulties – for High Rise is run on the principle that a child grows in wisdom and strength as he learns to think through his own problems, that having a healthy hunger for the answer is more important then the answer itself because it leads ultimately toward a plenitude of answers as surely as any appetite leads to nourishment.

Helen, Anne, and Ellen entertain us with an original skit.

Affection is given to "Quddus", a little red fox who ran and played with us one summer, while the kittens await their turn.



A Happy group of friends wait for a guide at Fort Ticonderoga to tell them the exciting story of its history and to show them around.

"Ye are the fruits of one tree and the leaves of one branch. Deal ye one with another with utmost love and harmony, with friendliness and fellowship." – Baha'u'llah

The Directors and Staff: The camp directors are Donald H. Cruikshank, Jr., teacher of sciences, math, English, and social studies, coach, guidance counselor, scoutmaster, beach manager and safety director, first aid and life guard instructor; and Carolyn Hayes Cruikshank, teacher of pre-school, primary, and elementary school children, arts and crafts, girl scout leader, counselor, swimming instructor and waterfront director, active in planning and directing community recreation, and trained in first aid, home nursing, food preparation and diet planning. They are both experienced in woodsmanship and campcraft and are the parents of four children themselves. They are assisted by a staff of trained mature, gentle counselors (averaging one to every four campers) who are selected for their understanding of children and their special abilities. These are young men and women of college age or older and married couples.

Emphasis at High Rise is not on impressive or luxurious equipment but on close guidance by counselors of highest character who are generally interested in each child and who encourage each child to think and do for himself and create their own needed equipment.

We welcome the talents and interests of many visitors during the summer who share their time, knowledge and adventures with eager listeners. Included in these have been visitors from other states and countries, (some who are traveling on foot), forest rangers, craftsmen, soil conservationists, health inspectors, a geologist, writers, musicians, a swimming team captain from Hawaii and other athletes, an Eskimo agent trained in arctic survival, and naturalists.

Hi, future campers!

What can you do at High Rise?

The most exciting part of your encampment is the living itself for you will live in tents on wooden platforms and become skilled enough in woodsmanship and campcraft to prepare and cook most of your own meals out over the open fire in your own unit (including hearty stews, pot roasts, pancakes, and tasty desserts), provide your own fire wood and know how to use good sanitation practices when cleaning up. You will build much of the equipment needed personally or to improve or add to the general camp area, after training in the use of tools and good safety practices.

You will discover the best methods of trail packing and conservation so you can go on several overnights and set up an efficient campsite sometimes into the National Forests and sometimes on the tops of mountains. You will climb many of the well known mountains whose peaks can be seen from High Rise, keep a watchful eye on the beaver ponds nearby, make molds of the many animal tracks you will find, fish the brooks, and care for and play with the many animal pets, both wild and domestic, that live here at High Rise.

Swimming is a twice daily event as you each work individually to improve at your skill in swimming and a Junior Life Saving Course is given to all of you who can qualify. You set your own goals in swimming as well as other activities that may interest you and we have found that these usually end up far surpassing any that we could set for you! It may be a distance that you want to swim or hike before you go home, the size of a woodpile you want to build, an animal you may wish to mold in clay, the number of times you may run a mile before breakfast, or the different forms of flora that you may want to learn about. We never know what new ideas and records will come from each summer!

You will find yourself singing and laughing with new and old friends at all hours of the day and evening (many an interest has been generated to learn to play an instrument) and you can test your imaginations with ideas for campfire entertainments. You will always find a group that is ready for an active game of soccer, baseball or numerous other games of sport.

Each day will offer opportunity for you to explore many new fields of interest or to develop more fully a special interest, for our daily routine is not highly regimented so you are given the chance to decide just what you will make out of it.

Tom gives instruction in the proper use of a knife in order to make a needed piece of equipment.

George and Philip ready their tent and equipment for a job "well done".

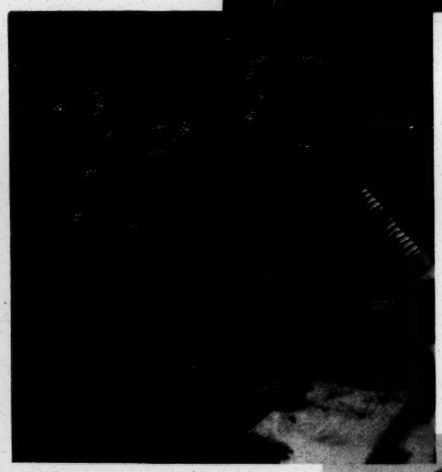
A master cook prepares a steak for supper while camping on the top of Mt. Cushman, a favorite over night spot.

A proud group of boys succeeds in locating the balsam tree that was selected for the 1967 National Christmas Tree while it still grew in the National Forest.

Even girls can hike all the way back to camp with their packs on their backs after a night on the top of a nearby mountain.

Don Cruikshank, our director, congratulates Mike on completion of his 2¼ mile swim. Mike did a steady crawl all the way!

Carolyn Cruikshank, our other director, tries to make "Cyrano" the crow realize that he must not eat so many peas from the garden – "children love them, too!"



Rosey sees that "Spooky" and "Tiger" get a good meal and lots of love.

Tucky shows us the young frog he caught to observe and to watch develop.

Barbara gives expert instruction to eager learners riding registered Morgan horses at Bridle Vale.

We plan together what trips we will take to places of historic or general interest, and small groups prepare ahead of time to understand and pursue the ones of their choice to places such as: Fort Ticondaroga, Calvin Coolidge's birthplace, caves, geological tours of lakes and quarries, lumber mills, or visits to some of our many Vermont craftsmen for demonstrations of their skills. (Back in the craftroom you can try to put into practice some of the skills you learn about from your visits and you will always find someone willing to help or answer a question if ever you should need it.)

Everyone has the daily chance of feeding and caring for various animals, weeding and picking vegetables from our own camp garden, raising and lowering the flags, clearing woods and trails, or managing the camp store, (Which are only a few of the things that need to be done.)

Each day has something new to look forward to and each evening finds you in quiet talk with friends at the close of campfire and back in your tent with your tent mates before falling into restful sleep.

Riding: All campers are given the opportunity to learn to care for our own camp pony and horse and to acquire a few basic riding skills here at camp without additional fees.

Special Riding Programs: *for girls:* a unit limited to 10 girls is given a splendid opportunity to acquire a very thorough and extensive training in English riding, horsemanship and care plus an introduction to driving, and western riding. Instruction is given by a talented certified instructor, Miss Barbara Irvine and a mature, experienced staff at nearby Bridle Vale Stables. The girls will ride and study every day with excellent equipment, facilities and well schooled, carefully selected horses including registered Morgans and Vt's. 1966 champion three-gated American Saddle-bred. The girls will attend horse shows to observe their equine friends in action and will perform in their own horse show for parents, camp friends and invited guests at the end of the season. An additional fee of $75 for the four weeks is required for this unusual opportunity. *for boys:* an intensive five day riding program is available at Bridle Vale for any qualified boy with the same careful attention and instruction for an additional $20 fee.

Junior Counselor Course: A few older children, age 15-16, are permitted to attend High Rise each year to train towards becoming junior counselors. The financial arrangements for these boys and girls must be agreed upon separately in each case, taking into consideration, maturity, experience and ability.

Food and Treats: Menus are well-balanced and campers are well fed with lots of fresh milk, eggs and fruit, pure fruit juices, fresh vegetables from their own garden, high quality meats and whole grain cereals. Desserts are light and pleasing and extra treats are carefully chosen and rationed out on trips or sold in the camp store. We ask parents and friends to please not send candy or other sweets to campers without consulting the camp directors.

Clothing and Equipment: A list of recommended essential clothing for camp will be sent each parent on enrollment. This list has been kept purposely so simple that few parents ever need to do any camp shopping. Essential equipment such as packs and racks may be borrowed or purchased at the camp store.

The camp has a uniform consisting of dark blue shorts for girls and tan shorts for boys which may be picked from the campers own wardrobe and camp tee shirts and sweatshirts which may be purchased or borrowed from the camp store.

Laundry: Campers are encouraged to take responsibility to see that all soiled articles are handled wisely and sent out to be laundered once or twice a week. The bulk of the expense is included in the camp fee, but campers are taught the value of the service by paying a small fee, of approximately .10 to .25 per load from their allowance.

Banking and Allowance: Tuition is all-inclusive except for the store deposit (maximum $10). This is kept in a banking system that allows the campers to make purchases at the camp store without keeping money in their tents. Campers are encouraged to make purchases wisely with a weekly allowance credit at the camp store. A small trip allowance is allotted each camper so he or she may make a small purchase away from camp if they wish to.

The unspent balance will be refunded at the end of camp.

Camp Store: A camp store is run by the campers themselves with a staff advisor and offers basic items such as: batteries, stationary, toothpaste, bulbs, postal cards, toothbrushes, film, stamps, combs, treats, pens – pencils, soap and shampoo.

Also loans and sales of camp tee shirts, sweatshirts, flashlights, packs and racks, canteens, sleeping bags and mess kit parts.

Library: A wide variety of books and magazines is constantly being added to in order to offer entertainment and a source of information. The campers are responsible for its organization, operation, and care which only adds to the excitement of having it available to use.

Camp News – *The Campfire Log:* A year-round paper is received monthly from Sept. to June by all old and new campers to help keep them in touch with news of each other, new ideas and happenings concerning people, camp, seasons, pets, and other creature friends, etc. During July and August it is written by the campers and goes to press periodically during the summer. It contains poems, stories, songs, drawings, announcements and comments on High Rise events.

Letters Home and Reports: All campers are encouraged to write home frequently. Copies of the *Campfire Log* are often enclosed for the further entertainment of parents. Also the directors may be in touch with parents from time to time, particularly when parents are known to have anxiety. A complete report in detail is given each parent at the end of the season.

Religious Services: We begin and end each day with prayers and inspirational thoughts, some of which are taken from all the world's great religions and are often done by the campers themselves. Catholic children may be taken to Sunday morning mass, and children of other beliefs provided for as circumstances permit.

Visiting: Parents and relatives who may wish to visit campers are welcome after campers have been with us two weeks. It is much easier if visits are limited to once or twice during the season. It is best if no camper is taken from camp.

Medical Care: A medical form is required of each camper before admission into camp. A standard A. C. A. form will be sent each camper on enrollment. This is to be filled in by parent and doctor and returned to the camp.

Medical attention is readily available with good doctors and hospitals nearby. A camp nurse is always on call and the main house has a warm, comfortable, attractive room if anyone needs it to use, as well as a well equipped dispensary. Watchful loving eyes keep campers spry and healthy.

Insurance: An optional policy for accident and sickness or additional tuition refund is available if requested. The camp is covered by a comprehensive public liability policy.

Tuition: $350 for the four week session.

Discount: If more than one camper per family, $10 deductible for each camper.

Registration: To register a child for a rewarding four weeks at High Rise, fill in the enclosed registration card and return with an initial deposit of $25 to:

High Rise
Rochester, Vermont 05767

This is part of the total tuition and is refundable only if there is no room left for the child when the registration is received.

The balance of the tuition may be paid anytime up to or on the first day of camp, unless other arrangements are made with the camp management.

All checks should be made payable to:
High Rise

Transportation: Buses or airplanes may be met, if necessary, at White River, Rutland, or Burlington. Full information will be sent on request. For those coming by automobile, information about local roads will be sent on enrollment.

When any transporting of campers is done by the camp it is done in enclosed carefully inspected vehicles by responsible, adult drivers.

Times of Arrival and Departure: Campers are to arrive by 2:30 on the first day of camp (first full meal will be served at 5:30 p.m.) and may be picked up after 10:00 a.m. on the last day of camp, unless the camp is notified otherwise. Pre-camp and post camp rates are $1 for each additional meal and $10 for each additional day when arrangements have been made with the camp.

summer – winter telephone code area 802 767-3303

Our wild brother, "Rackety", looks down from his observation post in a tree in camp and wonders if you are coming to work and play in his woods and fields.

file
D. Cr. gw

May 20, 1968

Mr. Don Cruikshank, Jr.
Director of High Rise
North Hollow,
Rochester, Vermont 05767

Dear Mr. Cruikshank:

On behalf of the members of the Executive Committee may I acknowledge your letter of May 12, and thank you for the information which you included with it. Copies of the materials which you have sent will be shared with the Committee.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See "Co" gen

May 23, 1968

Mr. Robert P. Coggins
1934 South Ithan Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19143

Dear Mr. Coggins:

The Council has a budget of slightly more than $1,000,000 per year at this point, and of that amount approximately 95% of these funds are from national foundations. These include the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Field Foundation, the New World Foundation, and the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation.

While we receive a few contributions from individuals, the Council does not solicit them.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

SRC
5 Forsyth ST NW
Atlanta Ga.

Dear Sir,

I am writing this letter in the quest of information on the grounds of pure research. The research paper I am writing concerns your organization and its purposes. My research to date has found answers to your purposes, however some clouds surrounded questions dealing in your financial backing which help your organization obtain its purposes.

To be specific, I wish to obtain from your organization the names of the foundations or international Unions which bestowed grants to your organization. The information I hope is not confidential because without it my paper will lack an essential ingredient. Any information you can send will be valued.

Thank You.
Robert P Coggins

Robert P Coggins
1934 S Ithan St
Phila PA 19143.

See OCo'd gen'

Paul,

Otis Cochran -- who is now hospitalized from surgery last Tuesday -- wants you to write two letters of recommendation to the following:

The Director of Admissions
Yale Law School
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

Dr. Donald Hertzberg
Director of Admissions
The Eagleton Institute
Rutgers University
New Brunswick, New Jersey

Otis says that both letters can be identical and you might include some of the following:

His activities with civil rights programs
Anti-poverty involvement
SRC's support of his trip to Africa
He's chairman of the Board of the
Vine City Foundation
He's on Board of EOA - Antipoverty program
Members of Board - Atlanta Legal Aid Society

mmj

May 31, 1968

Dr. Donald Hertzberg
Director of Admissions
The Eagleton Institute
Rutgers University
New Brunswick, New Jersey

Dear Dr. Hertzberg:

Mr. Otis Cochrane has requested that I write, in his behalf, relative to his request for admission.

I have known this young man for some years -- since his leadership here in the student protest movement and the sit-ins. Since that time he has been active with a broad number of things, including work with the Anti-Poverty Program, serving as chairman of the Board of Directors of the Vine City Foundation, a local and most effectively run program in one of our slum areas. Mr. Cochrane is also on the Board of Directors of Economic Opportunity Atlanta and of the Atlanta Legal Aid Society.

Last year the Council was sufficiently interested in Mr. Cochrane's development that it assisted him on a trip to Africa which was

sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee of Philadelphia.

I believe Mr. Cochrane has considerable potential, and I recommend him for your program.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

May 31, 1968

The Director of Admissions
Yale Law School
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Sir:

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Last year the Council was sufficiently interested in Mr. Cochrane's development that it assisted him on a trip to Africa which was

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I believe Mr. Cochrane has considerable potential, and I recommend him for your program.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Cathedral of Christ the King
2699 Peachtree Rd. NE
Atlanta, Ga. 30305
August 18, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony,

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Your contribution to the recent Housing Panel held at Christ the King was a very significant one and I wish to thank you very much for it. Having been a teacher for ten years, I can appreciate the listening skill you ephibitted in your position as moderator. Never we can be of service to you in your work, I hope you will call upon us

Sincerely,

Sister Rose Mary Cauley

August 20, 1968

Sister Rose Mary Conley
Cathedral of Christ the King
2699 Peachtree Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30305

Dear Sister Rose Mary:

Thank you so much for your generous note. It was my pleasure being with you and I hope I shall have the opportunity to do so again.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Separate mailing:

Atlanta Housing Study
Black Youth in a Southern Metropolis

September 5, 1968

Mr. Max Courtney
4330 Hartwick Road, #509
College Park, Maryland 20740

Dear Max:

Please forgive me this long delay in writing to you. We have very little information about Atlanta specifically. However, under separate cover I am having sent to you a housing report we did and a study on the opinions of black youth.

In terms of economic information, I suspect an inquiry to the Chamber of Commerce would flood you with propaganda, some of which would be factual.

Do keep in touch.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

4330 Hartwick Rd. #509
College Park, Md. 20740
29 July, 1968

Dear Paul,

It has been, indeed, quite some time since we have communicated and this is most unfortunate. I have wondered on several occasions what was happening with your work there.

Perhaps you have some information about the South in general and Atlanta in particular that would be of interest to me. Two areas especially interest me. Those

are political developments and employment gains by non-white southerners.

Presently I'm doing some "feeler" research and would be interested in the life, growth, and future of Atlanta. If related to this you have anything at all about data processing development or know where I could find same, please let me hear about it.

I am not in school this summer and most of what I'm presently doing relates to work but I have been (on my own) taking four getto boys I know on field

trips, museum visits and the like. Hopefully they will become more aware of the world about them. But more importantly we talk and each of us grows in our own small way.

My regards to all.

Sincerely,

Max

file
D.C. gen

January 29, 1969

Mr. Noyes Collinson
1113 Moores Mill Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30318

Dear Noyes:

I have not forgotten your request. The month has been a rather hectic one, but I hope to be in touch with you soon with several suggestions.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

COUNCIL ON SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION
345 EAST 46TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017 • 212 OXFORD 7-0467

April 16, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
45 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

It gives me much pleasure to invite you to serve on the Advisory Committee of a new Council project to aid social work teachers, students, and practitioners in gaining greater understanding of and competence in the area of intergroup relations. The project is supported through a grant from the Slawson Fund of the American Jewish Committee. The Slawson Fund was established to honor Dr. John Slawson, a pioneer and outstanding leader in the field of intergroup relations for many years, on the occasion of his retirement as Executive Vice President of that Committee.

We hope to develop a Teacher's Source Book, which will include a variety of teaching materials, including records from practice, which can be used for social work education at all levels, as well as in staff development and in-service training programs.

Dr. Jack Rothman of the University of Michigan has been employed to give staff service, on a part-time basis, to this project. Dr. Rothman has had extensive experience in intergroup relations practice, research and education. His case study of practice in a racially changing community (Neighborhood Change: A Record of Community Organization Practice) has been a popular Council teaching record.

We are fortunate to have as Chairman of the Advisory Committee, Dr. John Turner, Dean, School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University, who has long-standing interest and competence in intergroup relations as well as in social work education.

The Advisory Committee will hold two meetings during the course of its tenure. The first will be on Sunday, May 25, 1969, 12 noon to 6:00 p.m. (preceding the opening session of the National Conference on Social Welfare) in the Terrace Lounge, 11th floor, Carnegie Building, 345 East 46th Street, New York. The second meeting will be held in early November. At its first meeting the Committee will be asked to advise on the structure and content of the source book, the identification of potential teaching materials suitable for inclusion, and the boundaries and functions of intergroup relations work. Staff working papers will provide a point of departure for discussion. At its second meeting the Committee will review drafts for the source book and will be asked to advise on the presentation of the published document as well as to consider means for its promotion. Our schedule calls for completion of the manuscript by the end of December, 1969.

The Council will reimburse Committee members from outside of New York City for air tourist travel and maintenance at the rate of $16 for each of the one-day meetings.

We hope you will be able to participate in the development of this significant undertaking. A reply card is enclosed for your convenience in letting us know if you will serve on the Committee and will be present at the May 25th Committee meeting. Detailed information about the meeting and background material will be sent to you in advance.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Herman D. Stein

Herman D. Stein
President

HDS:fcc
Enc: Reply card

COUNCIL ON SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION OF 63

Meeting: Intergroup Relations Advisory Committee

Date: Sunday, May 25, 1969 Staff Initials FML

I shall ☐

-- be present

I shall not ☐

Name

Organization

April 23, 1969

Mr. Herman D. Stein
President
Council on Social Work Education
345 East 46th Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Stein:

Since I cannot be at your meeting on May 25, I suspect it would be of little use to serve on the Advisory Committee of your new project. If, however, you wish to include me, I shall be more than happy to be in the group, and to make your November meeting.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

file Cochran, Otis "C.O." Jr.

MT - this is reportedly a document prepared by Otis Cochran. In time I'll want it - file it somewhere

BACKGROUND

Organizational Affiliation (Present)

1. Member, Bd. of Dir., ACHR
2. V. P., Fulton County Young Democrats
3. Member, Bd. of Dir., South Side Day Care Development Assoc.
4. Committeeman, All Citizens' Registration Committee
5. Director, Vine City Improvement Assoc.
6. Secretary, Democratic Party, 137th District
7. Member, Bd. of Dir., Washington Community School
8. Member, NAACP
9. Acting Chairman, Atlanta Grass Roots Crusade
10. Member, Citizens Panel, 4th Congressional District
11. Campaign Captain, Butler Street YMCA Fund Drive

Religious Affiliation

Member, Zion Grove Baptist Church
Jr. Superentendent, Sunday School of Zion Grove Baptist Church
Member, Ushers' Guild

Employment

Asst. Manager, Serve U-R Self Food Stores

Awards, Honors, etc.

1962-Study-Travel Grant, European Countries
1962-Sears-Roebuck Good Citizen Award
1963-American Advertising Association honorarium for published article, " Advertising in the Free World "
Mt. Herndon Baptist Association Award for Academic Excellence

Educational Background

Washington High School,
Dimery Business College
Morehouse College,
Atlanta University Summer School

SOCIALS

Ozella Smith
Ruby Lundie
Louise Hector
Betsy Neal

LAY-OUT PEOPLE

Sue Rushe
Nara McNiven

CENTRAL STAFF

John Klein
Ted Smith
Roy Bell
Barbara Johnson
Sally Tully
Hilliard Lee
George Booker
Mrs. Sylvia Cochran
Melvin Traylor
Lottie Watkins
Eunice Cooper
George Ellis
Johnny Hillsman (Edgar)
Orra Sherman
Kim Drysback

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Horace Ward
Julian Bond
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J. C, Daughtery
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Gertrude Nelson
Dr. Rufus Clemet
Horace Tate
Donald Hollowell
Q. V. Williamson
Sarah Mitchell
Zena Sears
Edgar Hillsman
Jim Wood
Ben Perry
Barbara Whitaker
Carol Hoover
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Dr. Harry Boyte
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Lewis Tillman	Tom Frasier
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Butterball	Mike Griffith
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Melvin Traylor	
Hosea Sowell	
Mary Veal	
James Kimbell	
Ronald Myrick	

YOUTH ORGANIZATION

Willie Moore
Joe Louis Brown
Sylvia and Joyce Cochran
Eva DuPree
James Rucker
Walter Moore
Holt Jackson
Carolyn Harvey

FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTORS

Hal Gulliver (Jimmy Bentley)
Lottie Watkins
George Booker (for others)
Sarah Mitchell (")
Rev. Gene Pickett (")
Bennie T. Smith (")
Vernon Jordon
Paul Anthony
Maggie Long
Josephine Wilkins
Pat Watters
Mrs. John R. Wilson, Sr.
Q. V. Williamson (Alexander)
Dr. Roy Bell
Zenas Sears
Edgar Hillsman
A. V. Jett
J. Y. Moreland
C. N. Cornell
Dr. Hillard Boyne
Horace Tate
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Cecil Turner
Machion ~~Maschon~~ Garrison
James Paschal (Orra Sherman)
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Duane Beck
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Jack Schmidt
Howard Moore
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Dr. Harvey Smith
Dorothy and Al HOrne
Tillman Cothran
George Ellis

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Melvin Traylor
Kattie Mae Young (jeanie)
Louise Hector
Pres., Herndon Tenants' Assoc.
Carrie Clements
Dr. Wellington Parker
Prin., Craddock Elementary School
Prin., Bathoon Elementary School (Miss Hornsby)
Director, Carver Boys' Club (Mr. Thomas)
James Gardner
Jesse Harrison
Willie Williams
Ray Payne
Joell McGuire
Linda Neumeyer
Bill Ware
Gwen Robinson

See [redacted]

Make free "Otis Cochran"

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM April 12, 1967

FROM: Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

This morning I was visited by a young Negro man whom I have known and worked with on occasion for several years. After assuring the young man that I would treat our conversation with confidence and not divulge his name to anyone, he related a concern which he had. His reason for insisting on anonymity was based on his fear of physical harm if it should be known he was repeating certain information; I believe his fear is soundly based.

This young man related to me how disturbed he was of "certain preparations" being made in the Atlanta community and elsewhere along the Atlantic Seaboard to encourage violence this summer.

He says he was first made aware of this while visiting in New York in December. At that time he attended in Harlem what he thought was to be a party. It turned out instead to be a business session of a number of "individuals." These individuals were not, he says, associated with any organization or activity. There were people there who

would otherwise be identified as members of SNCC, CORE, the Black Muslims, and other nationalist groups. However, the informant insisted that insofar as he could tell, nationally and here in Atlanta, this is not a program or plan of an agency but rather a collection of individuals probably of several political persuasions all who subscribe to the idea that violence is a good thing and should be planned for, organized, and encouraged in as many instances as possible this summer. This young man believes that Nashville last week was a part of this scheme and a testing of some of the methods to be used.

The informant further related that a number of these individuals, "several of whom have just moved to Atlanta," are now planning on violence in Atlanta this summer as a part of the overall pattern. He says a crude, but effective, communications netword has been established among all of the slum neighborhoods; that an incident occuring in Lightening, for instance, will be known about in Vine City within minutes after it occurs. He says that arms, ammunition, and Molotov cocktails are already stockpiled. (Walter Anderson, Director of the House of USE, has also reported to me the sale of rifles, and in one instance a

sub-machine gun, to teenagers in one section of the city.)

After repeatedly assuring the young man that his name would not be linked with any report or be known even to other members of this staff, he agreed to prepare me a written report related to his conversation with as much fact and detail as can be accumulated. He expressed an interest specifically that this information be shared with Mayor Allen and Eliza Paschall, but insisted that he dare not go directly to either of them. He was afraid in both cases that inadvertently his name would be made public, and in the case of Mayor Allen, "the Mayor would not believe me anyway."

Obviously, a part of the validity of these rumors relates to the reliability of the informant. About this I have mixed feelings. Certainly, he is capable of doing certain things for his own ends, and I suspect he would be capable of earning money in somewhat questionable ways. In this instance, however, I was struck by the young man's sincerity and about his concern for the community. (He even expressed to me that he was "very mixed up and didn't even know honestly whether or not some violence was necessary.) I was also impressed by

what seemed to me genuine fear that if he did anything about the information he would be in danger. I also thought if of significance that the young man did not request any payment for the preparation of the requested report.

In short, I think there is enough validity to pursue it further.

In our observations of violence, both white and Negro, there are rare instances in which significant or prolonged violence is spontaneous. Certainly, given all the problems of our community and every community and the growing impatience of Negroes, particularly poor Negroes, a half dozen skilled people can create substantial violence in any community in America. (From sketchy information there are several improbable factors about last week's violence in Nashville and strong indication that this was anything but spontaneous.)

m3 - file

Confidential Report No. 1
by J. Otis Cochran
April 21, 1967

The disruptions that have occurred in our cities don't just happen. They are the result of a complexity of events and actions that render the explanation that a "cop shot a guy wrongly", extremely naive and incorrect. Before going into the specifics of this report, this reporter wishes to point out some of the "reasons" and "played-upon circumstances" that inevitably result in disturbances, such as the ones that occurred in Atlanta and threaten to occur again.

What are some of the reasons: There has occurred in this City and others, an almost unsurmountable break-down in communications between the 16-25 year old group and the rest of the citizenry. This group, in all likelihood, will be the one that principally participates in disruptions. To define this group a bit further, it is one that is either unemployed, unemployable, or in a lull. This group of citizens has largely been unaffected (positively) by the civil rights developments of the last decade. Therefore, they are cynical about the viability of the present structure of their lives and their society. These young people have not been principal participants in the civil rights movement of the last decade. The vast majority of the participants in the recent disturbances in the Capitol Avenue area, according to one civil rights veteran, had not, to his knowledge, ever participated in any Atlanta civil rights activities. So most of these persons have never had the chance to vent any of their frustrations over ghetto and slum life, except in the pool halls and on the corners, playing merry chase with the police. These young people yearn for respect; respect they seldom ever find from parents, from the police or from the rest of the citizenry. Statistically half the population of the U.S. will be under 25 by November of the current year. But this group finds itself in no roles of significant responsibility in the city government or any of the agencies that determine programs for that group.

For example, the Atlanta Youth Council, which is supposed to deal with the problems of this group has on its Council not a single young adult. What does this group think? It appears that it ought best be able to interpret its needs, wants and aspirations, not have it done by people removed by age, who hypothesize these wishes.

The played-upon circumstances, of which this reporter speaks, can be explained clearly enough. The examples are obvious, but before going into some of them it should be pointed out that those perpetrators of violence who wait for "occasions to exploit", can do so only if the initiation comes from outside the ghetto. The point is that none of the riots that have plagued our cities have come from inner-directed situations, but rather as reactions to what the ghetto community sees as the white community. For example, a man is shot by a policeman, a grocer refuses to hire a Negro in a clerical position, the city refuses to pass open-housing ordinances---the demonstrations and the violence that stem from these situations are the ghetto's response to the white community, broadly speaking.

Now to get into the specifics of "action programs" in Atlanta and along the eastern seaboard. (See attachment No. 1.) During the Christmas season while visiting the "Harlem" section of New York, this reporter heard discussion of "the plan", that is, a plan to exploit the almost inevitable hostilities of ghetto dwellers and the unfair treatment by law enforcement officers and others in order to set into motion violent "action" programs in the major cities of the east. There was mention of Atlanta as a city in which the circumstances could be "played upon" to create this kind of reaction. This information is by no means exclusive, and the fact that "played-upon circumstances" can result in disorder is no secret. The fear of "riots" has been voiced by many leaders in the civil rights movement, including Dr. M. L. King. Dr. King publicly mentioned such possibilities in several cities in the nation. (See attachment No. 2.)

Perhaps of a more serious nature is the fact that increasingly there appears to be plans for releasing minor disruptive aids such as Molotov explosives. It was fairly evident in the Atlanta disruptions last year and in disruptions in other cities that sources were available almost immediately to release such "aids" to "riot" participants. According to the things said by many of the "group" discussing this summer in New York, there are provisions being readied for the release of such "aids" again this summer, should the need present itself.

This reporter has no way of determining the total credibility of his report of the New York talk; neither does he have any means of determining the total reliability of such talk as he has heard in Atlanta.

This talk cannot be easily attributed to any one organization or group. There is such a divergency of opinion from group to group, it is naive to say

that group X is moderate and will not support any disruption, but that group Y will support it. The approaches used to play upon circumstances are different but nonetheless can be equally as disruptive.

In terms of preventive measures, A. Phillip Randolph's notion that riots "start as a result of unvented frustrations" is probably accurate. But this does not override the possibility of setting up machinery that can effectively counteract the impact and duration of such "riots".

The communications break-down between the city government structure and the age group that usually participates in riots is one of the things that the Atlanta group and the New York group talked about "playing upon". Too often the City's response to a riot is to get the established Negro leadership to urge its termination. This can be used to strengthen the dissent. Last year in Atlanta, in the Boulevard area, the youth clearly broke away from the "established leadership" when it attempted to address mass rallies at Tabernacle Baptist Church. (See attachment No. 3.) One program that might be hastily enacted would be one that would give indigenous youth an identification with the city's program and its aspirations. For instance, as in the earlier mentioned case of the Youth Council, young adults that would in all probability be participants in the disruption might be asked to be members on the Atlanta Youth Council. Special emphasis should be given to finding persons who lead the other youth in the area. The leaders could be defined as the persons who "shoot craps" best, talk and curse loudest, and so forth. This statement is not meant to imply that this should be the only method of recruitment. Also the city should engage young adults from various areas whose job would be to simply report to the Youth Council or other official agencies, the current concerns of the explosive groups, without the watch dog aspect being involved. The police department could expand its good neighbor program to include a program in which young adults would come together regularly to air their gripes with the police department, without having to be "professional and polite" in their presentations. These comments should be taken down literally without comment or watering down and then submitted for study and action by the department.

The greater the involvement of youth, the smaller the "outside" group will be. These programs should not just be procedural, but there should be a careful emphasis on executing changes as a result of the legitimate aspects of their complaints. Publicity should be given to such changes so that young adults will stop feeling powerless but rather gain a feeling of increasing effectiveness. The streets, then, are not the only alternative.

Another project that the city government might take on would be to have the Mayor and City Council to designate through youth organizations, blocks or areas as "clean blocks" after a clean-up campaign or some other activity. The city could put up signs similar to traffic signs designating an area a "clean block". This youth group would make periodic inspections and have the power to cancel a block's designation when it decided that action appropriate.

As a preliminary to this action, the city's Community Relations Commission should hold hearings for "Youth only". Representatives of that age group should also be elected to the Commission, and other agencies whose services are directly related to that age group. A careful consideration should be made of selecting these youths from the indigenous groups that feel the frustration of ghetto life rather than those that come out of comfortable middle-class homes.

It seems rather evident if the city could win the approval of at least a few of the youth that this report has described, it will have additional insights into the frustrations of this group and will accordingly have additional information about the plans of those that would prefer to see disruption. The knowledge of plans for disorder is not exclusive information, as stated earlier.

JOC:dwa

ATTACHMENT NO. 1

Cont 4/25

Leader Says Riots Could Hit Atlanta

(Copyright 1967 by The New York Times Co.)

NEW YORK — A local civil rights leader warned Sunday that "there seems to be a real plan underfoot" to cause racial violence in New York City this summer.

Eugene Callender, executive director of the New York Urban League, said that while he did not want to be an alarmist, there were ominous signs

"There are some small groups, small cells of groups that are talking aobut the possibility of violence," he said.

Callender predicted there would be a chain reaction if disturbances erupted.

"If you get a breakout in Los Angeles, Cleveland or St. Louis or Baltimore," he said. "You would get trouble in New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Nashville, Atlanta.

Callender said he knew that many of the extremist groups in New York had links with groups in other communities.

Speaking on a CBS radio program, Callender said that police and community leaders were aware of the situation. He called [illegible] federal funds, [illegible] jobs, as a preventive

ATTACHMENT NO. 2

King Says 10 Cities Are Powder Kegs

By JAMES W. RYAN

NEW YORK (AP) — Dr. Martin Luther King said Sunday that about 10 cities in the nation are "powder kegs" which may explode into race riots this summer.

"I'm sorry to have to say this, but the intolerable conditions which brought about riots violent last summer still exist," the civil rights leader said.

King said he was particularly fearful in regard to Northern cities. "We haven't had any riots in the South yet and conditions are intolerable down there."

[illegible] King listed Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles, [illegible] California, including Oakland, [illegible], N.Y., and Washington, D.C.

Another point King, chairman of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, challenged police estimates of the number of persons who participated in Saturday's demonstrations against the war in Vietnam.

The demonstrations were held in New York and San Francisco. King was the main speaker here, where police estimated the turnout at 125,000. Another 30,000 were listed by police as demonstrating in San Francisco.

King said the New York demonstration, at which he spoke, a demand for the U.S. to "stop the bombing" of North Vietnam, drew "300,000 or 400,000, perhaps more.

He said the San Francisco demonstration, at which his wife was a featured speaker, was attended by 75,000 or 80,000 persons.

King was interviewed after speaking on the Columbia Broadcasting System radio and television program "Face the Nation."

He was asked about a report that the FBI has investigated the antiwar movement and replied:

"The people protesting the war by and large are patriotic Americans. It is totally unnecessary for the FBI to investigate them. There are 15 million Americans who actively oppose the war and millions of others who are not in sympathy with it. I challenge anybody to say that all these people are Communists."

King added that "I don't think the Communists play any significant part in the antiwar movement."

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ATTACHMENT NO. 3

From: J. Otis Cochran

Re: The Disturbance on Diamond Street and Capitol Avenue, S.W., Saturday, April 22nd, and the Aftermath as observed.

Last Saturday evening, a serious brief rock-throwing and jeering incident took place near the corner of Diamond Street and Capitol Avenue, and the chance of a similar outbreak less than a year ago. This incident, like the previous one, was precipitated when a white man shot a Negro man. The difference was in the fact the former incident involved a white policeman, the latter involved a white merchant. According to the various stories gathered from residents in the area, shortly after the hubbub, the white merchant became impatient with the Negro man as he deliberated before making a purchase. When the man attempted to make the purchase, the white merchant snatched away the merchandise (foodstuffs). When this happened, the words were passed and the white merchant, apparently without provocation, shot the Negro man.

Word of the shooting spread quickly and a group of young Negro men started throwing stones at the window of the merchant's store. The windows were all broken out and some displacement of the merchandise occurred. Several dozen police were dispatched to the scene and the crowd that was gathered dispersed.

I returned to the scene twice on Sunday (the following day) and found the area normal and no outward sign of disorder. The merchant was re-opened and a few Negro children were making purchases at the store. However, the young adults, apparently between 16 and 25, were standing around and discussing the situation in very resentful terms. One of the guys said, "They ain't seen the last of this." Overall this seems to be the thoughts of the young adults. I have

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

little reason to question the fact---they ain't seen the last of it.

Adult community leaders contacted also raised some questions regarding the possibilities of recurrence.

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File "Co" Gen.

July 31st

Dear Paul,

I am very distressed to hear of so many riots and deaths in the country. I am not at all sure old remedies work, nor am I sure old explanations for them work. I know they don't work in West Africa.

I spent my first three and 1/2 weeks in Europe - England, France, Italy. I behaved like a naive tourist and was impressed by everything I saw and spent all of my money. Consequently, my mobility in Ghana is tremendously hampered.

I am assigned to Awudome Sec. School. The school is recessed at the moment, so I am, at present, rising at 5 AM and helping workmen make bricks for construction of a dormitory.

Coming to Africa puts the "Black Mystique" into perspective for me. What it says in Ghana is probably unlike what it is coming to mean in the U.S.A.

The first week of the "home coming" was interesting amidst natives hellos, that meant - "Greetings European". While the Afro-American holds a common heritage claim with West Africa - I think some of the advocates over-simplify a complex relationship, which at best is culturally strained.

This space also for correspondence

I am not really sure, I've said anything - it's difficult by candle-light on an aerogramme. I hope we can talk it out on my return. Give my best to Mildred and the others. I don't promise letters because I've run out of stamp money, even.

Again thank you for your help

BY AIR MAIL

AÉROGRAMME
AIR LETTER

Mr. Paul Anthony, Exec. Dir.
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, 5th Floor
Atlanta, Georgia 30314
U.S.A.

Unit 1 Aug 12th

Sender's name and address: John Otis Cochran
Awudome Secondary School, Box 33
Tsito, Volta Region, Ghana
West Africa

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE; IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGED OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

in making this experience possible.

"Keep the faith, baby" -

All the best,

Otis

P.S. I have lots of stuff for New South

This space also for correspondence

Aug 23rd

Dear Paul,

Thank you so very much for the money. I am glad you understood the letter. I was reluctant to ask for money straight-off because I am aware of how much you had already done.

The money order itself has not arrived but I understand it sometimes takes a couple of weeks or so to arrive. I have been able to may a couple of emergency loans from two American students to tide me over until it arrives. I expect it any day now. I elected to stay in Africa for my second camp rather than going to Italy for one.

I will be anxious to work off the expenses. I feel that I have learned a lot and am anxious to write about and talk about my experiences.

Many things in Africa (Ghana) are hopeful, many things are disappointing. Decolonialization is as painstaking, though in a different respect, as is desegregation.

The Black Mystique is here - what is it? It seems to be the feeling of "similar situation" and the awesome task of determining not only how to get out of it, but how to,

This space also for correspondence

in some measure, exchange and substitute roles.

I am inclined to write more, but I can see Mildred standing there, Vernon on his way in and the telephone ringing. I'll save my clumsy rhetoric for later.

BY AIR MAIL

AÉROGRAMME
AIR LETTER

Kathy

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314
U.S.A.

6p

Sender's name and address J. A. G. Cochran, AFSC
7 Rue Ambroise Thomas
Paris 9e, France
Europe

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE; IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGED OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

All the best,

Alex

P.S. Tell the gang hello.

This space also for correspondence

Fee for Co "gen"

File

RUTGERS · THE STATE UNIVERSITY

THE EAGLETON INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

WOOD LAWN, NEILSON CAMPUS
NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY 08901

Attach to ltr to Wade for Otis Cochrane

June 11, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of recommendation in support of Mr. Otis Cochrane who has applied to the Graduate Program at the Eagleton Institute.

We very much appreciate your taking time to give us this evaluation, which I know will be of help to us in making a judgment in this matter.

Sincerely,

Donald Herzberg
cc

Donald G. Herzberg
Executive Director

cc

YALE UNIVERSITY

Sunday, September 15th

Dear Paul,

Yale is truly a different experience. There is little question that it is one of the citadels of education in this country. The competition is fierce, but its fun in many ways. There is a strong separatist movement here — I am not avoiding it neither am I getting involved in it. In short, I'm being a student. Believe me that is time consuming. Today is the first day I've had a place to live — so the first week was hectic and not economical. I had not seen Mr. Fleisman yet — I believe he's the person you suggested I look up isn't he?

I greatly appreciate the interest you have shown in me and only hope that my performance at Yale will re-enforce that confidence.

Also, I hope you will let me know of

any scholarships or financial aid opportunities. I am a little nervous about living so tightly - I, ideally, would like to have to worry only about the law.

I miss Atlanta and all of you - but I hope to come back with new skills - this finally is the way movement will continue to move.

Affectionately,

Otis

J. Otis Cochran
Sterling Law Building
Room 2582
Yale University Law School
New Haven, Conn.

September 23, 1968

Mr. Otis Cochran
Sterling Law Building
Room 2582
Yale University Law School
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Otis:

Glad to hear you are settled, and needless to say, I wish you the best of luck.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

YALE UNIVERSITY

October 7, 1968

Dear Mildred,

I just wanted to drop you a note to thank you for the help you have given me. It will take at least an hour to tell you about Yale — I'll just hold off until I come home.

Also tell Ruth I appreciate the way she writes checks — Smiles.

By the way, please put me on all the SRC publications mailing lists. I am hungry for news of Atlanta and Dixie. Keep the faith, or whatever.

Love,

Otis

P.S. Send Leo Dunbar's address — I should write him a thank-you note. Thanks.

Nov. 1968

Plan for Work:

I plan to continue studying law at Yale University during the duration of the Fellowship. I am presently involved in some of the human rights activities of the surrounding black community. I am also the chairman of the Black Law Students Union. If I am awarded a fellowship, I will be free to pursue my law studies and continue my related work in the community and with the Black Law Students Union, without having to seek remunerative employment.

Actually, my plan is to continue doing basically what I am presently doing. The fellowship would relieve me of the financial worries I presently have in carrying out my plan of work.

Otis Cochran

JOHN HAY WHITNEY FOUNDATION

111 West 50th Street, New York 20, N. Y.

Subject: Opportunity Fellowships

Name of Candidate: John Otis Cochran, Jr.

Report requested of: Mr. Paul Anthony

Position or Title: Executive Director, The Southern Regional Council

The above applicant for an Opportunity Fellowship is transmitting to you this request for confidential information and has advised the John Hay Whitney Foundation that you are in a position to evaluate his or her qualifications.

Opportunity Fellowships are intended to develop the talents of younger Americans who, because of arbitrary barriers such as racial or cultural background or region of residence, have not had full opportunities. They are designed to serve the needs of persons who have given evidence of superior promise. Your report will be of material assistance to our Awards Committee in determining the action on this applicant.

A copy of the applicant's proposed project is enclosed. Will you please mail it with your report directly to the John Hay Whitney Foundation in the envelope provided not later than January 1.

Your evaluation should not be shown to the applicant and will be held in strict confidence by the Foundation.

So that your report may be reproduced and sent to members of the Committee for study well in advance of the meeting at which awards will be made, it should be returned as soon as conveniently possible. Photocopying of the report will be facilitated if it is typed with a very black ribbon or carbon backing, or written in black (not blue) ink.

Name of Candidate: Mr. Otis Cochran

HOW WELL DO YOU KNOW THE APPLICANT? Please indicate in what capacities and for what period you have known him. If you have taught him, please list the courses.

Casually for about eight years when, as a student, Mr. Cochran became active in the civil rights movement in Atlanta.

ABILITY AND COMPETENCE: Please compare this applicant with other students whom you have known at similar stages of training.

Perhaps Mr. Cochran's greatest ability is his determination. He reflects the poor public school training and inadequate college training that would be expected. He is, however, determined to overcome these handicaps. Since I have seen Mr. Cochran do the "impossible" several times, I think he may well succeed here.

EVALUATION OF APPLICANT'S PROPOSED PROGRAM: Is the program sound and feasible? Is it well calculated to meet his needs for training and experience? What suggestions do you have for its improvement?

Mr. Cochran's efforts to secure training in the law at Yale University is an excellent one. We badly need more Negro lawyers in this region.

ESTIMATE OF APPLICANT'S OVERALL PROMISE: Please indicate any facts or suggestions that will assist the Awards Committee in its evaluation. Has applicant given evidence of determination to carry out his academic program? Does he show superior promise in his field of endeavor? For what type of career is he most suited? What, if any, are the applicant's limitations which would make you hesitate to endorse him?

As indicated above, support of Mr. Cochran is a gamble, but I believe it is a gamble which should be taken.

PERSONAL RELATIONS AND HEALTH: Are there any limiting factors in the applicant's personality? health? or physical condition?

None, to my knowledge.

FINANCIAL STATUS: The award of Opportunity Fellowships is based on both ability and need. Does the applicant meet the *need* criterion?

Mr. Cochran has no resources so far as I know.

Signature.....

Position or Title: Executive Director

Institution Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

January 23, 1969

Mrs. Richard C. Sachs
Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund
for Racial Equality, Inc.
164 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Mrs. Sachs:

Through an oversight on my part I have neglected to respond to your inquiry concerning Mr. J. Otis Cochran as a candidate for scholarship aid. I hope these comments do not reach you too late, and that they are of some value.

I have known Mr. Cochran since the early 1960's when he was engaged as one of the student leaders in the sit-in movement in Atlanta. Since that time he has engaged in a wide range of activities in this community concerned with civil rights. I am sure his application reflects these.

Mr. Cochran does not have a good scholastic background, and it will take a great deal of effort and determination on his part to overcome

this. However, perhaps his outstanding characteristic is his determination. Should there be funds available, I think his future and the contribution he can make deserve your serious consideration.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund
for Racial Equality, Inc.
164 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10016
Telephone: (212) 532-8216

Dear Mr. Anthony

Your name has been submitted as a reference by J. Otis Cochran in his/her application for an Eleanor Roosevelt scholarship from this organization.

These scholarships are awarded on a competitive basis. Preference is given to applicants who have made an outstanding contribution to organizations and programs in the human rights field. These include activities aimed at:

1) realizing equality of persons of all races and ethnic background;
2) bringing the disadvantaged and disenfranchized into participation in American society, and
3) improving the social, economic and education condition of deprived communities.

Personal qualities such as maturity, creativity and responsibility are considered with emphasis on leadership potential and leadership positions held.

May we ask you to fill in the enclosed form, giving as full information as possible on your knowledge of the student's work in the community and your assessment of his ability and promise. We would appreciate your candid and complete comments on this applicant. All information will be treated as confidential.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Nannette Sachs, Vice President
(Mrs. Richard C. Sachs)

SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION AND DEFENSE FUND FOR RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.
164 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016 -- Telephone (212) 532-8216

Reference Form: ELEANOR ROOSEVELT SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

You have been designated by J Otis Cochran as a personal reference in his/her application for an Eleanor Roosevelt Scholarship.

The criteria for the scholarships emphasize contribution to organizations and programs in the human rights field. Would you please fill in this form giving what information you have on the applicant's participation in activities aimed at achieving equality and improving conditions in deprived communities. Your estimation of the quality of his/her contribution is important, particularly of leadership ability and of potential for exercising future leadership in this field.

We would appreciate your answering questions as fully and candidly as possible. Thank you for your cooperation.

---

1. Please describe activities related to human rights in which applicant has participated and indicate leadership position(s) held.

2. Please give your personal assessment of the value of the applicant's contribution and of his/her potential for future activity and leadership.

3. Please indicate any knowledge you may have as to applicant's financial need and as to whether his need is related to his/her work in the human rights field.

Your Name _____ Address _____

Human rights organization(s) with which you are associated _____

Position held _____

Capacity in which you have known applicant _____

9/68

Cochran, Otis

BLSU

BLACK LAW STUDENTS UNION

YALE UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL

1968-69

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

In the pages that follow, we have gathered a number of items to illustrate some of the activities in which the BLSU has been engaged during the past few months. We have been involved in an extensive dialogue with the law school faculty on several issues affecting the internal functioning of the school, and some of the policy statements that have emerged from that dialogue are included in these pages. While efforts to reform the law school and its attitudes toward black people have necessarily taken up much of our time, we have not abandoned our concern with the national social and political problems which led many of us to come to law school in the first place. We have therefore included statements we have prepared on certain of these problems, statements which have invariably received wide support from the whole law school community.

We cordially invite you to read our pamphlet along with the materials sent to you by the law school. Yale enjoys a reputation unmatched by any other law school in the country, and although this reputation has inevitably bred a certain smugness and a possibly exaggerated view of its excellence among large segments of the faculty and student body, we think you will nevertheless find here the most varied and flexible curriculum for the study of law available anywhere. We hope, therefore, that you will join us next fall at Yale, not only to study law with some of the best legal scholars in the country, but also to learn with us the myriad other lessons that life in this university provides – lessons which can help to equip us to meet the problems that life in America causes us all to face.

Umoja,

J. Otis Cochran

J. OTIS COCHRAN
CHAIRMAN
BLACK LAW STUDENT'S UNION
YALE UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL

PR - advice please

April 24, 1961

Dear Mr. Fleming,

I am writing to you about an idea which I have. I was told that I might write to you by several people in New York, and, having written your name down I saw a television program about desegregation with you and the Little Rock school board chairman answering questions, and this reminded me that I would do well to write to you now.

I am a child psychiatrist, and my wife is a school teacher. I have had considerable experience in talking to both white and colored children in Boston in both diagnostic and psychotherapeutic interviews. I am interested in talking to some of the colored children who are or will be attending partially desegregated schools, where they will be several amidst hundreds of whites. I would also be interested in talking to some of the white children who are with them in class, and to the teachers, as well as the families. The intention would be to approach the child in a specific and rather intense crisis from the point of view of the physician and psychiatrist rather than from a more sociological viewpoint. It would be a study in individual depth and a study of feelings and thoughts. To my knowledge no child psychiatrist has done this. I have talked to several colored groups, and might well be able to reach some of the children, depending on where I start. I had thought that it would certainly be more desirable to begin or even limit myself to areas where there are only a few children integrated, so that I would have a manageable group, rather than one of the large border state city school systems. I had thought of the Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill area, with 10 or 15 children there. I had also thought about Atlanta, with the possibility of seeing the children before school starts, thence afterwards.

I have lived and travelled in every southern state. I was a psychiatrist in the Air Force in Mississippi for two years. My brother is an assistant professor of English at University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. I think I have some feeling for the problems and troubles in the South.

It is hard to talk at great length with paper and typewriter. I would be glad to fly down to Atlanta and talk with you. I could send you some information about my training and references, if you wished. I guess the hope would be that I could find out something with cooperation of both races and a school system or two. Impossible? Please drop me a line.

Sincerely yours,

M Robert Gale, M.D.

****

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 4/27/61

To: lwd From: pr

Subject:

Les, this sounds to me like an interesting possibility. I suggest we try to check on Cole through NT contacts and if favorable, communicate further with him. Perhaps Fleming could see him in NY sometimes without any extra expenditure.

May 1, 1961

Dr. Robert Coles
520 Beacon Street
Boston 15, Mass.

Dear Dr. Coles:

We have read with much interest your letter of April 24, addressed to Harold Fleming; Mr. Fleming has recently resigned from the Council's staff.

Your proposal is an interesting one, and we would like to explore it further. Specifically, what we are not clear about is the use you would make of the interviews. I assume you would hope to publish their write-up in some form, but I wonder if you could let me know a little more of your thinking about this.

I am enclosing a copy of a report done for us some years ago by Kenneth Clark. This is a rather drastic condensation of Clark's original manuscript. You will also be interested in the article by Professor Weinstein in the November, 1960 Southern School News, where he reports on some interviews in Nashville.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:A
Enclosure: Clark, Observations in the Negro Community of Little Rock

PTT - somewhat?

May 5, 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

Many thanks for your kind letter and the enclosure. I have talked with Kenneth Clark in my first weeks of this project, and he was rather helpful. I have talked with several psychiatrists as well as some people in the allied fields of social psychology and sociology. I would surely hope to write about my psychiatric impressions and talk about any conclusions that the case history or psychiatric approach might offer. I can certainly assure you that I would not be interested in any use of these interviews that would not be in the traditions of my profession of medicine and psychiatry. I have published articles before, and presented material at the American Psychiatric Association. Of course, I'd be glad to send you information about me and my work and references. I thought that perhaps the best thing for us would be a talk, and, if you are agreeable I might fly down to Atlanta soon. What would be a good time for you? If any day is suitable, I'll decide upon a time and let you know by air mail. Several people in Boston urge me to stop at Washington and talk with Mr. Fleming as well as with you, and I might try that, also.

Hoping to hear from you soon,

Yours sincerely,

M R Coles M.D.

M. Robert Coles, M. D.
520 Beacon Street
Boston, Mass.

May 22, 1961

Dear Leslie,

It didn't take long to get back to rainy and cold New York and wearily stumble along to my wife's presence and hear her note in the early morning of a May Sunday that my eyes were blood shot and I looked tired, and how did things go? I told her that "things" had gone well, or "well" , and then collapsed for some completely dreamless hours of sleep. Then we drove to Boston, and today I was back at work again.

I called up Katherine Taylor, and she told me to write to Vernon Eagle, and tell him about my ideas and my visit to Atlanta, and not, not just yet, mention that I had talked with her, with her first , because there is a rule about letting all people approach the director of the foundation first rather than have board members have their "pets", and so I wrote a tactful letter and sent it by plane, and will watch my mailbox and await.

I am beginning to feel that Kafka and I will have a few moments of conversation in some borgia of the Inferno. But I decided that I really had to laugh and keep going, and so there it is on Monday the twenty second. And, finally, I want to thank you very much for your kindeness and good hospitality, and I hope that you will thank your wife for her good cheer and food and tell your son that I'm sorry I caused his defection from Gary Cooper and all. I enjoyed talking with you, and felt that I could understand and be understood, and that is about all that one can wish for in this world.

I'll write again, and I guess that something will happen as time passes. At this time, though, my thanks and appreciation to you and your family.

Regards

Bob

C
O
P
Y

M. ROBERT COLES, M.D.
520 Beacon Street
Boston 15, Mass.

May 31, 1961

Dear Mr. Eagle,

I'm glad that I called you and talked with you. I had typed up all this information in some hope that all this narcissistic exuberance and detail could be redeemed by some assistance in this idea, which I do believe is of some worth and also feasible. In the article which will appear in the Atlantic Monthly in July I have said what I strongly believe about my work in psychiatry, and now I hope to implement some of these feelings and ideas. I find it hard to tell you about our need for money, but thought that the fairest thing would be to estimate food and lodging and travel for a year, since I think it will take a year for me to interview with some closeness and sense of subtlety and depth the several groups of children of different ages and in different situations, hence different locations throughout the south. My wife would be with me, and is a teacher at the Shady Hill School, where she now is in charge of their ninth grade. She would help in some of the evaluations of the school problems, and would help in transcribing my interviews. I might want to get a recording machine. We estimated that $5,000 might be a reasonable estimate of our rent, travel, food for a year. I might well

need more than a year, or less, depending on how things go... I suspect more, mostly to write any findings. But I think that in a year the real heart of the matter could be at least touched. Perhaps you would, if I see you, help me in appreciating how to approach the strangeness of the financial world!

In any case, I shall call you after next week has ended, and perhaps I could then come down to New York and talk with you. Thanks very much for your time and words on the phone, and I hope I'll see you soon.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ M. Robert Coles

PR by
I M
MV
MA
AD

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

June 19, 1961

Dear Les:

Robert Coles and his wife came down and spent Saturday afternoon and evening with us in the country, and we had an opportunity to discuss his plans.

Your description of Coles was very accurate indeed, and I have a good gut feeling about the man and what he wants to do. I told him that we would be willing to consider a request if the application is made by SRC, and I indicated that you would probably be willing to make such application. I asked him to get in touch with you to give you a specific idea of what his needs will be and a somewhat more detailed schedule of how he proposes to go about his task.

I will check up on his qualifications which appear to be excellent from the vitae he sent to me.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Phone:
617 - CO2-0340

June 21, 1961

LA 3-8200
MASS. GENERAL

Dear Leslie,

Thanks for your letter. I awaited a reply until Janie and I could go to New York and talk with Vernon Eagle, and return and then find enough time in the midst of a rather crowded schedule of disengagement from work and friends to write. We spent an evening with Vernon, and it was rather interesting, and, in your enigmatic language, somewhat hopeful. I was delighted with your letter. I thought of recommending a career in the State Department, and then I thought that, really, we are all in one large State Department.

But, anyway, I shall be able to work by early August, and I guess it might be good for us to talk sometime about people and places and times. Vernon told me that I might write to you and ask you whether you would apply for some money from the New World Foundation, which would go to the Southern Regional Council, and I would be sponsored by you. I would be happy with this. I enjoyed talking with you, and felt a sense of understanding and I think we can work well together. I think one senses this in a few hours, and I guess I feel free enough to say it now.

What more to say? I'd be glad to send you any information about myself or letters of reference. I don't know how much money Janie and I will need. I told Vernon that, and suggested he educate me in this regard. I do know that I want to work with some care and thoughtfulness, and write with some

sense of meaning and regard and readability. Time should not be hovering and money shadowing our every move and twitch, but life is not without limitations, and we as humans are hopefully alive and limited, and so must try even without the smoothest and easiest roads of travel.

I'm beginning to lose myself , and so had better stop. I'll hope to hear from you soon. Let me know what you think and feel about the now and the future and ideas and ways and plans and , and.

Regards,

Bob Coles

July 3, 1961

Mr. Vernon Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Vernon:

Enclosed is the Coles proposal. I would be willing to bet that we won't be sorry on this fellow.

As I told you over the phone, in this one case SRC will not, if the grant is made, take its usual 10% of a project grant for overhead.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm
Enclosure

A PROPOSAL

to the

New World Foundation

Since 1954, one of the decisive chapters of American history has unfolded around the schoolhouses of the South. Unfortunately, the interplay of passion and politics and law has absorbed not only the attention but the concern of the public. There has been little comprehension of, indeed little sensitivity to, the needs and experience of the children involved in this epic controversy.

As a step in the re-directing of interest and thought toward the children, and their educational and emotional problems, we are proposing a study of the reactions of Negro and white children to the experience of desegregation. The objective would be to come to know these youth, and to learn in diagnostic depth what they undergo and how they react. This would not be a sociological study, but a study of personal involvement, change, and growth.

Dr. M. Robert Coles is available for this undertaking. Dr. Coles is a well trained psychiatrist, thoroughly interested in the problem and deeply concerned with the injurious impact on personality which threatens in the desegregation process. His vitae is attached. Dr. Coles' wife, now a teacher at Shady Hill School, will assist him in the project.

Project

Dr. Coles would live in Atlanta for approximately a year, beginning in August, 1961. Starting then -- before the initial desegregation of schools -- he would interview individually and in groups the 10 or so Negro children who have been assigned to formerly all-white schools. He would continue these interviews throughout the year. He would also select a panel of white children from the bi-racial classes and talk with them on the same continuing basis.

Atlanta will furnish an instance of one kind of situation; viz. pioneering children in the first year of desegregation. Dr. Coles will select at least one other type of situation, and conduct there similar interviews: this will be a place (e. g. Raleigh or Durham)

where desegregation is past its initial year. The intention would be to approach the child in a specific crisis from the point of view of the physician and psychiatrist rather than the sociologist. It would be a study in individual feelings and thoughts and personality adjustment.

Publication

Dr. Coles will endeavor to publish his findings through a university or trade press.

Funds

A preliminary estimate of expenses is as follows:

Living costs and salary for Dr. and Mrs. Coles while in Atlanta	$6,000
Travel	1,000
Clerical and related costs	500
Total	$7,500

On a project of this kind, where individuals and not groups are the object of study and the final writing of the report needs time for reflection and exact presentation, it is not desirable to indicate precisely either a deadline date or a fixed budget. The amount requested is, therefore, a preliminary figure. If granted, we would hope that the New World Foundation would be willing during the course of the project to review the financial needs. It would be our plan to release money from the grant to Dr. Coles on request, supported by progress reports, and to keep you fully informed at all times on the status of the work.

Wed. from Sat — on-week of 14th.

July 3, 1961

Dr. M. Robert Coles
520 Beacon Street
Boston 15, Massachusetts

Dear Bob:

As I suspect you may note, the money got whacked: this a result of a cautionary telephone call to Vernon Eagle. There are two things you would want to know. One is that Vernon wants to keep the grant as low as he can. The second is that he did agree to the insertion of the penultimate sentence in the proposal which was not there when Mrs. Miller read it to you over the phone.

The fact that Vernon has connived with me a bit is no assurance that his principals will vote the money; pretty good sign, but no positive assurance.

Looking forward to seeing you soon in Atlanta. Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm
Enclosure

Coles

August 9, 1961

Dr. Robert Coles
520 Beacon Street
Boston 15, Massachusetts

Dear Bob:

I understand Paul called you and told you the New World Foundation had approved the grant. Congratulations. Let me know when you will be arriving and what we can do toward helping you settle in.

Vernon Eagle concluded his letter by saying, "Please let me know when you will want the check sent to you." Please let me know.

I am awfully glad that it worked out. I am sure there are other reasons for feeling so, but principally at the moment I am just pleased that you will be in Atlanta next year. You wrote a good article in the Atlantic Monthly.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

Copy to Vernon Eagle
10/17/61

October 15, 1961

Report for Southern Regional Council of activities of Dr. and Mrs. Robert Coles from August to date.

We came here in early August, and in the past two months have been in Atlanta, apart from two week long visits to New Orleans in early September and early October, for the purposes of doing similar work there. It is hoped that we may continue monthly visits to New Orleans.

We have established a good and continuing relationship with the nine transfer students in Atlanta. We visit them in their homes, in most cases the first white social visitors. We see them and their families from once to three times a week, depending on the child and family. In six cases we see them three times a week, two cases twice, one case once. They phone us, and e have an active and full week with them. We have taken them to parent teacher meetings, driven them to school, and generally shared with them much of their earliest experiences in this period. I have carefully recorded each meeting....I hesitate to use and dislike the use of the word "interview". In addition, I have talked with numerous school teachers in the four shcools, individually and in groups. I have talked with two of the school principals. I have talked with the school superintendent and his deputy. This has given me some view of the school system's outlook. I have also talked with the school psychologist. Finally, we have attended numerous meetings before and after the opening of school, having to do with civil rights, human relations, and allied concerns. I am in the process of talking with some of the students in the so-called "student movement" at Atlanta University, and plan to continue to get some idea about the psychological aspects of the sit-ins, the non-violent approach, etc. I have spoken at Atlanta University, at the Unitarian church, and will talk at the Unitarian church in Huntsville, Ala. in a few weeks.

In New Orleans I have talked with the families and children of the white children who remained in the Frantz school last year, the Conners and the Rev. Foreman. I have talked with the school secretary, leaders of negro community, and the Negro children and families going through school desegregation there. I have had several opportunities to contract the two cities in several important regards. In Atlanta, also, I have started talking with some white youngsters at school with the colored boys and girls. This will be continued. I plan, further talks with other officials, the two federal judges in the two cities, some newspaper officials, and, perhaps, some segregationist leaders and followers. This last matter will require further strategic planning, but I am not as pessimistic as I was a few weeks ago.

So far, what we have is a detailed and emotionally replete documentary of the individual reactions of nine children, their families, and, to some extent, their community, in a peculiar crisis. We have another view of smaller children and a different kind of crisis in another city. We will follow this along, and continue to extend the dimensions of the community, white and colored, visited. I amy plan one more city, with one or two children in the "middle years" of about 10 or 12. I think that there are extremly interesting findings from the viewpoint of a child psychiatrist to report. And I am glad that I have the opportunity to follow these children over a good long and intensive period of time.

Finally, my thanks to the Southern Regional Council and the New World Foundatiom, retrospective thanks, present thanks, future thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Coles

File - Coles

March 16, 1962

Credit Division
Credit Card Department
American Express Company
P. O. Box 36, Church Street Station
New York 8, New York

Gentlemen:

Dr. Martin R. Coles is employed by the Southern Regional Council as a special research consultant in the field of psychiatry. Since the cost of this project is borne by foundation grants we are not able to determine specifically what his annual earnings will be. Employment began during August of 1961 and we anticipate that the project will run for approximately two years. We also anticipate that Dr. Coles' salary will be approximately $8,000 per year and that he will have a comparable amount per year for travel expenses.

We would unhesitatingly recommend him for credit.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mr

March 16, 1962

Credit Division
Credit Card Department
American Express Company
P. O. Box 36, Church Street Station
New York 8, New York

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Dr. Martin R. Coles is employed by the Southern Regional Council as a special research consultant in the field of psychiatry. Since the cost of this project is borne by foundation grants we are not able to determine specifically what his annual earnings will be. Employment began during August of 1961 and we anticipate that the project will run for approximately two years. We also anticipate that Dr. Coles' salary will be approximately $8,000 per year and that he will have a comparable amount per year for travel expenses.

We would unhesitatingly recommend him for credit.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mr

Leslie

Outline of Activities 21
of Mr. Robert Coles 17
August 1961 - March 1962 24

Notes on some activities of one Robert Coles and his wife from August 1961 until the present time in April of 1962.

1. Visits twice weekly or weekly to 9 Negro children and their parents and to 8 white children and their parents, at their homes in both cases. All ages 15 to 17. (Atlanta)
2. Weekly talks with two teachers in different high schools who teach the so-called integrated classrooms. (Atlanta)
3. Monthly meetings with small groups of teachers who are in the four high schools involved in desegregation. The principal of one of the high schools has attended several of these meetings. They are held in ~~my home~~, apartment or at one of the schools, or at the home of Dr. Edward Ladd (Chairman, Division of Teacher Education, Emory University) ~~(Emory School of Education)~~ ~~in two instances~~. (Atlanta)
4. ~~Advice and~~ Attendance at a variety of organizational and committee meetings in ~~Atlanta, such as~~ ~~OASIS, then~~ OASIS and Atlanta and Georgia Councils on Human Relations. ~~Have been on the school desegregation committee of the Atlanta Council, and helped get some of the housewives to visit the homes of the transfer students.~~
5. Talks on some aspects of "mental health" and desegregation at Unitarian Church, ~~in Atlanta, at~~ Spelman College, ~~at~~ Morris Brown College, at Wheatley branch of YWCA, and at various meetings in ~~in an October visit to Huntsville, and, more recently, in a two week tour of~~ Alabama, Tennessee, and North Carolina.
6. Lecturer in Education at Emory. ~~...lectures and~~ leader of a weekly section in course called "Mental Health in the Classroom" ~~...affording opportunity to talk with Emory undergraduates interested in teaching, and opportunity to tell them about some of the work being done by my wife and me.~~
7. Monthly visits to New Orleans, where 10 colored children of ages 6 and 7 are seen, along with their parents for several visits. I am collecting a group of drawings which are interesting expressions of the young child's reactions to some stresses of desegregation. Seven white youngsters of 6 and 7 are seen similarly during these visits.
8. Interviews or discussions with significant people in Atlanta and New Orleans, such as ~~like~~ Atty. Tureaud or Dan Thompson or Lester Maddox or Supt. Letson or Mr. William Melkild or Mrs. Moody of Atlanta Board of Education in the crisis of Donita Gaines, Eugene Patterson and R. McGill.
9. Visits to schools, children, teachers, parents, in Charlotte, N. C., Oak Ridge Tenn., Clinton Tenn., Burnsville N. C., and Asheville , N. C. ~~Visits to Human Relations Council meetings in Huntsville, Ala., Birmingham, Ala. And a few more to come. Talks with a fairly wide variety of people, such as students At Miles College and Alabama A. and M. , president of Birmingham Southern, Psychiatrists at Emory (presented some observations at Emory Child Psychiatry staff meetings.)~~

Tureaud
Thompson
Letson
Melkild
Patterson
McGill

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

~~10. Encounter with a lawyer and Radio-Tv station owner in Birmingham.....?!~~

11. Work with ~~students...SNCC.~~ Interviews with several of the students, some taped. Observations of how they get along, how they live and feel and hope and pray and live and fear. ~~...and maybe I'm reaching the point of stepping this dry cataloguing.~~ Following some of these students through their experiences, such as visit to Baton Rouge jail and to Washington, long talks with Bob Zellner, etc. I think that it is interesting to see how students a little older than high school age manage under certain extraordinary stresses. It might be useful to document the reactions and feelings, even dreams, of certain students under certain undemocratic confinements. This might illustrate the nature of our uncertain and occasionally unfulfilled democracy, in its non-encounter with youth.

~~12. Oh, I've helped with a few talks, like a lecture on thought reform for Howard Kinn's course in China or Non-Western Studies, or a lecture on child development, or something as ill suited to lecture as that at Quaker House, and a discussion with a group of Spelman Social Science honors candidates and their leader Staughton Lynd of R. Niebuhr's Moral Man and Immoral Society, and that kind of jazz.~~

~~13. Our efforts with Wesley have made us appointed "southeastern scouts", actually, on checking the letter, "chief southeastern scouts" for Amherst College.~~

~~14.~~ 15. I can't really say that there is much more to ~~say~~ write other than some months of talking and hearing and reading and thinking. Crisis and tension mingle with anecdote and irony and laughs. ~~And any "study" will be but another grappling with what it is which is the nature of man.~~ I think that studying how children of different ages get along with one another and with different races for the first time, and also how harrassed whites get along in lonely Alabama Human Relations groups, with themselves and their alien neighbors, and how college students get along in jail and over an unfriendly land, in continual flight and fear and defiance, I think these are subjects of purview, survey, and worth our attention. If successful, such "studies" will remind each of us, again, who we are.

Bob Coles

~~April '62~~

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Coles, Dr. Robert M.

REGARDING:

Study of the Adjustment of Problems of Negro and White Children to the Experience of Desegregation.

(A Proposal submitted to: General Education Board April 4, 1962 for supporting funds)

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Foundations - General Education Board

May 16, 1962

Miss Joan Titus
Time-Life Broadcast, Inc.
Time & Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York 20, New York

Dear Miss Titus:

Bob Coles and I have both listened to the tape and so have some others here. It is a very good job though I wish - deeply and plaintively I wish - that you people had not joined the chorus of those who talk about "extremes of both sides." This is one of the most meaningless but also harmful bits of jargon we have to contend with.

I will be very interested to hear whether Macon and Dallas carry this broadcast. Will you let me know?

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

TIME-LIFE BROADCAST, INC.

A Subsidiary of Time Inc.

TIME & LIFE BUILDING, ROCKEFELLER CENTER, NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

JUdson 6-1212

May 2, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

This Friday we are shipping to our subscribing stations a broadcast based upon an interview I had with Dr. Robert Coles. For your records, I am sending a tape of "The Children Should Be Heard."

I hope you are pleased with the show; as a whole I am satisfied with it, though there are some changes I was unable to effect.

Because of the show --- that is, the many delays in its production --- I neglected writing sooner. But I hope it's not too late to say that I enjoyed meeting you and appreciated your guidance on Atlanta's Negro leadership.

Please say hello to Mrs. Long and Mr. Moss for me, for each was most cordial and helpful to me; and when I crawl out from under the pile of work I have I will write to them.

Regards,

Joan Titus

Joan Titus

RECEIVED
MAY 4 1962

Ephemeral on back side

"formally tied"

TIME-LIFE BROADCAST, INC.

A Subsidiary of Time Inc.

TIME & LIFE BUILDING, ROCKEFELLER CENTER, NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

JUdson 6-1212

RECEIVED
MAY 4 1962

Note:

The subscribing stations are not obliged to broadcast the half-hour shows which we send monthly (as bonus items to our weekly series of six feature strips --- each strip consisting of 5 five-minute shows). If all the stations, however, air the show, it will be carried on approximately 15 stations, three of them Canadian. We have stations in Macon, Ga. and Dallas, Texas, but I doubt that they will play it!

JTitus

THE CHILDREN SHOULD BE HEARD

MARCH OF TIME THEME UP, HOLD FOR :07, DOWN B G FOR LOCAL ANNOUNCE:

ANNOUNCER:

Station (LOCAL CALL LETTERS), in cooperation with TIME-LIFE BROADCAST, presents THE CHILDREN SHOULD BE HEARD. Your correspondent, Dick McCutchen:

MC CUTCHEN:

Four Negro students will graduate this month from previously all-white high schools in Atlanta, Georgia. Four of the nine Negro children who climbed over the color bar to enter those schools last year. Of the original nine, eight are left. One girl dropped out...the others have been tempted to follow suit at least once every day since they first walked through the white hot glare of publicity into their classrooms.

Like young Negroes who have found themselves cast in similar historic roles all over the United States these children have been symbols of violent passions---hope, hatred, fear. Symbols to the extremes of both sides---from the most militant liberal to the most rabid segregationist. Both sides were guilty of the same inhumanity in regarding fearful young human beings as immutable symbols, incapable of change.

What you are about to hear is a report on an attempt to evaluate medically the experiences of these children. It is a report made public for the first time on this broadcast. The extremists on both sides will not like all that follows. For these children...being human beings after all, not symbols...don't always read the dialogue that each side would like to write for them. The symbol just won't stand still. The man conducting this study is a slim young psychiatrist from Boston, Dr. Robert Coles. Quietly, with no banners flying, he has been working in Atlanta for a year under the auspices of the Southern Regional

Council...talking with great patience to both whites and Negroes, students and parents. In just a moment, he talks to a young Negro girl who has discovered that the white world isn't all black:

ANNOUNCER: THE CHILDREN SHOULD BE HEARD will continue after this message:

(LOCAL PUBLIC SERVICE OR COMMERCIAL MESSAGE)

Now, Dr. Robert Coles talking to one of the children who should be heard, an 18 year old Negro girl:

COLES INTERVIEW:

OPENING CUE: "COULD YOU GIVE ME SOME IDEA HOW THINGS HAVE GONE FOR YOU OVER THE PAST SEVEN OR EIGHT MONTHS..."

CLOSING CUE: "YES, THEY EXPECT ME TO SORT OF DISLIKE WHITE STUDENTS AND NOT WANT TO BE AROUND WHITE PEOPLE IN GENERAL BUT THAT'S NOT THE WAY I FEEL ABOUT IT."

MC CUTCHEN:

Those last words are significant...(REPEAT LAST LINE OF INTERVIEW.

GIRL'S VOICE: "BUT THAT'S NOT THE WAY I FEEL ABOUT IT".) Even the families of these children made the mistake of seeing them not as they are but as they were expected to be. Throughout this project of Dr. Coles, there has been an attempt...largely successful...to remain almost cynically aloof from the passions of the integration argument. In just a moment, Dr. Coles himself traces the findings and vlue of his work. THE CHILDREN SHOULD BE HEARD continues after this message:

ONE MINUTE BREAK

Now, Dr. Robert Coles reports for the first time on his work with a group of Negro children who defied the customs of generations:

(COLES INTERVIEW ENDING"...WITH BOTH HOMES AND CONCERNED ABOUT BOTH THE FAMILIES).

MC CUTCHEN:

You are listening to THE CHILDREN SHOULD BE HEARD. It continues after this message:

(LOCAL BREAK)

MC CUTCHEN:

THE CHILDREN SHOULD BE HEARD is a report, made public for the first time on this program, of the work of Dr. Robert Coles, a young psychiatrist who has been working with those Negro children who entered previously segregated schools in Atlanta, Georgia. Dr. Coles continues with his report:

PICK UP COLES INTERVIEW "...AS A PSYCHIATRIST, I GUESS I HAVE SOME FEELINGS ABOUT CHILDREN AND ADULTS..."

Ending... "...AND WHAT THEY ARE WILL OR WILL NOT PERHAPS WORK IN THIS KIND OF CRISIS."

MC CUTCHEN:

THE CHILDREN SHOULD BE HEARD will conclude after this message:

(BREAK)

MC CUTCHEN:

And now the conclusion of THE CHILDREN SHOULD BE HEARD:

COLES INTERVIEW STARTING "...I WANT TO TELL YOU ABOUT AN ANECDOTE THAT I HEARD IN NEW ORLEANS WHICH WILL PERHAPS SERVE..."

Ending "...ANY ONE OF THE VARIOUS SITUATIONS THAT CONFRONT HUMAN BEINGS."

Of the Negro students Dr. Coles has been working with for almost a year, four will graduate from high school this month. And what they have learned from their sometimes shattering experience can best be seen in the fact that although all four had planned originally to attend integrated colleges only one still intends to...the others will go on to Negro schools. Dr. Coles sums it up this way:

"THEY STILL WANT TO BE INTEGRATED INTO AMERICAN LIFE..."

"...AND GIVE ME A CHANCE TO CATCH MY BREATH".

As the lines of the integration conflict sharpen, there is an increasing tendency

on both sides to see the opposition in the broad brush strokes of the stereotype. The unflinching stoicism of the freedom rider on the one hand...the unfeeling zeal of the racist on the other hand. Both could learn more about the other by remembering these children...the symbols who were sick to their stomachs. The southern writer, Lillian Smith, put it this way in her autobiographical KILLERS OF THE DREAM:

SMITH STATEMENT...

"I DON'T KNOW WHEN I BEGAN TO UNDERSTAND..."

"...CRIPPLING THE PERSONALITY OF THE OTHER".

And on both sides, THE CHILDREN SHOULD BE HEARD.

Dick McCutchen, TIME-LIFE BROADCAST.

MUSIC UP, DOWN FOR LOCAL ANNOUNCE:

LOCAL ANNOUNCER:

You have been listening to THE CHILDREN SHOULD BE HEARD, a special report produced by TIME LIFE BROADCAST in cooperation with Station (LOCAL CALL LETTERS)

June 23 '62

Dear Leslie,

We are back in New England, and it has been rainy and foggy and them all these family people andsuch about. I think we'll be very happy to return to our rural Georgia new home not too long from now. Jane and I have escaped to a place on the Cape where the wind makes a lot of noise and it's hard to get salt out of the wet shakers and I get nervous at high tide and since Jane is the sailor I feel helpless on the boat, too. If ever I knew that I belong in a city slum, here is the time and place, but then, I have writing to do, fortunately, which saves me from the embarrassment of all kinds of ignorance of local customs and folkways and habits and all.

I was crushed in New York, finding myself in the midst of the smooth and suave and very attractive people on the New Yorker , who told me that I had done a very fine job, really very fine repeated again, but not for them because it is a subject which is "too specialized." I had to laugh at that, having read about the most wondenfully obscure things in that magazine. I was terribly crushed, rejected, and such. If I didn't know better, I'd have consulted one of my ilk, but, then, they were very comforting and encouraging and soothing, and made me feel like a kind of illiterate hero. Chris Rand, who recently published something as non-specialized as a discussion of the types of Greek Monasteries in the Aegean Islands, told me that the New Yorker has only published two of his last eight pieces, and so I should realize that their motif is resistance . Well, when I started recovering I felt like forming an O.A.S.

On to Boston, where there are friendlier souls, though it is hard dealing with the intricacies of friends and relations. I am delighted about the book on Youth, because I had a long talk with the editor, and He seemed delighted with me. A mutual admiration society. In all seriousness it will probably be a good book. He is taking the Daedalus issue and expanding it with three additional articles. These are one by none other than Arthur Goldberg , if they ever settle the AirLines strikes, on Industrial Youth. Another by the chief of Education of the Peace Corps on Youth in the Peace Corps. And the third by little bobbie coles on his views about Southern Youth and some such title..actually I've thought of The Serpent and the Dove, faithful to my Niebuhrian Ethic.

But, I am writing the article, it will be a good and substantial chapter , I hope. Erikson feels that the book will command good attention, and I think he's right. He is a good editor, and very much wants me to do a good job, and will watch me closely, which will get me annoyed , but work well. He is a good teacher and psychoanalyst, and wants to go over all the drawings of the children in New Orleans with me, and talk about the children in Atlanta. I was buoyed (oops, the sea again) by his enthusiasm about the work. By the way, he is now a subscriber to the New South, having taken the initiative, and filled in the subscription form as he read Wesley's poem. Finally, he knows Mr. Dabbs, who writes to him, and says that he was asked to talk to Dabbs and a few others from the SRC in western Massachusetts on Identity (his favorite topic and interest.. whatever it means) last year, or the year before. I didn't get the story clear, but Mr. Dabbs will know him and what it was all about. I get scared with professors and lose my hearing at times.

And then, at least the Atlantic Monthly is faithful. They are doing a supplement on the Child in America...God save us!!... and want me to write in that...comes out in March , I think, and will have to be finished by November. That is definite. Weeks, their editor, is going over my Notes from the Underground piece. His associate editor cautioned me that he thought that "a chapter for the Daedalus book and a discrete article for their supplement"might be the best way "to prepare for the book." Well, I'm damn disgusted not only with these discrete people, but with my self, who is, I suspect, all to willing to "sellout." No wonder I'm writing about the Serpent and the Dove. But, what else can I do, just now?

Finally, I hope to set about on the Report for SRC. After the chapter and before the article. And, tell Maggie that I read the book on Will Alexander. My review will be brief and say, in essence, a damn good book, read it , you all, who read this magazine.

Janie and I miss Atlanta, y'all, the SRC, and a kind of quietness and lack of half empty emphasis on form and manners. A poor Negro woman was showered with rocks at age 75 in a Boston Housing Development, and the papers here concentrate on moral outrage about Little Rock and its reverse freedom riders. I suppose moral outrage is another way of not looking at oneself, but it's uncomfortable whether understood or not.

I had better close. I'm sorry for rambling and not being careful, precise, and organized. I will say that we very much and very carefully and precisely miss you all. Give our best to Maggie and the entire staff, who are, I hope, now afflicted with "social cohesion", or some such impossibility. Tell Paul Anthony that he cane sail about Buzzard's Bay (I could go on with a description of the Buzzards) with Jane and that it will be very enjoyable. I carry very Old Fitzgerald on my trips with her, and after a few minutes with those heavy alcoholic resins the ocean is just an old puddle and my mother is no longer fearful.

Our best, and much love,

Bob

What a damn narcissist I am. I haven't hoped that you had a good vacation, haven't hoped that all goes well, and have generally talked about my bloody self. Well, we'll see you soon....

Files

RECEIVED
JUL 19 1962

Dear Leslie,

Paul Anthony came by yesterday and it was quite pleasant to sit here and talk over a drink or more. I had just struggled to the end of a long walk with this chapter on the challenge of the students in the sit-ins, and such, trying to convey something of what I felt and observed in some of those talks with Dion, Zellner, Jim Hanson, and others. I am , really, in no position to judge the work of other people, plagued right now as I am with doubts about my own ability and value. When you grapple with about 13 or 14 thousand words in all their combinations and symmetry and awkwardness and when you see yourself revealed in all your pettiness and pride and spurts of meaning and drags of boredom, you are more inclined to charity than may be the usual case. I'm giving it to the editor Wednesday, and will then take on a statement for the American Psychiatric Association, which I dread. Also, tomorrow that fellow Gerald Walker is coming up here to talk with me after having talked with Martha Holmes, one of the transfer students in Atlanta last week. Then , to tackle some report for you, and that Atlantic article business. I'm coming to hate this typewriter. I'm planning to come down there next week , or thereafter and bring back to these minds of scruitiny and easy opinion the drawings from the kiddies in New Orleans. I feel that I have to submit to that ordeal.

I spent last night doing two things. I read the two reports which you sent, and then, in some apprehension, I read the letters of James Agee to his friend Father Flye...just published, so very moving and touching and full of what it is to be a sensitive human being and love and doubt and hate and be petty and pretty worthwhile all poured forth in his fine way of writing. Well, when I read those thick reports on Selected Values and Goals in Border State Communities , and the other on Factors Affecting Changes in Attitudes...I became annoyed and appalled by the charts and massive , intricate, self defeating language. There were words like "generalizability," and the whole effort was like one of those soggy days in crossing a field, with grime collecting on one's boots and rawness in the air and the grass which is so hard to remove , and is so betrayed that day. And then, I thought, I said to myself, what can we do? Who is to judge? It seems so sad for them, but they are stumbling around, and trying to get somewhere, and the tragedy is not so much what they are doing, or what they are trying to say, or, even, how they say it, but the tragedy is the heavy seriousness, the total separation from fun and humor which seems to be their lot. I wondered what in God's World ever happened to cause people to get tied into such binding sin. It is sin , this absurd certainty about the world which they

offer. It is a kind of revealing sin, though. I feel it in myself, feel all that secret delight which says that I see things that may be missed by others, and that it is my fate and value to tell them to the world. I suppose, to some extent, this is what we all do when we write, and what we all do when we try to impart information, rather than fantasy in fiction or poetry.

I feel I should restrain myself. I am simply trying to say that I saw the devil in myself exposed by those heavy reports you sent. I am utterly unable to evaluate them in any professional way. They all seem alike to me. I get lost in them, lose my way through the thickets of words, thorny, prickly sentences which tear at my mind and make me angry, then very sleepy, then thirsty for a huge gin and very small tonic, with a deeply green lime for some color and taste.

So there it is, all my arrogance. I shall keep the reports, and take them down with me when I fly down soon. They will jeopardize my baggage allowance. But, we carry a lot of excess baggage with us anyway in this life. I only hope that I can continue to remember the lesson of these reports...how separated mankind can become from itself....Perhaps this is the glory of these reports, their lesson....

Regards to all of you. Jane and I miss you all.

Best - Bob

Coles

Fine - Staff

August 1, 1962

Dr. M. Robert Coles
c/o Mrs. John W. Hallowell, Sr.
1425 Brush Hill Road
Milton, Massachusetts

Dear Bob:

Your letter of July 30 came today and the manuscript as well. We are off next week to spend a few days vacation at the Yungblut's cottage in the North Carolina mountains, and if you don't mind I will take the manuscript with me to read there. That is, if we go; as seems to be your habit you leave town just when your patients need you most. That thing on my foot is causing me fits, at lunch I broke again the facing on my bridge, Peggy is having major butchery done by the dentist, Linda has been a cripple for two weeks as the result of a too flamboyant twist, and Tony is away at camp writing plaintively that he has allergies "or something." I think the mechanism of the universe has come unhinged and that we are an immanent phase of it.

Ever since the first of your three unanswered letters I have been looking for you to drop in as you repeatedly say you plan to do.

I was keenly unhappy to hear that your house was broken into.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

August 2, 1962

Dr. Robert Coles
c/o Mrs. John W. Hallowell
1425 Brush Hill Road
Milton, Mass.

Dear Dr. Coles:

Where the devil are you?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:nm

P.S. Your S. S. (secret secretary) also wonders what has happened to you.

via air mail

August 6, 1962

— file, Staff - Coles

Dr. M. Robert Coles
c/o Mrs. John W. Hallowell, Sr.
1425 Brush Hill Road
Milton, Massachusetts

Dear Bob:

Enclosed is the requested pen money. Disregard my brief letter of last week which yours of today answers. The issues of New South and special reports are being sent to you separately. Annual Meeting set for November 19 and 20 -- do hope you will be back by that time.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check #441; $750.00)

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

BUREAU OF STATE SERVICES

Refer to: CHS-PHS

February 14, 1963

Dr. Robert Coles
Vinings, Georgia

Dear Dr. Coles:

We appreciated the opportunity of exploring with you the possibilities of a study in the area of mental health of domestic agricultural migratory workers. We have a real need to get better data in this largely unexplored area in order to gear our programs toward meeting mental health needs of migrants more realistically. A study along the general lines you are considering should be quite useful.

I am sure you gathered from the meeting today, as well as the meeting we had with the people from the National Institute of Mental Health and other research institutes, that we are quite willing, and indeed eager, to help in any way we can in providing background information regarding migrants, helping you make contacts with knowledgeable people in the field, serving as consultants in the development of your study, etc.

We trust you will keep in close touch with us as your plans develop.

Sincerely yours,

J. Robert Lindsay M.D.

J. Robert Lindsay, M.D.
Chief, Migrant Health Section
Division of Community Health
Services

Enclosures

file
B. Coles

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Ginzberg, Mr. Eli

REGARDING:

LWD ltr. to Ginzberg outlining B. Coles's research project and requesting his help in approaching the National Institute of Mental Health for possible financial help.

DATE

March 6, 1963

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT

Correspondence General "G"

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Rhind, Miss Flora M.

REGARDING:

LWD's ltr. to Miss Rhind outlining Bob Coles's project and requesting additional funds for Gen. Edu. Board.

DATE

March 15, 1963

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Foundations - General Education Board

Dear Les, I'm back from a most interesting trip to Belle glade Fla., where I've launched what I think is the beginning of some interesting work among the migrants. I'd like to talk with you about it upon your return from Washing-ton.

Upon my return today (thursday) I found this disappointment, which made me a bit sad. I sure hope the government or some aid comes through.

Best,

Pat

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

MEDICAL AND NATURAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

March 27, 1963

Dear Dr. Coles:

Dr. Morison and I have read with a great deal of interest the papers which you sent to Miss Rhind, and since then have been exploring the possibility of fitting aid for this work within the Foundation's present program interests in the Medical and Natural Sciences. Unhappily, we have had to come to the conclusion that studies of this kind are rather too peripheral to the very limited kinds of things which we feel that we are able to do. I personally am very sorry about this negative decision, since the work seems to me to be so full of interest and importance--an opinion which Dr. Morison shares. It may well be that the NIH would also find this type of study somewhat difficult for them to support. However, I would strongly urge you to look into the possibility of help there, not only because NIH is the usual source of support for medical research in this country but also because one can never be sure what the outcome will be unless one tries.

Miss Rhind asks me to let you know that she will continue investigating some of the other avenues which she has in mind, and will of course keep you informed.

I think you will realize how much I dislike having to reply in this disappointing way. I hope very much that you will be able to find assistance which will enable you to carry on.

With warm good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

John Maier

John Maier, M.D.
Associate Director

Dr. Robert Coles
c/o Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia

JZM:MEN

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE • BETHESDA 14, MD.

NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH
Tel: 656-4000

RC

MJ. file

April 10, 1963
In reply refer to:
NIMH-RU-PG

RECEIVED
APR 17 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Eli Ginzberg and I have discussed your letter of March 6 to him regarding the possibility of a grant for Dr. Robert Coles. I regret that the only avenue I can suggest is the regular National Institute of Mental Health grants procedure. The application review process requires several months, and the earliest review would be the late November meeting of the National Advisory Mental Health Council. If Dr. Coles would like to submit an application, he could obtain information and application forms at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare Regional Office, 50 Seventh Street, Room 440, Atlanta 23, Georgia.

Sincerely yours,

Herbert H. Fockler

Herbert H. Fockler, Executive Secretary
Mental Health Project Grants to
Community Programs Committee
Research Utilization Branch
National Institute of Mental Health

~~Lunch~~
file

SOUTHERN CHILDREN UNDER DESEGREGATION*

BY

ROBERT COLES, M. D.

*THIS REPORT IS TO BE PRESENTED TO THE
AMERICAN PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION
AT ITS
ANNUAL MEETING, MAY 6, 1963

SOUTHERN CHILDREN UNDER DESEGREGATION*

ROBERT COLES, M. D.

INTRODUCTION

Confronting certain children in the South today are the tasks of getting an education under unusual conditions of social stress. These children, their families and teachers, have happened upon a moment in historical change, and their behavior in such circumstances deserves our attention. For nearly ten years now the deep South has faced increasing national pressure upon its avowedly segregated system of public education, and slowly, with stated reluctance, it has been forced to begin to permit the entry of a few Negroes into its colleges first, its high and elementary schools later.

We need not doubt the highly charged and symbolic meaning of desegregation for many people in the cities of the South. The mere approach of one six-year old colored child toward a white school could arouse so old and sophisticated a city as New Orleans for weeks, bringing in its

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*This study has been sponsored by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, a group of prominent Southerners, white and Negro, whose purpose is "to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all people of the South." I am deeply grateful to them.

wake unease all over the city, with mobs, vandalism, and international notice as expressions and consequences. Atlanta spared herself what other cities had experienced in this regard only through the most careful and determined planning of an alerted police force thoroughly supported by the local political leadership and the newspapers.

What has happened again and again is the explosion of words of hate and deeds of violence by certain white people, these in turn prompted by fears and anxieties. Public disorder, organized scorn, or, under conditions of order, carefully patrolled calm, such are the external conditions somhow faced and managed by those scatterings of Negro children who continue to press their admission and attendance upon formerly all white schools; and these dark children are received by their waiting white classmates in various ways. As psychiatrists, we must look further, trying to find out how these several groups of people think and feel, looking at their responses under tension, evaluating their survival and manner of accommodation with new realities daily urged upon them. In any crisis of society are the individuals who enact it, seeking it, caught in it, attempting to flee it. This particular struggle has many roots in our history and culture, many implications in our current political and

economic life, all of them beyond the present concerns of this paper, which must be with the individual child and his psychological development and adjustment. We may only emphasize that such distinctions are arbitary if necessary. No child can be separated from the history of his people, from their lot and their condition. This is not the place to chronicle the fate of the Negro in America, nor to trace the development of the white man's attitudes in the South, or North likewise, toward him. Such has been done by historians, (1-4), sociologists (5), psychologists (6-8), and psychiatrists (9-14), and, as we take up our work here we are forced merely to mention these facts of "culture" or "environment", or "socio-economic context." It must be obvious, however, that at every moment in the life of these children, such facts are firm realities for them.

Nature of This Study

Our Negro children have been selected by others, by themselves and their parents by virtue of application, by federal judges by virtue of decision, by school boards by virtue of compliance and permission. Our white children have been those who attended class with these Negroes, in the beginning simply living their normal lives of growing and being schooled; suddenly finding themselves with new questions of attitude and behavior. Finally, the parents of all these children, white and colored, and their teachers,

all of them white, have been a part of our study, supplying valuable observations about their children and students, talking a good deal about their own problems in what is for many of them, of both races, a critical adjustment in habit and thought.

We have tried for lengthy acquaintance with children of several ages. They have been as young as five and as old as eighteen. In New Orleans they were the little ones, entering first grade, attending second and third grades. They included the four Negro girls, who at age six, first entered two white schools in 1961, and four of their classmates; the six additional Negro children who entered the same and other schools the next year, and seven of their white classmates. In Atlanta they were the ten Negro children who were selected for that city's first year of desegregation, five to enter the twelfth grade and five the eleventh of four high schools, and ten of their white classmates.

All of these children have been followed for two full school years. We have seen the children in Atlanta at least once a week, often twice weekly, depending upon the child and the circumstances at work in his personal and school life. We have visited the children in New Orleans every month, seeing them two or three times in a period of a week's stay. With the teen-agers and their parents we have come to their homes and talked with them; with younger children we

have come supplied with toys, crayons, and paints. Though regular home visitors, we have also been to their schools, talked with their teachers separately and in groups. We have known many of them months before schools opened, watched them enter on their first day, and graduate or be promoted on their last. Among white children we have aimed at diverse opinions on segregation. In both cities we have children from families actively in favor of desegregation and very earnestly opposed. In Atlanta one family is connected with the Klan, two others militantly segregationist; in New Orleans four families of like mind.

In brisker fashion we have journeyed to other cities, other Southern regions where desegregation has begun, hoping in a few interviews with children, parents, teachers for comparative information on adjustment and progress. Little Rock in Arkansas, Clinton and Oak Ridge in Tennessee, Burnsville, Asheville, and Charlotte in North Carolina, have offered rural and urban contrasts, and information from a more northerly South than Georgia and Louisiana.

Observations and Discussion

Our chief concerns have been what color means to a child, how these children, Negro and white, see themselves and respond to one another, how they handle the strains of desegregation, the shock of one another's presence, the anxiety and anger on the streets or the fear inside their

homes; finally, how their attitudes and feelings change or persist over the months of these eventful and unusual school years. It would be fatuous indeed to ignore the separate nature of existence for the black and white child in the South. We must therefore, tell their fate and our findings separately, starting, in each case, with the young and moving on to the older child.

Negro Children

We may note, initially, that there are no obvious social or economic ways to distinguish these families whose children participated in the first years of desegregation. These children have come from all classes, the very poor to the comfortable, the educated to the barely literate, long time city dwellers and recent arrivals from fast disappearing farms, and a wide variety of motives have pressed upon them or their parents, most especially the desire for better education, and the advancement of their people's struggle for equality. In no case were they cajoled, rewarded, or even asked to apply.[1] In both Atlanta and New Orleans many

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[1]One of the most common beliefs I have met in the South, held not only by segregationsits, but by many people very sympathetic to desegregation, often by many kind teachers, is that the NAACP in some way recruits these children, then rewards them, pays them, bribes them, the verb depending on the attitudes of the particular person. I have yet to see evidence of this with any of our children.

were eager, but only very few chosen. Selection was based in both cities upon the declared regard of school officials for seeking children able and capable of surviving an obviously special and possibly traumatic experience. In both cities and in others over the South, psychological tests were given, personal interviews held. Four in New Orleans, ten in Atlanta, survived these for first year desegregation. These children represent, therefore, a residue deemed by educators fit and superior to other aspirants.

We have seen, and we must emphasize, heavy and hard, that each of these Negro children must learn and has learned how to manage in the white world of the South. From their first years they must be taught, and, slowly begin to realize fully for themselves, what they may do, where they may go, how they must behave. These dusky children of six, their yet smaller brothers and sisters of three or four, are fast learning such facts of social life, and their older kind in Atlanta have already mastered these childhood lessons quite well.

Drawings of these young children reveal their emerging sense of shame and worthlessness, their feelings of weakness before white skin and their envy of it. While all children have their troubles with many of these emotions, early sorrows, frights, rivalries and angers, for the Negro child, in contrast with the white child's experience, they

have a real basis in the world outside the home, regardless of the pleasure and happiness within.

For instance, a six year old boy, several months at a heavily boycotted but desegregated New Orleans school, draws his view of himself and one of his few white classmates, and, in another picture, sketches his idea of his place in school. Another child, a girl of seven, having faced daily mobs, draws her school and herself. The boy leaves some white on his right arm and leg, draws himself smaller, more bound and animal-like than his blond classmate, who, in reality, is smaller and much less active and darting. He puts himself in one part of his school, his white schoolmates in another, although, he assures me, in actual fact they are together in classes. ("They say we're not supposed to, but we are.") The girl pictures herself a lonely blackbird, cautiously winging her way toward the school, hesitant, fragile before white mankind as birds generally are before people, a host of her black kin segregated in distant knots of black upon a blue sky. Another of the four girls, one who saw a whole school empty in the face of her admission, draws her school with bright flowers on one of its sides, a stealthy brown squirrel on another. Again, she draws a white girl friend as large, smiling and blooming with cheer, while a colored child ("it's not me," she hastens to tell me with no prodding) appears in a corner

of the paper, dour and droopy, lips puckered, legs looking lamed.

In these homes I have seen white dolls kept separated from colored ones, called, in two instances, King and Queen. On the other hand I have seen our same children eventually feel free enough to hit, crush, or shatter these small white worlds of dolls and toys, looking at first fearfully or guiltily at me, later able to talk rather clearly about their deep feelings of resentment and hurt. ("If the white hits the colored, the colored has to hit him back." Or, "The white people call us bad, but they are the real bad and we never get bad enough to be bad like them, so I'm just fooling." He had just been rather merciless with a white boy in a coloring book, crossing him out with giant strokes of his black crayon.)

In her very overworked and overstated affection for whites in paper and in play a five year old girl shows other, contrary attitudes at work. She never quite felt free enough to express them directly, but their symbolic presence could not be concealed. She had always given white people features, had drawn carefully and precisely their blue eyes, had marked their fine noses by thin pink lines, had outlined their slim, curved lips, jarred only rarely by all too excessive teeth which loomed larger than the mouth which presumably contained them, and almost threatened the entire face. Negroes never

had eyes, noses, mouths, only large ears. They were anonymous, and would thus not reveal their true feelings, though they were listening all the time. One day she looked furtively at me as she started drawing eyes and a nose for a colored mother and her daughter, then quickly left her crayons for the escape of skipping and dancing. We both knew why. She had always been able to talk about how white children played and felt, telling me stories to go with her drawings, telling me thereby about many of her own normal problems of growing and getting along with her mother, her father, her sister and brothers. What she feared talking about was one problem, how she felt about being a Negro, how she felt about the restrictions and prohibitions which even then she was learning, which even then were being reinforced in their power over her spontaneous urges, in busses, in stores, in movie houses, in lunch counters. At school she could play with white children and study with them, but she knew this condition was special, and precarious at that. She found attendance at a desegregated school much easier, however, than revealing her private, her family's private fears and hates, of those white children, of their parents, of their entire world. Several months later she again drew a Negro woman, again gave her eyes and a nose and lips which were surely, widely Negro. She was able to finish her work, filling in details of sky and ground, and, in reply to my

hesitant question, "What does the woman see?" I heard "The dark, 'cause the sun isn't out." She laughed and pushed her paper with its nicely done picture aside; then volunteered "one more." It was an obvious witch, broom and all, under a black sky, over two buildings of red and orange brick, similar to ones she had done before of her house and her school. Halloween had passed by three months. I noted that to her. She replied, "Some witches are always alive, and this one just stayed around." This particular sorceress was brown-skinned. At this point I felt I could mention that to her, and did. She replied, "Oh, yes." I pressed with "Why?", and she eventually explained that some people, she knew it, didn't like Negroes. Here she was showing what others thought, but also what she thought, with ugliness and isolated eccentricity the image held of them by whites, but also by themselves, by herself, too; and with shrill vengeance the Negro's secret fantasy.

Positive feelings toward this white doctor, occur. Apart from an occasional doorstep visit from an insurance salesman or such, these children and their parents have never before acted as friendly host to a white guest in their home. Real trust must, therefore, be distinguished from early, anxious, fearful ingratiation, just as these must be differentiated in older children and adults, race apart, too. In three children, particularly expressive with crayons and

paints, lessened distrust and fright seemed to appear with pictures of me, to which they would hastily add brown skin or coloring. First my tan or dappled complexion would be erased with a new picture started, or an apologetic remark indicating an error voiced. After a while I could be left colored, and they learned that it caused me no pain. Two asked me if I minded. No, I didn't, they found out, then tested my words and tried their freedom to make us seem more alike by embarking upon a spate of such drawings for a few months. Eventually they abandoned this game. One of them was able to tell me once that she was soiling me, for which she was very sorry. I remarked to her that she had painted a large shining sun, and that, perhaps I was being sun-tanned. Yes, she murmurred, that, too. Those children who found desegregation a happier experience than expected drew schools progressively less forbidding and impersonal, played games less hectic or guarded. Those whose school experiences had been frought with much tension expressed much of this in our games, trying, oftentimes, to make sense out of the experience by re-enacting it. One girl would imitate the crowds, the unfriendly crowds, then turn on them, disperse them in a model of police efficiency painfully in contrast with what had actually happened on the streets. "I'm better than the police," she told me once.

These angry crowds took on highly individual implications

and meanings for each child. Mob reproaches are fitted into the normal problems of growing. A child who feels guilty about her wishes to hurt or eliminate her brothers and sisters can wonder whether the epithets of street walkers are not really designed to punish her for her secret, and sometimes not so hidden, fantasies. At five, six, or seven, they are very much involved in the rights and wrongs of the world, how to tell them apart, how to mediate between their evolving conscience and quick-rising wishes. One six year old boy, whose mother was pregnant, drew his large bellied mother standing near his desegregated school, a fire hose nearby, a few whites standing afar. Asked for his rationale, he explained the story he was drawing, "They're mad (whites) because we are going to their school, and they want the fire hose back, but it's ours, too." Oedipal strivings and the realities of dealing with mob dispersal are fixed neatly together here.

What the parents intuitively knew was that they must acknowledge their children's perceptions of a sullen or hostile world, all the while assuring them that there were other worlds of affection, and, even among whites, support. One mother put it this way, "I tells her that she's right and those folks don't like her nor me either just 'cause we're colored. But I say that me and her daddy went against worse in the older days, and we is going to go right through this, and, we got a lot of the whites who are helping us all the way." For many

parents this was a forthright chance to talk openly with their children about their problems as Negroes. By no means is it easy for Negro families to talk with one another about such matters. Shame, self-hatred which can express itself in contempt for one another, these make such open talk hard. A father illustrates this: "Before I tried to fool them maybe a little, because I figured there'd be plenty of time for them to find out what the world is like, and, besides, I figured we'd take each situation as it comes up. Sometimes they'd try to get me to take them into a restaurant or a movie, and I'd invent all kinds of stories and try to take their attention away, divert them you might say; but I kind of knew they were too smart underneath. First they'd keep on asking, or ask questions like 'why not?' and then sometimes I'd lose my temper and tell them to shut up. Then they'd give you that look that makes you feel stupid, or maybe like crying, and I'd hear them later on, telling one another the truth .... 'because we're black' they'd say. They say you can't fool children, and I guess they is right, but can you blame a parent for trying?... Now we can relax, and it's all in the open, and it's easier with the other kids just as with her" (the girl in the desegregated school.)

Balancing outside threats and anxiety were the inside supports of the school as well as the home. While these

children were applauded by their own communities, and many people all over the world, they also received help from their teachers and white classmates, few to many in number, depending upon the year and the school involved. Three of them, learning their letters in an abandoned school, had no white classmates the first year and about fifteen the second. One of them studied largely alone at first, though she always had about five, then about ten white students with her at the beginning, and later, in the second year, over one-hundred returned to school with her. Perhaps if we hear two recorded comments, from a Negro and a white mother, we will understand what happened inside these battered schools. A Negro mother told us "Ruby came home the other day and told me that a new white girl came and she came right up to Ruby and told her in the middle of the recess that she wasn't going to play with her, 'cause her mother done told her to stay clear of niggers, but Ruby said they played together right afterwards." A white mother, who kept her children in school under constant threat and intimidation commanted: "Once they were in school, it was fine. Why, they practically worshipped that little girl (Negro) After all they'd never had it so good ... so few of them to a teacher, and all that excitement. They loved it. I got scared, all the calls and their faces ... but the kids kept me calmer than I kept them. They weren't afraid...they had a real school spirit... they

sang songs like "Frantz School Will Survive"...they became real close together... Yes, it was like a family, and I guess the police were like their fathers, and they even joined in with the singing. I think the teachers became more determined than ever to stick it out and protect the children after they saw what those people were like. I've never heard such foul language..."

We saw evidence of anxiety, nervous loss of appetite, fretful disposition, unusually scrappy behavior with brothers and sisters, rare tearfulness before going to school, and one temporary episode of bed-wetting, but never were these crippling in length or severity, similar to the kinds of complaints which bring children to child guidance clinics. Parental anxiety could trigger a child's, but none of these parents ever seemed near collapse in their ability to cope with daily living. Subjected to curses, warnings of attack and death, job loss, these people drew close together, inside their own families, and within the shared assurance of a group. Very important, often overlooked, is the fact that theirs has been a life time of adaptation to what they know and feel to be unfair treatment. A father put it this way: "It's not new, and it won't be the last time, but now my child is closer to me than ever before, and we both are going to get through this, because at last we've got a reason for our hardship, and, Lord, that makes it easier

than ever before." We heard similar sentiments over and over again, in every city visited, from our teen-aged children in Atlanta particularly, able as they were to talk for themselves.

If the young child can draw and play his sense of himself and the white world outside, draw and play his fears and tensions under desegregation, and how they fit into his problems of growing up, the older child will have a style of living, a manner of thinking and feeling and acting which do likewise. In our adolescent children we have heard over the months conscious and unconscious expressions of lessons learned earlier, now organized into patterns of behavior: meekness masking rage, anger expressing shame or anxiety, fearful guilt following expression of frustration or humiliation, and, in general, a thicket of rationalizations, apprehensive controls, and bland denials, covering sadness, bitterness, and, always with "the Man"[2] around, uncertainty and fear.

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[2]Negroes often refer to the white world as "the Man" or "The Bossman." A fine coat might be called a "Boss Coat." When I went on vacation I was told several times to have a "Boss Time." Words used by whites and Negroes in the South to describe Negroes are associated with all kinds of social and cultural variables, often hard neatly to categorize. I have heard Negroes and whites use different terms to describe Negroes depending upon where they are and with whom, as well as their feelings behind the words. Poor white people generally use the word "nigger," and I have heard many Negroes do likewise, in serious and humorous self-description or derogation. Many middle-class southerners use the term "nigra," and it often emerges in quiet, honeyed fashion, with no mean intent, but simply a natural derivitive of the southern accent. Many southerners, much conscious of race relations or interested and responsive to northern custom use the word "Negro," sometimes, I feel, a little awkwardly and unnaturally, because it is not a word until recently used by most southerners to describe the Negro. I feel that the word "colored" is more often used by gentle white northerners, but I have heard it used by many Negroes in the South, and more rarely by white southerners. Of course, the "black man" the "dark people" and the "Africans" also have usages which are perhaps too specialized to discuss here.

We must emphasize, again and again, that for many of these conscious feelings of rage or intimidation to be revealed, for many dreams and fantasies to be spoken, much time and development of trust was needed. The parallel with any psychotherapy is obvious, but the contrast between these "healthy" Negroes, these "normal," even "superior" teen-agers and their white classmates in ease and freedom of social expression is startling. White children, can, and often do, say what they feel about Negroes to themselves and, often, to Negroes, say friendly things, say hurtful things. Negroes not only have no such relatively ready confidence or articulation with a white person, a fact which is obvious to many people but still denied by many more, but Negroes often are unable to talk with one another about their lot and problems as Negroes. Self hate, learned from a culture which has bound, ostracised, and proscribed them, becomes a hate for one another. The dreams, associations, comments and written remarks, drawings and paintings, and letters of these children richly illustrate such developments.

Of course, all adolescents have their problems, of quick growth and heightened awareness, of torn feelings, of doubts and dreams charged with new hormonal strength; but, again, the Negro adolescent has a special problem with the all too real social and cultural truth of his past exploitation and still curbed apartness. The whole play of the mind will be

seen in these youths, their projections and introjections, their distortions and excuses, a host of justifications and remedial responses to the lessons of inferiority, well learned by them, gathered by them from the white ocean of habits, customs, its culture which surrounds them and controls them from their first years to their last moments. From tapes we can hear their words: "I'm glad I'm not white, all that worrying about losing Atlanta's reputation if a riot comes when we desegregate," or "I don't think there's any real difference between white and colored, except that we're lazier most of the time." Or, "We deserve what we get, and until we work harder, we'll just have to take it." Again, after a year and a half, "I never told you the truth, because I never trusted a white man before... Why should we?... Sometimes we hate all of them, it doesn't make any difference who they are, it's the whole race... You know, sometimes I could just kill every white man in sight, whether I knew them or not, but that's more like what you call a daydream. I'd never really do it, it's just when you get so frustrated and they treat you like an animal, that's when it comes out..." A boy who had been at a white high school for months, and seen a Negro wield a knife in the downtown section of his city remarked to us: "Negroes are uncivilized more than whites... Sometimes they behave like animals... I feel ashamed of them... Yes, I guess it makes

me feel ashamed of myself, too." Finally, "The whites are scared of us. They've always been. That's why they have to try so hard to keep us down... Yes, I guess I think their fears are justified, because I think most of us do, way down, hate them... Well, it's like the cart and the horse, I mean whether they're scared of us because of the way we feel toward them, or if we were made to feel that way and then they get scared because of what they did to us." Little psychiatric interpretation is necessary here.

At fifteen, old ideas, old experiences, racially tinged admonitions from parents, racially connected epithets from the outside world, bulk larger and stronger. Negro adolescents in Atlanta met no mobs, but their age and its own burdens, as with the younger children in New Orleans, merged with the stresses of desegregation. Months before nine of them entered four high schools their names and pictures were in the local papers. While police can deter public throngs; threatening, highly abusive phone calls, similar messages by mail, pressures on employers, pressures by employers, these are less easily contained. Night after night calls came, menacing, foreboding ill, and, in the morning, special deliveries of the same kind appeared. Atlanta was determined to have law and order, but during that anxious summer before initial desegregation was under way, no one could really know what bomb and dynamite threats, what murderous innuendo,

might materialize even with the most elaborate precautions. Nor was the heritage of these families, several poor and recently from farms, conducive to reassurance and thoughtful serenity.

Among the children and their parents, too, anticipatory anxiety and defenses against it were quite prominent. Especially common were the use of denial and rationalizations, such as "I'm not worried about anything," or, "What's there to worry about?" or, "They'll bother the boys" from a girl and "at least we can protect ourselves" from a boy. Frequent projective maneuvers were seen, like "I'll bet they're plenty scared (the whites) of what'll happen," and, "It's nothing for us to worry about; it's their problem, not ours." Loss of appetite, migraine headaches, insomnia were seen. One boy read a law book, versing himself on "assault and battery" sections particularly, but he "just happened to be" doing this, then. Another boned up on kerate, keeping his once slack muscles newly poised. Many, wishing for a foreseeable end to increasing tension, trapped themselves into forecasts of early ease once the first few days of school were over.

Such, sadly, was not to be the case. Long moments of history may disappear, bur not necessarily at the speed hoped by an anxious child. During the school year the trials of hard work, frequent loneliness and isolation, and occasional insult had to be met, and each child had his

or her own way of dealing with these pressures. One of the original ten selected, a very bright girl of seventeen, dropped out just before school opened, she and her family unable and unwilling to bear the daily, rising tension ("We're too far out from the police, and it's too exposed here. They could shoot to kill or dynamite us, and I'm not going to take the chance," the girl admitted, guilty about her decision, but more afraid of what would happen were it not made.) Another slightly younger girl, also quite intelligent, asked to return to her old Negro high school a short while after her first report card showed two A's and three B's, the highest grades of all the Negro students, obtained in a tough academic program. A well spoken, attractive girl, from a middle-class family, of the three Negroes, probably the favorite of teachers and students alike, her withdrawal for what she called "an emotional upset" confused her city a great deal. Front page publicity, local and national, with editorials and heavy television coverage, remarks of concern by the Governor of Georgia, conflicting explanations of the cause, such attention gives some hint of the interest, hopes, the fears, and guilts attached by so many to desegregation in the South.

Having known her for six months, I had seen her respond to apprehension with heavy reliance upon detailed, increasingly burdensome rituals. She was getting little

sleep, eating sporadically and excessively of sweets, and not simply studying but exhausting herself in tangled, midnight minutiae, in unrealistic and obviously hurtful anticipation of all of the next day's possible recitals. While these classrooms were, in fact, for these children, an awkward, silent, closely watched and often fearful stage, this girl could not handle her role as easily as the eight others who stayed and survived. The reasons seemed more connected with her fragile personal and familial history, frought with divorce and parental strife, than desegregation alone. A crisis had sharpened old angers and sorrows, had upset a precariously balanced relationship with her father and sister, and had found her abilities, even assisted by a relatively friendly school body, newly weakened by rigid and frail defenses.

Depressions, headaches, stomach aches, all these were seen with some frequency. Three of the five girls developed definite increase in premenstrual pain, and, thereby temporary absence from school. All three boys seemed prone to headaches and dreams of thinly disguised rage: "I dreamt I was in Little Rock,[3] and they (whites) were coming after

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[3]Events like Little Rock stick fast to these children. They were eleven or twelve at the time, awakening to themselves and their world. All refer to memories of Little Rock on television and identification with the Negro students there. No less than four have used that even in their dreams, to symbolize such feelings as isolation, determined resistance, anger, etc.

me... I started to run, then I found I had a gun, and I turned and it turned out to be a machine gun, so I fired away; I opened up right at them, and I think they stopped... I had another dream later that night. I dreamed I got arrested for driving too fast, and my father said I'd better go to jail because he didn't have the money to pay the fine, and then I woke up ... what a night, it was as bad as school!" This dream-pair of anger, of crime and punishment, was followed weeks later, in the same boy, with "I was running real fast, but then I looked around and no one seemed to be chasing me, so I relaxed. Then I saw a girl walking down the street. She was a white girl, so I looked the other way. You know. Then, a funny thing happened. She told me it was O. K. to look, 'cause I was white, too, and she smiled at me. I think we talked for a while or something, but suddenly she turned Negro and ran from me, and I felt bad, like I'd done something wrong. Then I woke up. I couldn't get the dream out of my mind, it was one of those that stick with you real clear all day... Mostly the feeling of doing something wrong ... I think I woke up before I could get caught or something, maybe the police were around the corner." Sexual identity, racial identity, fears, hopes, guilts, all raw and sharply summoned.

Though harassed, these children were also honored, and, just as the New Orleans parents averred, so did they, that

here was a chance for purposeful stress in contrast to the arbitrary stresses of the daily rejections and exclusions encountered by the Negro in his living and working. Indeed, eight out of ten selected in Atlanta successfully finished these last one or two years of their high school education, though not without signs of tiring and of strain. As wearying as their psychological problems were their academic ones. They come from overcrowded, poorly equipped schools, from years of education in a separate school system which reflects inevitably the position of the Negro, the restricted hopes, the frequent poverty and the precarious affluence, (16) the continual fears, the lessened pace, the boredom, apathy, and that, too, the reactive rage and its impulsive, expressive violence. One says what many have said, "More kids dropped out because they had to go to work, and they didn't think they'd do much better even if they stayed and graduated. Even if they graduated from college, they might end up not any better than if they left in the 9th grade... Man, it's a white man's world all the way. You sure can see it when you get to an integrated school. These white kids have hope, I don't know how I know it, but they do, you can just feel it... I almost feel as if I've been let out of jail and let into America, like walking into one of those TV programs, you know, where people seem free and kind of happy...it's like feeling you're participating, not just always watching and peeking around."

They studied hard, curtailed social activities, graduated. Those who followed them the next year, over forty in number, less carefully picked, struggled even harder with some of these problems of academic adjustment required at so late a time as the last years of high school.

One of the most common difficulties encountered by these colored students was their own ambivalence, their pride of person and new self-respect as Negroes, their identification with changes in Africa, in Asia, in their own country; but also, along side such feelings, the results of their ancient exile from American culture, a sense of their own lowly, tainted nature, an aloof, hesitant, distrust of whites, a self-hatred appearing as suspicion of them even when they are kindly and affectionate: "I don't know what to do when they get nice. It's easier when they ignore you, at least then you're used to it, and we know what to do...when they get friendly, I feel as if they've got some angle to it, or trying to pull something... I guess I don't really believe we've got some equality now...I finally got up enough courage, and walked over and sat with them... Oh, I knew they were friendly, and they wanted me to come over...but you know how it is... But it all went good. I think they were as nervous as I was, but now when I sit with them, no one thinks anything of it." A less successful outcome, in a school less hospitable to its two Negro children, shows one way of dealing with daily rebuke and insult: "I don't care what they say, or what they think of me,..

I'm going to graduate from that school if it's the last thing I do. They can all leave if they want... Man, that's my school as much as theirs, and they don't scare me, and if I scare them, they can go... go and give me the whole school to myself.."

White Children

Since the white children mostly do not leave these schools, or, when they do, usually return after the crisis of violence or mob action subsides, they, too, have reactions to desegregation, a new and often surprising reality to them.

Born and reared in a region which has, however recently, (2) as successors to slavery, developed an elaborate array of social customs, strongly bulwarked by law, which regulate from birth to death doings, if not feelings, between the races, these children are now asked to participate in the beginning of the end of these ways. For the young white child, this ordinarily requires little effort. His age and its momentum appear to overcome even parental injunctions. I have watched them play, children from segregationist homes, urged by their mothers to keep good distance from the one or two colored children among them, yet forgetful of these ideas and pleas in the abandon of play. Teachers say as this one did: "They forget what they're told at home when they start playing. You can't expect children of this age to worry about skin color when they want to play a game or jump rope... I

suppose if their parents scare them to death about it (skin color) they'll remember, but it'll take work to prevent children from being friendly one minute and nasty the next regardless of what color they are."

Two such children and their parents showed us how dark skin can, in fact, become an object of anxious avoidance, a focus for emotions communicated from parents to child by daily example, by daily intimacy of phrase and example. Their parents were not simply voting segregationists, but preoccupied segregationists, fervently involved believers in distance between the races, in Negro inferiority and harmfulness. Their mothers' associations, culled from many interviews, indicate that for them, the Negro is dirty, diseased, promiscuous, a source of contamination, and that all these thoughts, held by many others in a casual or quiet fashion, are of strong, constant concern to them. Joining together the words of one mother from several tapes, we must emphasize the urgency and passion of her delivery: "They're dragging us down, and you know why? Because they're made lower and they're born with less intelligence than we have. Just look at them...[4] they're more animal than spiritual, and the Bible tells us not to mix the two if we can help it...They have their place, and

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[4]There is no absence of curiosity in people like her, albeit from a distance.

it's not anywhere near us...they're dirty, they're drunks, and they slash one another with razor blades and flood Chairty Hospital with their V. D. and illegitimate children... I don't think they know what family life is, and now they want us to catch it from them, get all our children sick, and start them off with little nigger kids in school. I sent him back there (Frantz School) because I figure there's only one or two, and we can get by if he stays away from them, but what about our grandchildren, when they flood us in twenty years?...I get sick near them, because they smell and I almost want to vomit..."

She had felt sick in the past, with nausea, cold sweats, loss of appetite, in a northern restaurant, seeing them nearby. She and her husband and two children had hastily left. She avoided them, particularly any chance of touching them or being touched, and she had taught this to her young girl and boy. In turn, her son, aged six, could draw a desegregated school under dark clouds, brown colored with black smoke emerging from its chimney. In one of its corners, encircled by a black line, the thinnest skeletal outlines of a Negro child could be seen. He drew another picture of his school, the same school, but of orange brick under a blue sky and full sun, scarcely any brown there but the land (dirt) under the flowers and grass. The two separate drawings had come about through the following conversation: (Dr.) "Would you want to

draw a picture of your school now?" Nodding, "Should I draw the whole school?" Hesitating a moment, (Dr.) "As much as you want to." He sketched one, then another picture, telling me it was a big school, "except it still isn't filled up again." (The boycott by whites had collapsed, and he, like other white children, had not been allowed to attend.) He was a sturdy and tidy boy, well mannered, rather close to his mother, bright and a good talker, a good artist, too. He wanted to be a doctor, had so for about a year. Doctors, he told me once, had to be clean, and had to scrub their hands very hard before they cut into people. We had embarked on that line of thought after a small discussion of the little Negro girl in his school. "I don't go near her, because I don't like her looks and she's a bad girl... My best friend is Jimmie and he said he wouldn't play with her either because she'd ruin the game, but I don't like her around <u>anyways.</u>" He did indeed stay away from her, and sought friends who did likewise, or simply were doing likewise not in any exclusiveness, but in the natural order of play. His mother, affectionate toward him and truly confident of his loyalty, felt that his assurances to her that he remained clear from the Negro child were unnecessary. "Sometimes he tells me he hasn't gone near her when he comes home, but I know he hasn't regardless." He hasn't, but he is not without a silent interest, a certain preoccupation. He will draw the

colored child, then cross her out, he will wipe her out in play and shoot her, but not fail to mention her, bring her into his assertive, frolicsome games.

Other children seem less anxious to draw the Negro into our talk and play. Their parents may have welcomed desegregation, and there is no issue for them, though several of them are very much aware at five or six what it means in our country to be a Negro. One girl at school and in class with a little Negro girl informed me that "most white people don't like them, but I don't mind them." Their parents may not have welcomed desegregation at all, but may place little emotional store in its slow onset. A mother told me she did not want her children at desegregated schools, but she wanted them attending school, and there seemed little alternative but certain private schools, which, she felt, were not the best choice, educationally, for her children. "If I had a lot of money, I'd send them to real good private schools; this way, I figure it's best to keep them in school even with the two nigras... I tell them (her two children involved) to keep away from them and never to play with the,...Well, maybe they do, in the yard sometime, but I don't think that'll cause any trouble. I'm not against young children playing, I mean nigras and whites. I'm against giving them equality in schools and restaurants and things like that, because I don't think they're equal, to be truthful. I just don't believe any fair minded

person can look at them and the way they live and believe they are. I just don't." Attitudes like this, long held and deeply, honestly believed, are less likely to kindle a young child's resolute fear and horror. This woman states her opposition, but her capacity to weigh other values and concerns in determining her position. Unlike several of our parents, she will not march out on any street in agitated demonstration. Her children, therefore, duly understand her views, and adopt them as their own, but her daughter occasionally will acknowledge a rope game with the little Negro girl in her class, and one day, settled the entire problem for herself by telling me she'd let one Negro girl into her doll house, but no others. "I mean all the others will have to be maids, but she (the one) can have a cup of tea with us." (She loved serving tea in her doll house, and was a most gracious hostess.)

With adolescence, old ideas, stored but forgotten in games, emerge newly influential. In Atlanta, the problem of white boys and girls, now fast growing, struggling with problems of identify, of belief and career, were aptly summarized for me by a high school senior who found a Negro in several of his classes, and felt torn by old traditions and perceptions and new realities: "It's a shock to us, I'll have to say that. I mean, I'm not against Lawrence. I've grown to respect him; but it's like this...they were slaves here and we had them in bondage. We fought a war over the

thing and got beat, but even so, we've all grown up with them living one way, and us another...they've worked in our kitchens and taken care of us, and suddenly you wake up and find them in your schools sitting across from you... It's not the way we've ever lived with them before, and you can't expect us not to find it hard for a while."

Attitudes varied from immediate sympathy through indifference to marked hostility. One form of hostility was the direction of overworked attention and conversation to the Negroes with a paternal attitude which they could scarcely not notice and frequently describe: "I'd rather have them swear at us than all that fake sympathy she gives out. She thinks she's big-time roylaty, doing us a favor with her friendship. She tells us how much she likes us, but how does she know if she does, when she doesn't know us at all?" Others, less impelled by unconsciously wrought reaction-formations, developed slow sympathy with these children, often identifying with them in their loneliness or suffering. One adolescent boy of fifteen, in so many ways reminiscent of Anna Freud's (15) description of the teen-aged youth in all his ambivalent turmoil, remarked feelingly, "I know what it is to be alone... they must be boiling underneath, but I guess they know how to keep up a good front. I think I was against desegregation, and I still am in a way, but I really feel for those two kids, and I've got to admit I like both of them in spite of what I

thought I'd feel...you know, you've got to hand it to them... sometimes I see them just sitting at the table, and I say to myself, we're rotten animals, us human beings are just mean all over. Then I want to go up and sit and talk with them, but I don't dare...you know why, I'll have to be honest, it would just make it too hard for me. I'd have to take more than they do, I think."

Slowly, as the months go along, many of these white students, less and less afraid of social ostracism, have made overtures to their Negro schoolmates, words, a smile, a question, a nod. Desegregation has then moved from its legal and physical reality to its emotional onset.

Others feel and continue to feel differently: "They're no damn good, and never will be...just look at Africa...All they do is sit and drink...They live like animals and they sure look like them, too. Have you ever smelled them, real close? They make me sick just to go near them!" Strong are the words and feelings these young men and women have and much the notice they are willing to give the Negro: "Most kids ignore us, and a few are really nice, but there are three or four who won't leave us alone. They just stare all day long... I think they've got a kind of 'thing' about us, and it won't let them alone, so how can they let us alone?"

Three of these young people, two boys and a girl, have never felt unwilling or unable to describe their anger and

scorn for the two Negroes at school with them. Listening to their words, and feelings underneath those words, one finds, however, sensitivity and guilt as well as rage, revealing them, unconsciously, troubled and conscience stricken by the very harm they would so freely cause. One would describe with apparent pleasure the isolation and fear experienced by a Negro girl in his class, then wish, always after telling of her painful moments, that she go to Africa, surely an escape as well as an exile. Another talked quietly about his segregationist views, becoming loudly, angrily, critical when he described a bullying word or deed toward a Negro in which he shared. He always had to fend off his own sense of right and wrong in these specific situations by such excesses of rationalized pique. One rather bright and athletic boy, with no significant medical or psychiatric history, revealed the clashes and contradictions of sympathy, fear, and hate within himself: "I don't hate Martha. Fact is, I feel sorry for her, and for the other one, too. She's pathetic, the way she just sits there all alone, smiling at you if you look at her, and working away all the time, trying to prove something, I guess. It's the NAACP and the professional nigger lovers I'm against, because they're taking advantage of Martha just like the rest of us to cause trouble between the races... We've had a lot more use for the nigger here than up North... I've gone up there and I know how they live there... Here,

we've got respect for one another, and most niggers will tell you they don't want to be with us any more than we want to be with them...This is an insult to them as much as to us, and I think Martha is a dupe, and even if I feel sorry for her, I can't forgive her for letting herself be used."

Our Negro and white children, regardless of their differing views and hopes, all agreed on the interesting point that most white children, despite their declared opinions, in practice were indifferent to the Negroes who entered their schools. Over and over from the Negroes we heard, "They couldn't care less." Time and again we heard from white children, "I've got more on my mind than a couple of niggers... my work and basketball are what I think of all day...who cares? I mean, they're here, and we didn't want it, but what difference does it make, now? I don't think <u>any</u> in your everyday life."

Changes in feelings are reported and observable, too. Several of our high school juniors and seniors have noted changes in sentiments from mild antipathy or disinterest to respect or even affection, often to their own surprise. The unpredictable nature of human behavior, the accumulative effects of conscious and unconscious guilt and atonement, of changed perceptions and newly developing social customs, are all perhaps summarized in the experience of a Negro girl who went through a year of silence and sometimes much worse, only

to be herself surprised in her last day of school at the requests of eighteen white classmates to autograph her yearbook. Their messages, from "best wishes" to "I am sorry for my silence, but you will understand why," from "I know you have had an unpleasant time, but we have all had a difficult year, and we have come through it successfully" to "you have proven yourself a fine person, and I have been sorry we could not know you better," speak for themselves, self-evident examples of changing emotions, slowly incubating amid the complicated silence of an unusual school year.

Parents and Teachers

We may only briefly here refer to the parents and teachers of these children. It is a commonplace that these children are much affected by the attitudes of both. We have been particularly interested to note, in city after city of the South, that teachers may have felt tension between their roles as teachers and their private feelings. In the two battered schools of New Orleans, in Central High School in Little Rock, in the unharassed but tensely protected (some police scruntiny all year long) high schools of Atlanta, we have heard teachers reflect what their society obviously faces, the anxieties and mixed feelings of social and cultural change. One teacher put it very well, speaking to me in a group of several teachers meeting to discuss their observations of how desegregation was

proceeding: "We felt betwixt and between our traditions as southerners and the Law. I wouldn't disobey my school board, because I know I have responsibilities as a teacher, but I had my private opinions about this, of course. You know, we were as nervous as the students were... you could hear a pin drop... I think I've learned as much this year as my students, and maybe a little more... You can't change a whole way of living without a little trouble here and there, but I'm right proud of our children here in Atlanta."

Parents, of course, will vary, and teach their young children what they themselves feel, from kindness to fear. Many children in Atlanta obviously reflect their parents' views. Many don't, however. A white boy, son of a militant segregationist father, found friendliness toward Negroes, spoken and acted, a means of teen-aged rebellion. Several young students differentiated most precisely their views from those of their parents. "We're from another generation," a refrain as old as man himself, was not absent among these youths. Nor do Negro students heed their parents so resolutely. Often their parents, all too aware of past hurts, all to fearful and suspicious, had opposed letting their children transfer to white schools. Family splits, mother approving, father dissenting, or vice-versa, were not rare, with younger and older children alike. Once under the crisis of actual participation, however, these splits seemed to be welded together in

the common familial need for mutual support against an outside world potentially harmful.

The Psychiatrist's Roles and Reactions

We can only mention in passing at this time some of the problems encountered by a psychiatrist working in the midst of active social and political crisis, though this subject deserves to be pursued further. For a white psychiatrist to go to Negro homes in the deep South, regularly and over a two-year period of time, was, in itself, as unusual as desegregation. We met apprehension and fright; their expression in suspicion, in ingratiation or withdrawal, in awe or in ire, and slowly, in testing and teasing. We found that the more freely these people felt they could talk with us, the more honestly they could express their feelings, their fears, angers, sorrows, and the more frankly they could acknowledge their initial, conscious deceptions. In several instances, as in individual psychotherapy, long standing grievances were slowly mentioned, and attitudes of docility, followed by those of resentment and deeply felt hostility appeared and yielded slowly to a sustained relationship coupled with discussion of these very feelings, for these Negroes the first time they had such an opportunity with a white person. Well over a year after we had started our visits, we began to hear in many homes remarks like "now we're telling youwhat we really think," or "we just didn't know at

first what to say, and to be honest, we just don't trust any white people to be really truthful to them..." Increasing involvement between these children and their parents and me allowed them to forego many of their stylized maneuvers of dealing with what they most often feel to be the alien white lord. They felt free to share their phrases, their humor, their bitterness and sadness at their fate, and they felt able to talk about how they mask these feelings, summoning constant energy in conscious guile, bluff, and falsehood: "Tell them what they want to hear," or "Smile and hope they die on the spot." Such searing wrath demands constant vivilance lest it escape in open violence, sometimes against whites, though this is made hard by the very nature of the society which legally, socially, politically, enconomically subordinates them, more often against themselves, in quick fury, in long self-hatred and despair.

As with any group of people, different types of relationships developed, depending upon the child and his or her family, and the investigator. This was a study to determine attitudes, reactions, adjustment in a crisis for presumably "normal" people, but the therapeutic quality in the work soon appeared. For Negroes under stress to talk with a white psychiatrist about their feelings, their trials and hopes and tensions, over a long enough period of time for a firm relationship to develop is obviously of some value

for them as well as for the psychiatrist. Briefer contacts in several southern cities helped us obtain information and make observations less intimately related to the child's life history, but more pertinent to his every day experiences and adaptations. An effort was made to achieve both, general information about daily psychological phenomena, and the deeper, longer investigation of the individual personality and life history.

With white families, particularly segregationists, we had a different order of problems, not racial, but idiosyncratic, our initial reception varying from the friendly to the suspicious and guarded. We had expected difficulty talking with segregationist, but soon learned that those strongly moved and agitated by this issue wanted very much to talk about it, indeed, need to do just that. Changes among white children both did and did not occur, and do and do not occur in those children untouched by studies like this. Several of our children attribute new feelings to talks with us: "I think just thinking about all these things when you come makes you see more of what's going on... I've wondered how I'd feel about them if I hadn't talked to you this year." We have met children in small rural towns, in larger cities, who have come to new ideas and responses to the Negro children beside them by themselves, through their own experiences and thinking, through discussions with friends and relatives, out

of their own life history with its development of conscience, awareness, available intelligence, vitality and quiet of mind.

The psychiatrist, as always, must learn from his own anxieties, his own affection, angers, and depressions, as they arise in his work with other people. In a study such as this, these feelings are sure to be met, telling us, all along, about the range and intensity of the emotional forces hugging racial attitudes hard; showing us, surely, how such forces derive much of their powerful and persuasive momentum from sources deep within the individual's emotional life.

Conclusions

From our work, we would venture the following impressions:

1. Negro children, young and old, in most cases, endure the stresses of initial desegregation in Southern cities without evidence of significant psychiatric illness. In order to understand why this occurs, the general problems of adjustment required of the Negro in his daily life, from birth to death, must be considered. Many of the strains met by these children and their families are similar to those often encountered elsewhere. In order to cope with such conditions, these children must learn, must be also taught, a variety of psychological maneuvers, and these will serve in desegregated schools as well as on busses, outside theatres, and restaurants. These

defenses described in this paper agains anxiety, fear, retaliatory anger, shame, and guilt, develop slowly, require constant emotional energy, the continual vigilance of a precarious position in our society. For these children, therefore, desegregation is an opportunity, a kind of trouble which, in contrast, to other experiences, makes sense and offers hope of a better life with less hurt in the future. So long as their home life is reasonably satisfactory, so long as they do not have serious personality disorders stemming from their personal psychological development, they seem able to withstand mobs, and the variety of pressures arising from their entry into white schools. We have tried to document some of these pressures and responses to these pressures, and we have seen that the trials of desegregation fit into the other problems of the growing child, reflecting them, increasing them, or serving their expression.

2. For the white child, desegregation will have a variety of meanings, depending on his family, his age, and his own nature, needs, and wishes. Compassion, lack of interest, annoyance, strong aversion, all these reactions have been seen, and their roots traced in individual children and their parents. We can clinically distinguish between those families where segregation is a consumming, highly charged interest, a passionate expression

of other problems, and those where it is less integrated in earlier, more basic emotional troubles; thus more changeable as a social habit or custom, strongly and long held, but slowly dispensable when opposed by other wishes or customs. Even among the poorest and most insecure, of our families, socially and economically, these differences obtain.

3. Some of the meanings of color, of black and white, to children have been explored. Deeply present in our culture, they indicate the developing sources of later attitudes and behavior in both whites and Negroes. We have attempted to convey the feelings of these children toward one another, helped by their actual words, their dreams and drawings, their play. We have also tried to indicate some of the ways their parents and teachers choose to behave, how they, too, get along in these tense situations. Finally, we have indicated some of the hurdles along the path of such study of active social and political crises by a psychiatrist.

4. We have seen changes in these southern children, in Negroes toward less doubt and more trust, in whites toward less hostility and more freedom to see another person as a person, regardless of skin color. We have also seen hardening of suspicion, congealing of hatreds. Since we are dealing with a problem in human development,

in stress and response to stress, in early anxieties, rivalries and strains within the family becoming reflected and expressed in later social and economic realities, there is every reason for both hope and despair. Genes do not present an ineradicable barrier, grounded in biochemistry, against easing conflicts or or harsh legal and social inequalities among individuals and groups; but the fatal and reciprocally stimulating engagement of private disorders, personal anxieties, fears, and frustrated hopes, with publicly sanctioned expressions for them, solidified in history, allowed by law, encouraged by communities for their various reasons, is not easily broken. These children have shown us both possibilities, of growth and of continuing affliction.

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CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Fred Powledge, Atlanta Journal Reporter

REGARDING:

Article written by Powledge in Atl. Journal of May 6, 1963 on Bob Coles's speech before the American Psychiatric Association in St. Louis of the same date:
"Emotions of Desegregation Outlined by Psychiatrist"

Note: Copies of this clip sent to Vernon A. Eagle,
New World Foundation
Flora Rhind, G
General Education Board
Katherine Taylor
Bd. Member, New World Fd.

DATE CLIPS WERE MAILED

May 14, 1963

file
B. C.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Beck, Mrs. Francis

REGARDING:

Correspondence and PROPOSAL for funds in support of Bob ~~Colle~~ Coles's research for two additional years.

DATE

June 5, 1963

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Foundations - New York Fund for Children

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Erikson, Dr. Erik H.
Professor of Human Development
Harvard University
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Ladd, Prof.Edward

Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

REGARDING:

LWD ltr. to Erikson re letter of recommendation for Bob Coles to be submitted with proposal requesting funds for continued program research.

DATE
June 5, 1963

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Correspondence "E" General

file
B. Coles

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Eagle, Mr. Vernon A.

REGARDING

LWD's proposal to New World Foundation re Bob Coles's psychiatric study of Negro and white children in desegregated school in the South

DATE

June 26, 1963

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Foundations: New World - V. Eagle, 1963

Give Bob Cole

August 5, 1963

Dr. Harrison P. Eddy
157 East 80th Street
New York, New York

Dear Harry:

Jane Lee will soon get a copy routinely, but I thought I would like to send a copy of the enclosed up to you now. (The release date is August 11.)

I and my whole entourage had a fine time at your house the other night. I'm only sorry that we could not stay longer. The play, however, was a great success.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mg

Enclosure

August 5, 1963

Mrs. Francis C. Beck
New York Fund for Children, Inc.
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Beck:

It was very kind of you to write on July 22.

I am sending you enclosed an advance copy of Dr. Coles's pamphlet which we and the Anti-Defamation League are releasing Sunday, August 11. (An early notice has already appeared on page 31 of Time magazine on August 2, 1963.) If you would like additional copies, please let me know.

It occurs to me that you may also be interested in having for your file the enclosed letters which I solicited from Professors Erikson, Ladd and Perkins as an aid to evaluation of Dr. Coles's work.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mg

Enclosures

August 5, 1963

Mr. Vernon Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

I'm enclosing eight copies of Bob's pamphlet as requested by Brooke in her letter of June 28. The release date is Sunday, August 11, although an early mention appeared on page 31 of Time magazine on August 2, 1963.

I was up in your city last Thursday, but at Stephen's request and at his disposal and I never got a chance to call. It was awfully good seeing you down here and as soon as I get down a little way further in my stack, I'll write you a handsome acknowledgment for what you brought with you.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mg

Enclosures

August 5, 1963

Professor Donald Shaughnessy
Columbia University in the City of New York
Oral History Research Office
Butler Library
New York, New York

Dear Don:

This is a belated acknowledgment of your report on the building trades of New York, but I have to confess that I only got to it in time to read about it the next day in The New York Times. I learned a good bit from it; it is an excellent job.

Coincidently, I testified last Friday before a Senate Labor Subcommittee and Secretary Wirtz, who preceded me, was given something of a hard time by Senator Javits. The Senator kept wanting to know what the Secretary was going to do about your disclosures.

You and Mina will probably get a copy of the enclosed later routinely, but because it is a piece that I like and am proud to bring out, I am sending you an early copy. (The release date is August 11.)

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mg

Enclosure

August 5, 1963

Miss Flora Rhind
Vice-President
General Education Board
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Miss Rhind:

You will routinely be receiving a copy later, but I thought I would like to send you an advance copy of Bob Coles's pamphlet. The pamphlet will be released Sunday, August 11. (An early mention of the pamphlet appeared on page 31 of Time magazine on August 2, 1963.)

With very best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mg

Enclosure

THE DESEGREGATION OF SOUTHERN SCHOOLS

A PSYCHIATRIC STUDY

By ROBERT COLES, M.D.

THE DESEGREGATION OF SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: A PSYCHIATRIC STUDY

THE DESEGREGATION OF SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: A PSYCHIATRIC STUDY

By

ROBERT COLES, M.D.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

July 1963

Dr. Robert Coles is a child psychiatrist who in the past two years has been engaged in the research dealt with in this pamphlet.

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Foreword

Had I not first read the manuscript before writing this Foreword, I might have said something like this:

"The Supreme Court in 1954 declared that every child had a constitutional right to raciaily non-segregated schooling. Because neither the southern state legislatures nor Congress acted to enforce this constitutional right, however, the burden of doing so fell upon certain Negro school children of the South. Here is a study of these children, these enforcers of the Constitution, and what it has cost them and what it has profited them in the way of happiness and intellectual growth to be the defenders of a great cause."

But having read Dr. Robert Coles's vibrant, humane report, one can't speak either so grandly or so abstractly. I can only say that here is a piece about how some children lived and learned these past two years. They are children who were in a very special situation, and they were, in a sense, servants of a cause. But I think the special merit of this report is to take our minds off the public role and the function of these children, and lead us to think about them and their individualities. Perhaps, after all, that is their true civil right.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

In the Light of History

*To catch and pin down in words — that is, to describe directly the life not only of humanity, but even of a single people.**

—LEO TOLSTOY

Since 1954 the schools of the South, their teachers and children, have lived under conflicting pressures and special conditions of uncertainty and public notice. The Supreme Court did more than simply insist upon an end to separate educational systems for white and Negro children; in effect, the schools were placed in the midst of complicated social and political issues which are far from settled and are a source of considerable controversy. Although the schools, as part of the life of the community, always must endure and reflect its troubles, perhaps never before have they been so directly involved and so directly challenged.

Customs of long duration are being assaulted by law and by direct action. Demands for desegregation of the schools and colleges are echoed in other claims upon stores, restaurants, voting booths, or parks. Each state and each city will come to terms with these issues in its own fashion, but, certainly they are issues, and certainly they seem to urge attention.

A historian recording the events of recent years would have to describe the slow but definite spread of certain changes in the way whites and Negroes get along with one another in the South. He would note among these changes the anxious and symbolic entry of small numbers of Negro children into once all white schools. He would show how this happened in town after town, and how it moved across state lines. He would tell about the different forms this desegregation of schools has taken, varying from the total and instant actions of border communities like Baltimore to the more cautious plans put into effect in Tennessee or North Carolina. He would, in some detail, concern himself with the particular plans: with how many Negro children were chosen, in what manner, and of what age and grade; with how the school officials as well as the local parents, police, papers, and politicians handled the difficult transitional problems which attach themselves to any plan, any entry.

Human affairs can be approached from many directions. Events can be listed and catalogued. Legal issues can be debated and decided. Customs can be classified. But all human affairs involve human beings, and any moment of historical importance is not only a political struggle or a social phenomenon, but a series of experiences for individual men, women, and children.

There are many and often opposing views about the Negro's role in southern life; yet, there can be little doubt that his role is changing, and one evidence for this fact is the lives of white and Negro children in many southern

* *War and Peace*, Epilogue.

schools today. Such lives deserve our attention, in the hope that if we document the feelings and ideas, the adjustments of particular persons under these stresses, we will know more about ourselves, about man's mind and emotions, and will be better able to provide for our future crises and perils. After all, there must be a time in any controversy to begin analysis and study, to take stock of what is actually happening to the participants and learn from them what may help others of us in similar circumstances.

Nature of This Study

To see and hear what is actually occurring, we have brought to bear a prolonged investigation from the point of view and training of child psychiatry in the hope that such an attempt will give us more information for reflection and future decisions. This research project has been a two-year one. It has primarily involved the cities of New Orleans and Atlanta, with children of six and seven in the former city and adolescents of 16 and 17 in the latter.

The mechanics or daily routine of the study have been as follows: the nine Negro children selected by the Atlanta Board of Education for initial desegregation in 1961 were seen three to six weeks before school opened and followed on a weekly basis in psychiatric interviews. Their feelings and experiences were noted and recorded on tape. Their parents were also seen. Interviews were conducted at the homes of the children, and during the entire school year. They were continued for a second school year, thereby affording a view in depth and prolonged duration of how colored children respond to participation in desegregation. At the same time, twelve white children in the four high schools of Atlanta chosen for desegregation have been intensively followed, with weekly interviews and separate talks with their parents. Six of these children were favorable to their new Negro classmates and six were opposed to their arrival. All were in daily classes with the Negro students. They were similarly followed a second year, giving us some idea how white children of widely different convictions on racial matters, strongly integrationist and strongly segregationist, adjust under desegregation in a deeply southern city. During these months, several school teachers and principals were seen in separate interviews and group discussions, in order to learn from those who teach under these new conditions how children get along with one another, how they study and learn, and how the teachers manage under unusual and often trying situations. In the second year of school desegregation, 40 more Negro children attended the same and six additional high schools. They were seen in groups during the year, to follow their reactions and evaluate the further progress of desegregation. Added numbers of their white classmates were also seen in groups.

For one week out of every month young children in New Orleans were visited in a pattern very much like that in Atlanta. The four Negro girls who, in 1960, were the first of their race to enter the first grades of two white schools in the city, amidst considerable unrest, have been seen in their homes, as were their parents. The seven Negro children who entered the first grade in 1961 were likewise followed, as were eight white children who were in school with these young colored children of six and seven. Some of the white parents favored and some opposed desegregation. Considerable emphasis has been placed upon drawing and painting with these children, a standard practice in child psychiatry, as well as discussion with their parents.

Finally, brief trips have been made to other cities for comparative evaluations of children and parents of both races as well as school teachers and officials. Cities visited have included Charlotte, Asheville, and Burnsville in North Carolina; Clinton and Oak Ridge in Tennessee; and Little Rock, Arkansas.

This report is, in a sense, a hybrid product. It is not intended to be a psychiatric paper,* nor is it intended to be a report which "translates" medical observations into neatly summarized layman's language. *Moreover, in the scientific spirit of observation and evaluation, it speaks of what actually happened rather than what should happen, or will in the future.* It is hoped that it will offer psychiatric and medical information, as well as discussion, to the concerned citizens of the South: teachers, school officials, people who are public spirited members of communities facing serious decisions, or going through them. Such people, in any worthwhile society, while shouldering the responsibility of both holding and transmitting what is known and valued, must be aware, all the time, that history leaves precious little untouched or unchanged. At this time in the South, and, perhaps in the North, too, the problems of desegregation warrant, for all responsible individuals, any available information or assistance.

* A full psychiatric report was made at the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association on May 6, 1963, in St. Louis, Missouri.

Negro Children

And indeed, in the jungle of human existence, there is no feeling of being alive without a sense of ego identity. Deprivation of identity, not frustration, leads . . . to the desperate intensity of many a symptom.

ERIK ERIKSON*

It is fairly obvious that these children are doing things which are new and not always approved. Tension and fear often surround them from the weeks before they enter school through the months of their stay. Their families are under considerable anxiety about them, and about their own lives and jobs. When they are in school they may experience rejection, isolation, or insult. They live under what physicians would consider to be highly stressful circumstances, and their adjustment to these strains is of considerable medical interest.

Those Negro children who initiate court ordered desegregation in the South are likely to be different from their peers on several accounts. Their very selection often recommends them as more intelligent or without emotional disorders which are grossly visible. While some cities allow open transfers on the basis of geographical location, many cities, particularly in the first years, consider and assign children on the basis of evaluation by tests and interviews, and thus initial selection occurs at this point. But, a closer look at these children and their families reveals that they are highly motivated, determined or willing to endure possible or probable pain for goals which are important to them. Furthermore, there are secondary gains for them as well as fears and troubles, because they may be honored and respected in their own community, and given considerable attention and support. Finally, they will often emphasize to a white person that ostracism and epithets are not new to them: they have been endured for a long time, and, therefore, can be sustained as each of them has managed, in his own way over many years, to sustain many similar situations.

It certainly is true that the pressures which these children must meet are different only in degree rather than kind, and that this makes them, on the whole, less vulnerable, in the sense that they have learned from their earliest years techniques and methods of dealing with their position in society and its consequences for them in their daily lives. For them to enter a desegregated school may be hard, but it offers them certain hopes and opportunities for work, for assertion of self, which contrast with other moments that may have seemed to them not only hard but also futile and less fulfilling.

* *In Childhood and Society*, W. W. Norton, New York, 1950. This book is an important work in psychoanalysis and child development, and has an excellent section on unconscious feelings about the Negro held by both Negroes and whites.

Each of them has his or her own life and own personality, and each of them will engage with the problems of desegregation in different ways. Doctors know that just as there are categories of diseases, there are also individual expressions and anomalies to all of them. Desegregation will vary in itself from city to city, and within any city from neighborhood to neighborhood. In the same school, each Negro child may be not only an individual, and different in that sense from others, but may elicit from white children varying reactions and responses. The irony of human existence is often revealed in striking examples, which upset all the expectations of experience and knowledge.

For instance, in Atlanta the Negro girl who was most liked by her classmates and teachers, who, of all the transfer students in Atlanta, had the highest grades, who was in the school located in the most genteel and "liberal" section of the city where acceptance of desegregation was considered most likely and its implementation least hazardous, had to return to her old Negro high school after three months. She was suffering from insomnia, depression, and cumulative fatigue; her collapse may have been precipitated by the stresses of desegregation, and slowly cleared after her departure from them, but cannot be separated from personal and family problems which simply did not allow her to remain in good mental and physical health in such a crisis. As in war, and as in disaster, a crisis will reveal hidden weaknesses as well as show unexpected strengths, and these both are often hard to predict in advance.

One child may score high in intelligence tests, may be polite and neatly dressed, but also may come from a home with many tensions below the surface, and may, under stress, respond with nervous overactivity, withdrawal from friends, or severe bodily evidence of anxiety, such as gastric disorders or migraine. Another child may be somewhat dull and of dubious sociability, but may draw in tough times upon a sense of humor or a relaxed disposition which may not be attractive or ingratiating to others, but may be quite resilient and enduring.

During a school year one can see among these children all of the medical and psychiatric responses to fear and anxiety. One child may lose his appetite, another may become sarcastic and have nightmares. Lethargy may develop, or excessive studying may mark the apprehension common to both. At the same time one sees responses of earnest and effective work, new gifts of industry and patience, and evidence of stubborn determination which surprises parents and, in retrospect, even the child. Each child's case history would describe a balance of defenses against emotional pain, and some exhaustion under it, as well as behavior which shows an attempt to challenge and surmount it.

The majority do indeed survive. Certainly in Atlanta and New Orleans only one child has really succumbed to emotional illness. These children illustrate once again the paradox of what health is. During the war it was noted in England that given a fairly stable home environment and reasonably good mental and physical health, children can sustain bombing, military disaster, and all

the trials of such times with remarkable ability.* On the other hand, every psychiatrist knows that mental illness can strike the most fortunate few who will never worry about desegregation or war. The roots of most mental illness probably lie in the early life of the child, his relationships with his parents, and his inheritance, and less likely in specific incidents in a school or playground unless these draw upon existing disorders or difficulties. Of course, sustained terror and threats can cause any mind to disintegrate, but this is not what these children in Atlanta or New Orleans have experienced.

What is important to stress here is the observation that their admission to white schools in the South and their attendance in them is stressful but not incapacitating. Their inner thoughts and feelings are of interest to social scientists, as well as to anyone concerned with how human beings get along and live with themselves and one another. But it is also important and relevant to point out that these children manifestly have been promoted and graduated, and this reveals something both of them and the nature of the stress. They draw upon reserves of home and friends and hobbies. They receive hurtful looks and words, and some of them have walked through angry crowds outside and silent reproach or noisy jeers inside. However, they also spend long hours at work in school, and they may receive friendship there, too. Indeed, so long as the school continues to function, most of their time will be spent in learning and studying.

If they are young, as in New Orleans, they will play with white children naturally and with no hindrance from them. At the height of tension in that city the few white children and the Negro children went through streets of abuse, but had no trouble with one another in the school itself. In Atlanta there may be less ease and spontaneity for these older, high school children, part from fear or hatred and part from a natural consequence of awkward, silent adolescence; but in high schools children are in class most of the time, and this restricts opportunities for embarrassment or worse. One Negro boy in Atlanta summarized the feelings of most when he said, "It was rough at times, but I learned a lot and met some nice people, and I think they got to know us a little and we got to know them, too." A little girl in New Orleans can draw similar thoughts about her own identity as a Negro, and how she plays at school with white children even though, at six, she carefully knows her color, her special problems associated with it, and her special condition of attendance in a desegregated school.

* Anna Freud's work in this regard is historic. All interested in how much children can sustain, and under what conditions they are liable to develop emotional disorders, might well read her small but deeply moving and profound *War and Children* (International University Press, New York, 1944). Of additional interest are some studies of children under the stresses of such disasters as tornadoes (in Vickburg, Miss., 1953) or floods (Rio Grande). These are available as publications of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington 25, D. C., under the listing of their *Disaster Study Series.*

White Children

But these children, white and black, are not mere pawns on a chessboard, and whatever the sins or submissions of their great-grandfathers may have been, they merit consideration in their own right. In the South, this consideration steadily is being extended.

—JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK*

When southern schools desegregate, the cameras and news reports concentrate most of their attention upon the Negro children, unless, as in New Orleans in 1960, there is a boycott attempted by whites, in which case some white families may be more harassed than the Negroes. But in every school where Negro children enter, white children are there, and they have ears and eyes, memories and ideas, beliefs and feelings. Knowledge about the adjustment of white children to this new moment in their lives and history is no less important, and, in many future situations may be decidedly helpful.

It is, again, a commonplace, but one to be remembered, that each white child will be different, coming from parents with differing backgrounds and traditions, jobs and experiences, and themselves differing in intelligence and in emotional qualities like sympathy, empathy, readiness to obey, or quickness to rebel. Whatever his personal nature and family story, he lives in a society which is changing before his very eyes, and with him as a participant. Young children of even the earliest years notice colors as they notice forms and shapes and all those things, people, and events which make up a world which they are increasingly able to comprehend. By the time a child enters school he may have many ideas about racial identity, and can begin to draw them more readily than talk about them. It is a mistake to think that young children are unaware of racial differences, or many other differences and phenomena around them. They hear, and they store memories of instructions, prohibitions, affections, and rewards. They also, in the first few grades, are at an age when they live more in the moment, more in the present of action and deeds, things to do and wishes to live out and play out. Later, as they get older, they will plan more, think more, hesitate, and control themselves in increasing nearness to and preparation for the adult world. Not that they will necessarily as adolescents accept the world of their parents, because the nature of youth is to question and disagree, sift and sort, accept and discard in the sure recognition that each generation has its own truth, its own hopes, fears, and promises. And so we see high school children naturally going through all the struggles of growing up, the doubts, silences, and outbursts which express

* *The Southern Case for School Segregation,* Crowell-Collier Press, New York, 1962. This book has a valuable bibliography. Another good source for reading is a publication of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry: report No. 37, *Psychiatric Aspects of Desegregation,* New York, 1957. This is a theoretical discussion of many of the problems involved in desegregation, with an excellent bibliography attached.

what it is to feel one's body stretch and, hopefully, one's mind challenged.

Thus, it is in this context of human development that we may look at what happens to white children under desegregation. We must distinguish between an attitude, or custom, and a passionate involvement. We must differentiate between an annoyance and a phobia which masks fear, with intense avoidance of things or hatred of animals or people. People like and dislike, choose and reject all the time. We get to the psychopathological when we see the consuming and possessive quality of an irrational love or hate which defies common sense or reality. Every day, doctors must separate the wide spectrum of behavior which is called "normal" from those distortions and panics of human beings which seem so strange and which signify so much unhappiness and fear.

Among the young white children in New Orleans, our remembrances about the nature of childhood and personality development will help clarify our observations. Even under the worst situations outside, the children in the schools managed well together. Those white children who remained in the desegregated Frantz school in New Orleans thoroughly enjoyed the increased attention of their teachers, the excitement around them. They often urged their more timid or justifiably frightened parents to keep them in school. In 1961 one of the white children who returned to the almost totally boycotted Frantz school told a little colored girl that she would not play with her because her mother had forbidden this, and then, a few minutes later, did just that.

One hears this over and over from children who obey *both* their parents and their own natural inclinations of age and whim, by saying words which are ideas to them, and known, and to be remembered, and yet by also doing the deeds which the moments in the playground or classroom suggest. Of course, a child of five, or 15 for that matter, may develop a true phobia about Negroes, just as he may about dogs or heights or certain foods. The child has been taught to associate extreme danger and hurt or harm with dark skin. The fear may reflect other problems in the life of the child, or may simply represent the transmission of charged and intense feelings from parent to child. In order for these parental feelings to affect the behavior of children in elementary school, however, they must derive from more than ordinary habit, or casual inclination. White parents may often be opposed to desegregation, but they consistently note that their children in the desegregated elementary schools get along easily in those schools, and the very few who don't come from homes which make such a stand a matter of virtual life and death for the child. Such children, burdened with fright, will usually avoid the Negro child rather than bother him. They are a very small minority even in a white community whose sentiments may very much be segregationist.

As the children grow and enter high schools like the four desegregated ones in Atlanta, another picture emerges. Early ideas about racial identity, carefully drawn but quickly forgotten amid play and fun, now return, with their associations and lessons, to a child who grapples with new ideas and feelings,

many of them conflicting and contradictory. Some begin to adopt their parents' ideas and some begin to reject them. As we talk with these children over the school year, we see that they fall under three large groups in their behavior and thinking about their new Negro classmates. A small number are immediately friendly and disposed to welcome them. By far the largest number are quizzical, annoyed, or would say that they don't want them or don't really care. A third group, small but articulate, are very much opposed to them and angrily willing to express their feelings in word or act which separate themselves from the quietly disapproving or careless majority.

We are struck by the continuing discrepancy between fretful dislike and passionate hatred, by the separate consequences of these two for action and thought. Annoyances shift from time to time, from object to object, but hatreds and fears stick tight and long. What happens to the white child will depend on such matters as this, on what feelings he brings to the school before the Negro child comes there about race and its meaning, and on the origin of these feelings. It is important here to emphasize again the development of their behavior and feelings as seen over a year's time with respect to the school and class situation. We know that every mind has its own style of ideas and actions and we know that skin color has a wide variety of real and symbolic meanings to people. But, how does all this affect the white child once desegregation is a reality for him? How does he come to grips with his life, his traditions, and these changes?

None of the white children seen have suffered any medical or psychiatric damage during the past year. Regardless of their views they have all continued in school and graduated or been promoted. Apart from the usual colds and an occasional laceration from football there were no medical problems; and no breakdown in ability to work and study and get along with friends and teachers could be noted. Their parents described their general physical and mental status as "normal" or "O.K." at the end of the year just as they had at the beginning of the year. The Negro children had not caused illness of body or mind observable to either themselves, their friends, their family, or a physician and psychiatrist.

Doctors have learned that even their sickest patients, some near coma or death, will notice and respond to their environment, will react to changes, visits, and messages. In psychiatry this holds, as in the rest of medicine. The most distant and disturbed or even disoriented patient will notice events around him, notice people and hear what they say, watch what they do. These people and their actions will, of course, have to sustain the filtration of a mind not well, a mind which can distort the world and cause it to splinter in prismatic fragmentation. In some way, however, in some fashion, at some level, regardless of how inaccurately and mistakenly, actions and words by people are felt and absorbed by their neighbors, by other people at hand.

What, therefore, the white child senses and feels in a desegregated classroom will depend on the Negro child in that room, the particular white child, and how he sees the particular Negro child, and, most important, what

actually happens, in the room, between the Negro child and his white classmates and teachers. What one sees after some months is the slow development of discretion and selection in the white child, the breakdown of quick and total vision and the beginning of particular vision based on daily experience. In weekly meetings one can hear even the most segregationist-minded child describe the different personalities or mannerisms of the several Negro children. One can hear them described by their faces, actions, clothes, traits. This is a kind of learning common to everyone, and represents the ability of any mind to see some of the various shapes of things and kinds of behavior around it. One can also notice after a while that none of these children, in one way or another, is insensitive to what happens at his side. If a Negro child is hurt, his white friend will be upset, his white neighbor who would vote to keep him out of the school notices, and his white enemy observes and reacts to it, too.

Illustrations abound. Tapes can be brought to life and the impact and private ripples of response to any specific event can be heard from the different children. Someone throws something at a Negro child in a class. The Negro child may laugh it off, cry about it, get angry, get a headache or stomach ache, as a consequence fight with his brother at home in delayed reaction to his inability to fight with the person in the classroom, get depressed, study intensely to make up in hard and driven work and achievement for the ignominy of the incident. A white child may see the same occurrence and sympathize with the Negro child, feel sorry for him, get angry at the person who did the deed, laugh nervously, laugh with pleasure, feel like doing the same thing, get angry at the Negro child for being in the room, say that the child deserves whatever happens because he has no right to be there, argue about the Negro child and what should be done following such events.

Over a year's time these individual responses take on the configuration of attitudes. As they congeal, they reflect changes and resistances to change, and it is often hard to predict which person will feel which way at the end of the year. A classroom is in many ways a temporary family. Children learn in it, but they also have to get along with their brothers and sisters in it, as well as their parent-teacher. When a child is isolated or feels bad, many others notice this. They notice this apart from their political or social views, and sometimes even in spite of them. For these views are abstract and often not tied to people as concrete as classmates. *How* one notices will vary. You can notice by fellowship and pity and tender identification. You can notice by guilt and anger, by wishing to get rid of the source of pain or shame or embarrassment. You can notice by hate and rage, by angry denunciation which often may reflect inner, unknown anxiety, fear, or even guilt.

White and Negro Children Together

Each generation gives new form to the aspirations that shape education in its time.

—JEROME S. BRUNNER*

There are definite patterns to the way Negro and white children get along in the schools of the South which desegregate. These will depend upon the age of the child, the nature of the school and its neighborhood, the specific climate both within the school and in the city, and, of course, the children involved. Cities differ, and districts within them also. Police may perform differently, papers vary in their messages, and community leaders are not all the same. In talking about how individual children manage we cannot ignore the world in which they live.

Together at six is not like being together at 16, regardless of all the other factors. Young children of the two races play together and work together even though they have heard many remarks at home which might discourage this. A game means more to a child than an idea at this age. When they get into junior high and high school, this will change, as, indeed, will many other kinds of behavior, apart from the racial problem; then one sees both friendliness and antagonisms expressed in the ideas and activities which characterize teenagers. One sees changes in these ideas and activities, too. You can hear old ideas of suspicion and distrust, contempt and disdain, give way to personal knowledge. This happened with two of our openly segregationist children in Atlanta, and has been reported by others to their white friends.

In the school in Atlanta where social and economic conditions were poorest, with people worried about jobs, income, security of home, and place in society, the two Negro girls went through a year of continued silence, isolation, occasional insult of word and even deed. When one of them was ready to graduate she felt that she had no friends at all, and could really talk to no one, though all year she had reported that many would talk to her furtively in cloak rooms or empty corridors. White children had, at the same time, reported her difficult times, and their own fears of talking with her, despite their impulses of sympathy, curiosity, or friendliness. Adolescents worry deeply about what others think because they are so unsure of what they themselves think, or who they are. Each fears the ostracism of the other, because each trembles at himself and with himself in those uncertain years. On the last day of school the Negro girl was approached by over 15 classmates who asked her whether they might autograph her yearbook. She was afraid, as the first child asked, because she felt that it might be a means of attack and insult rather than an expression of good will. Any Negro child has her own angers and distrust, and must come to terms with them, too.

* *The Process of Education,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1962.

Many cannot accept friendliness out of long years of their fate. But Martha offered her book, and some of the comments speak for themselves:

> Martha, I don't know how you've felt this year, but I'm sure there have been times of loneliness and frustration. Surely you realize that ways you have been tested at times are not personal but merely instances of a gigantic, universal, social problem. I have known you to be a quiet girl with courageous dignity. Best Wishes . . .
>
> *Another said:*
>
> Martha, I have admired your great courage in your great decision. I'm sure you've been subjected to much unpleasantness, but you've met it in a most gracious way.
>
> *Again:*
>
> Dear Martha . . . as you said in English class one day some of us can't express how we really feel toward you, but I would like to take this opportunity . . .
>
> *A girl wrote:*
>
> Dear Martha, . . . I know that since I, too, am a new senior I have had my troubles. I only hope that you will forgive those of us who have been mean and ugly . . .
>
> *A boy wrote:*
>
> Martha, I cannot tell you how much I admire your courage and determination. After you had finished that little talk in English, in my eyes you were 'nine feet tall.'
>
> *Finally:*
>
> Dear Martha . . . I'm sorry not to have been able to get to know you better, but that is just the way it turned out . . . I guess that you can understand why I haven't become better acquainted with you. But I personally think that I have missed a great opportunity.

It seems that one cannot predict until the last minute has departed how these children will get along.

There are no easy rules in human behavior, and there seems to be no easy way of evaluating the different schools and different cities. It is obvious that a city where the Negro and white communities get along well and with equality will offer the best hope for a quiet transition. The rural, Appalachian towns in North Carolina seemed to bear this out. Certainly in Burnsville the high schools showed the fullest harmony and spontaneity among the colored and white children, which the principals felt to be a reflection of communal ease in racial relations.

In Atlanta, the best situation from the point of view of both Negro and white students, that is that situation which both groups felt to be least tense and most nearly normal, prevailed in neither the two schools located in what are often called "marginal areas," changing neighborhoods racially, and of relatively low income, nor in the school belonging to the wealthy area. It occurred in a school in a middle class region which drew upon a more diverse religious and ethnic population, and which had high standards of teaching corresponding to the high ambitions of the parents for their children. In this

school real friendships developed between the two Negroes and their white classmates, and the Negroes became less guarded and cautiously aloof. It is dangerous to generalize, but there certainly can be an unnatural strain in transferring one or two very poor Negro children to a wealthy suburban school where, at first, class differences are as confusing as those of skin to both parties.

During the year Negro children get their satisfactions from simple survival, from survival with good performance, and from signs of welcome and friendship which may come their way. During the year the white child may slowly begin to recognize the Negro child and speak with him, or steadfastly avoid him. All of the white children whom we saw who favored desegregation were nevertheless inhibited in their words and deeds during the school year. They repeatedly said that they were afraid to talk with Negro children at certain times or in certain public places such as the cafeteria or crowded corridors. Such was the case particularly in the first months in all the schools, and, in two of the schools, all year. The Negro students felt that many of their classmates were sympathetic or curious about the Negroes, but afraid to reveal any relationship with them because of fear of ridicule or rejection. All attributed the sources of such potential animosity to vague elements—"a few who are noisy," or "a lot of the kids," or "enough people to make it uncomfortable." Many increasingly saw themselves victimized more by their own anxiety than by what others did or might do. At this point they usually initiated the kinds of friendly exchanges which they had denied themselves earlier out of apprehension.

Among the segregationist children several changed their minds over the year, all attributing this change to what had happened at school, to noticing and getting to know a particular Negro child, to thinking about the problem because they were part of a desegregated school, to responding to their friends and their ideas and examples and influences. These children still had considerable trouble in talking with the Negro children, even after their feelings had changed, describing themselves as being shy, feeling awkward or uneasy, or, in one case, guilty. The following excerpt from a taped interview describes very clearly what happened to one boy, a senior in one of the four schools in Atlanta. It was made in April 1962, the first year of desegregation then nearing its end.

> I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help having respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while. They speak well, and are more intelligent than a lot of my friends. You have to understand how we've grown up. They were slaves to us, I mean even after the Civil War . . . I was taught to expect them to do anything I wanted at home . . . they belonged in the kitchen, or fixing your socks . . . that's the way you grow up and that's what most of us expect . . . and then we're told that they're supposed to go to school with us . . . my daddy nearly died . . . Mom told him he'd get a stroke if he didn't stop it . . . I sneered a few times the first few weeks, but I just couldn't keep it up, and I felt kind

of bad and sorry for them. I used to get nervous when I'd see them eating alone. I wondered how I'd have felt if I were in their shoes . . . next thing I knew I was quiet when some of my friends were calling them all the old names . . . I felt that I never again would look at them the way I did last September and before . . . I can't really describe any time or episode . . . no, it was just a kind of gradual feeling . . . I argue with my parents . . . my mother is pretty good on the subject, she can change her mind, but my father is impossible to talk with . . .my brother and I agree that he's probably going to be in a desegregated school in a few years . . . it'll be easier for him . . . I still argue with my friends, they laugh at me, call me a damn 'nigger lover' . . . they sit and have a time planning what they'll do to make things rough for them, but never do them . . . never do much but mutter something under their breath in the corrider . . . teachers won't let them get away with anything 'wise' . . . they'll insult one of them, then call them up in the evening and joke with them about going out on a date . . . I can't figure this out.

This is a record of obvious emotional change, based on new kinds of human contact. It can and does happen. It also can fail to happen. Three children have clearly and consistently indicated their strong dislike of Negroes, of their presence in the white schools, of their presence in any situation not traditionally accepted as for them. Their attitudes were essentially the same at the end of a year of desegregation, in one case expressed even more strongly and angrily. At some other moment their stories, their feelings and fears must be told. We can only mention here the chief themes which come again and again: that Negroes will lower standards; that they are dirty and diseased; that they are like animals; that they are not like white people, inferior, less intelligent, born and made to serve. Themes of betrayal, of being cheated and hurt come to their minds and words. Two of these children experience physical revulsion when near a Negro, "like dirt being rubbed on you" one told me, and they try to avoid them with great care and obvious show. One is less afraid of them than provoked, and is more concerned with expressing his anger, showing them that he can taunt and tease them. It may be of psychiatric interest that they show a kind of sensitivity and concern for the Negro children, and some guilt and anxiety about their own behavior and thoughts, and that this can be ascertained by listening over long periods of time to them, to their words and associations, to their account of their feelings, to their dreams and stories and jokes and deeds.

Nor do some Negro children lack strong feelings about whites, feelings of hatred, feelings often remarkably similar to those encountered by them from hostile whites. A Negro boy told us: "I hate them, all of them, and when I can help it, I try to stay clear of them. They cause trouble whenever they can, and they're the ones who are dirty. . . . I'm here to claim this school, because it's as much ours as theirs . . . they're going to have to learn to live with us, and they'd better learn it, because they need us. I mean, they need our help to civilize them . . . they're like savages, that's what whites are like, savages."

Psychiatrists know that sometimes people express affection with anger, their interests or curiosity with sarcasm and distance, their shame and guilt with rage and hatred. But such knowledge must be very carefully translated into the practical problems of the school, the classroom, and the teachers. Let us turn to them now.

Teachers and Classrooms

It is obvious that the relation of teacher to pupil is an emotional one and most complex . . .

—JACQUES BARZUN*

In the South teachers will not be immune from natural curiosity and surprise when a custom of long duration changes. As human beings they will have many and different views, perhaps conflicting views and feelings. The rhyme or reason to what one sees in the several towns and cities can only be seen in just this: that what happens is highly individual, and will depend on the local situations, the local school within a school system, the particular problem at hand, the nature of the white and colored children, who they are, how they generally get along, what has happened to them in the past and, finally, upon their teachers, and principals, what they do or do not do, and their view of their role in this new situation.

In a sense, issues and developments like this put to test the very nature of education, the very profession of teaching, the very role of the school in the life of the city or town. All professions struggle with the balance, and occasional tension in that balance, between the private man with his own personality and emotions, hopes and doubts, and the more public man of the profession, or job, with all its special needs and requirements which seem to have a life of their own, apart from that of the individual. In moments like those facing the South today, there will inevitably be challenges to this balance in public officials, in lawyers and judges, and in school officials and teachers. New accommodations seem to be needed, and there will be strains as these are made. We cannot expect that an issue like that of school desegregation, so charged with meaning and symbolism to so many, could leave teachers unaffected or uninterested.

It is a fact of the past few years that schools plagued by crowds, boycotts, and even violence have, with occasional forced interruptions, continued to function. In New Orleans the two schools there persisted even though one of them had only the three Negro children in attendance, and, in effect, was more abandoned than desegregated. Teachers there were subjected to heavy pressures to boycott these schools, and their problems were often the same as those of the white parents. Many of them were opposed to desegregation, some very strongly, others with less fervor. But they were also teachers, and loyal to their job, their principal, the decisions of their school board. What happened was that the schools remained open, if under-populated, and the teachers taught.

Several of them have described the development of a kind of school spirit which emerged from a position of beleaguered isolation and experience of

* *Teacher in America,* Doubleday, New York, 1954.

attack. Songs like "Frantz School Will Survive" were sung, and a kind of small family feeling developed. "Divided loyalties" would describe much of the situation, and a kind of adherence in the end to professional responsibilities and obligations. What was described by one teacher was, "I didn't like it, but I also couldn't walk out on my job. That would be unthinkable." This view has been described by many teachers in several cities. In Atlanta one could feel the teachers themselves coming to terms with the problem as citizens, some favorable, some opposed, many in doubt, conflict and ambivalence. But one could also sense in them a deep sense of professional integrity, of identity as teachers which transcended their private feelings about race. The children felt this, too. We heard few criticisms from white or Negro children about their teachers, few complaints of hurtful action or expression. This was one of the subjects which seemed to unite all the children, black and white, integrationist and segregationist. (In some cases, teachers not emotionally able to cope with a desegregated classroom have been permitted to take other assignments.)

Those who have taught under these new conditions describe interesting things about themselves and their classes. They will talk about their own nervousness, their own early uncertainties and fears, and their own curiosity about these Negro children, and how they will get along. Many of them went through, during the year, the kinds of re-evaluations and re-assessments which can come only from actual human contact and experience. For many it is as much a year of finding out and observing as of teaching. Like the white children, they are meeting Negroes in a new context, and many new perceptions may come to them, and must be assimilated in their minds. Teachers will describe their own estimates of the Negro children, their own likes and dislikes of them as individuals and as a group distinct from white people. They will describe the early silence and tension, the developing patterns of behavior, the onset of problems and dilemmas, the ways that the year ended, and their estimates of how the year's experience went for them as well as the children.

Needless to say, reports like these will vary from teacher to teacher, from situation to situation, as will their classroom behavior and their feelings and beliefs. Many teachers have been very sympathetic and kindly to the Negro children, and have attempted to convey this to them, and to white children also in some hope that they will be influenced. Others have felt more distant, and unwilling or unable to do more than teach in fine impartiality or neutrality. A few have had to deal with serious disciplinary problems, when teenagers in Atlanta have thrown objects or marked school property with unfriendly words of chalk and pencil. Then there develop questions of school clubs and activities, athletics and newspapers, all the various groupings and actions which revolve around the school, even if not part of formal teaching and studying. A high school in America is much more than a place where children learn. Even an elementary school is more than that. In New Orleans there were problems about whether the Negro mothers would come to the

parent-teacher meetings, the school parties at Easter or Christmas, or help, as parents do, in school plays or celebrations. In Atlanta similar problems about the Negro parents had to be faced, and, also, the more complex ones about whether a Negro boy or girl could belong to a school club, or go to a game, could work on the paper, or go to a dance.

By the time one is in the second year of close scrutiny of these matters, and has traveled from city to city for comparative purposes, one begins to see how many of the solutions to these problems come about. Like the very nature of our American school system, they are not decided uniformly or by wide ranging administrative fiats.

Indeed, all the paradoxes of man's nature can be seen in the landscape of these southern schools. So much seems to come from whim, fancy, sudden impulse, as well as from careful planning and calculation. Hard times in New Orleans streets stood side by side with easy times in the school (the crowds outside the school were largely *not* the mothers of the school children, anyway). In Atlanta no Negro parents appeared at a parent-teacher meeting which expected them, while in another district they attended with no trouble. Their own initiative decided the issue. In the two schools where the Negro children had the easier time, they avoided dances, advised in this course by principals aware of possible difficulties. Yet, in another school, where there had been much less friendliness among the children, the Negroes, perhaps propelled by their own dissatisfactions and loneliness, decided to go to a dance. Their principal allowed this to happen, and the event turned out quite well. One city, where there has been no trouble, hesitates about club membership, while another, more harassed, simply assumed that certain extracurricular activities go with attendance itself, even in the midst of desegregation. The patterns are almost as numerous as the numbers of schools.

The philosophy and desires of the teacher cannot be under-estimated. It is fairly obvious that a teacher can set many standards and establish many kinds of climates. Some teachers have felt that their work should be pursued with no concern for what happens to the children emotionally, with little active involvement in the way the children of both races get along. "They're in the school, I'll teach them . . . if there's disorder in the class, I'll stop that . . . but that's as far as I'll go." Other teachers are very much concerned with how their students get along with one another, and are aware of how much they can facilitate this with a word here, a deed there. The references made by Martha's white classmates to the English class, as quoted earlier, illustrate very graphically what one teacher did, and how much this affected so many children.

There had been much silence, and a few were heckling her while the majority sat by nervously and anxiously. The teacher, sensing this, simply asked Martha, suddenly, and with no advance notice, to tell the class how she felt about her several months' "stay" at the school. Martha did, in her quiet, plain and simple manner, and she was heard. What we had been hearing from some of the white children during some of the episodes of teasing, of throwing paper and pennies, was their own anxiety and disapproval of this and their sense of helplessness in the face of what they felt to be intimidation. Two events helped change this. One was the teacher's action in allowing Martha to talk, which helped Martha, and helped mobilize the sentiments of these white children. The other was when Martha and her friend Rosalyn, the other Negro girl, reached the point where they started resisting by reporting incidents, and, also, speaking out their determination to defend themselves from attack if necessary. Many white children had reached the point of intervening themselves, so upset were they. They were relieved by this firmness on the part of the Negro children, and the combination of resistance by the Negroes, rather than quiet and daily passive acceptance of insults, with action from the teachers and principal, stopped the grosser episodes of molesting behavior.

There can be no doubt that teachers can allow things to go on, and often prevent them from occurring. Teachers recognize that their continuing task is to encourage those parts of the person which want to learn, study, cooperate in class, contribute to the school community; and to discourage those inevitable parts of any person which tend to discourage education, cooperative effort, and individual acquisition of information and skills. The noisy, uncooperative child, the emotionally disturbed child, the defiant child, the extremely shy child who cannot communicate or will not share, the arrogant genius, and the shy retarded child, all these are but variations in the school population, daily variations, daily challenges, requiring daily decisions affecting the welfare of both these special cases and the rest of their mates. The entire school's children will be influenced by the way these particular children behave, and by the way they are handled by their teachers, and allowed to be treated by others.

It would seem that once the Negro child enters the schools, he would also require the kinds of thought and preparation which traditionally are accorded such unusual or special cases. A desegregated classroom in many southern cities in this period is a specially challenging one to the educational profession. The level of educational achievement may well vary with the skills of the teachers in handling some of the problems of human encounter before them.

Desegregation and Human Development

*Without quite acknowledging it, many Southerners during these years had been waging a kind of war with themselves. Increasingly their ideal of a stable social order came into conflict with the social and political realities with which they were confronted.**

WILLIAM R. TAYLOR

Lives are unique. Given this, however, can we come to useful or meaningful *conclusions* or *generalizations* about human beings involved in social changes? I should think so.

When schools have been desegregated in southern cities, uncertainty, with its sequelae of anxiety and fear, is evident. School officials cannot control all the variables which insure the quiet and orderly entry of Negro students into formerly all white schools; and they will, as professionals, require help from many quarters. Yet, a city's educational leaders have certain opportunities of their very own in a crisis like this: a chance to act wisely and carefully, in the best interests of the school children and the continuing effective function of the schools. An entire city, of course, prospers when its schools manage such a hurdle successfully. The following discussion, drawing upon what is now the medically studied past, would hope to help in any future situations as well as serve as a reminder or record of what has been.

One problem always facing a city's school officials is to select the age group of Negro students first to be introduced into the formerly all white schools. Most educators and doctors would agree that from the viewpoint of teaching alone, it is obviously better to start with the first grades. Our research emphasizes what we already know about human development, that at five children are governed by needs of the moment: to play, to sing, or shout. They most certainly understand many of the meanings of skin color, because they hear the words and commands of their parents; but, except in rare cases, tensions and ideologies of the adult world will not undo what is, after all, their "childhood." In the first grades children are influenced by constant surges of energy, prompting action, curiosity, exploration of mind and body alike. Ideologies are foreign to them. Seeds of later attitudes are in them, make no mistake about that. But they will not flower until later, when the child thinks and hesitates more, is more responsive to the laws of society than the young child.

In the earlier grades, moreover, there are less fixed disparities of educational achievement than in higher grades, even though capacities will vary from the first moment of the first grade of school. We have yet to know exactly what "intelligence" is. Factors of environment, not simply social and economic, but subtle familial ones, are doubtlessly significant. Paradoxes flaunt themselves before us as we try to grasp answers. Poor, dull parents produce a singularly bright child, or wealthy, cultured ones a dullard or delinquent. There are, however, certain broad generalizations which indicate that *performances in our schools* can be grossly correlated with certain forces at work in the child's home life. The more efforts are made to deal with the negative kinds of such influences, for instance, disheartened or illiterate parents, unconvinced or skeptical of the value of learning for their children, the better the chance that the child will stay in school and learn. By high school children have learned not only new facts of reading and writing, but hope or despair, effort or sloth.

Whites and Negroes of the South, perhaps all over America, can agree that Negro schools are generally inferior, even where bright new buildings belie the assertion. Schools are more than bricks and mortar, and no child or school system can ignore the history of Negro education in America, a reflection, of course, of the Negro's experience in America. Still, against the troubled imprint of our past history, we always have the renewed chance which each fresh generation offers. If we have no conclusive answer to the problem of inheritance and "basic intelligence," if we would be fools to deny the importance in a child's life of his genes, we can at least acknowledge the known medical facts that the early years exert powerful persuasion upon human development and education alike. By 14 so very *much* has happened, and in those last few years of school there is little time or inclination, given the nature of adolescence, for easy reversals of long standing and accruing assets and liabilities.

Teen-aged youth acquire a host of challenges as their bodies stir and minds begin to leave home and prepare for a place in the world. Though we are often impressed by their capacity for sudden, careless, rebellious behavior, those who work with adolescents—teachers, athletic instructors, ministers, and doctors—know that the flamboyant protest often masks the quiet, but more significant truth: of anxious, insecure young men and women, no longer so freely impulsive and playful, struggling now with thoughts and feelings, with questions of rank and role, with decisions of the moment which will affect a life-time. No longer is a game merely a game, a lesson just a way of pleasing a teacher. A high school classroom is a microcosm of the outside world, on whose threshold the child now stands; and all the struggles "out there" are quite nearby, as well they must be with young men and women so near full citizenship.

What, then, of such matters of age and behavior as they relate to desegregation? If young children, white and Negro, will get along more easily and have less of the wear of years of differential education to complicate matters, why any question of when to start desegregation? Perhaps a student of child development can offer a reply here, too. For, after all, a five year old child is much more a part of his parents' world, much more dependent upon them, their body, soul, and mind, just as they are more surely and constantly at-

* *Cavalier and Yankee*, The Old South and American National Character, Braziller, New York, 1961.

tached to him. The older child—a very definition of his aging—begins to depart, seeking in friends, in older people other than his parents, new relationships and supports. When there is desegregation in a tense town, the high school may stand more removed from fearful mothers, seized with transient panic, apt to keep their children home or succumb to aroused mobs. Furthermore, those in the community prone to agitation may be more stimulated by the sight of young children, of both races, friendly in spite of admonitions, than by the naturally aloof and hesitant behavior of most high school students.

These conjectures are threatened only by the logic of events. Whites and Negroes, many teachers, too, agree that the mobs in New Orleans comprised people predominantly having no children in the temporarily and partially boycotted schools. Further, given decisive police support, there were no mobs the next year, even with widespread extension of desegregation to other elementary schools. Memphis, Asheville, Knoxville, Dallas have started with the first grades with little or no outside interference. Finally, mobs have formed with college desegregation, given ripe conditions: Memphis and Oxford, Miss., a scant 50 miles apart, will confirm this.

It would seem, therefore, that school officials might best proceed in desegregation according to their own professional dictates, insisting that other office holders such as the police do likewise. Evidence here indicates, ironically, that even with external stress such as in New Orleans, young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse, given reasonable, initial good health and a functioning school system.

Another question about desegregation asked by many is the academic one of how successfully Negro children learn and whether white children continue to learn. The answer in both cases would seem to be yes. Even the strongly segregationist children we have followed for two years have continued their studies without impairment. They report the same for their friends. In no case has any of them complained of any feeling of lowered standards in their classes. One white girl remarked to me: "They never stopped me from learning. I wouldn't give them the satisfaction." Another white student with several Negroes in his class, was determined to better his grades: "I couldn't let them beat us out." (They didn't; he was a bright boy whom no one could easily "beat out.")

Distractions caused by desegregation, such as the obviously awkward first moments, are more temporary, if quite noticeable, than enduring or paralytic to the performance of children in the classroom. One teacher, a veteran of Little Rock's stormy first years of desegregation, talking of how the white students functioned, said: "Despite it all, even with the troops to keep everyone diverted, I feel our children continued to learn, and that's what we all held to as teachers, that the children were getting an *education* through it all." If the school remains open, its momentum of teaching will reach its students.

Negro children may or may not have academic troubles. Some do, some don't. By and large, if the younger ones manage well, the older ones sometimes have the burden of their former years: "We just don't work as hard in

our schools as the whites do. . . . Maybe we don't believe it pays off. . . . Isn't it tough to get a job even if you do have the best degrees and you're Negro?" Yet, even where high school students initiate desegregation, even with all the emotional strains of the first years, Negro children in southern cities have done surprisingly well. Atlanta's first group, nine boys and girls, were carefully selected with a view to their academic success, which quite generally they achieved. For the second year the city largely ignored prospective success at studies and emphasized geographical factors. A higher incidence of learning difficulties resulted, but very few which were insurmountable; this, even with 15- and 16-year-old children, from schools often far from comparable to the white ones. Finally, we have yet to hear a southern teacher complain of any drop in intellectual or moral climate in a desegregated room or school.

Do changes occur among the attitudes of the white and Negro children as they go to school together? We have indicated so, but time renders any judgment dangerous indeed, for we are dealing with problems of perception, of symbolic thinking. (Think for a minute of the complex imagery of "black and white" in our literary and linguistic traditions. "Black" describes a Negro, but long before slavery it was associated in European minds with the "devil," or mourning, or a host of other negative connotations. This is a subject for study in and of itself; we may just note here that no mind is entirely free of its unconscious associations). We are also faced with problems of customs and habits, acquired as we grow, which are able to shape our sights in later years, able to influence what we hear and what we ignore. If what Henry James so often called our "sensibilities" (a capacity to respond sensitively to life and its dilemmas) are thus conditioned, they also have their own force and moment. The important distinctions in psychiatry are between those who have a conscience and those who don't, between those who are mainly rational and those who are commonly impulsive. Most humanity suffers, becomes enraged upon occasion, is joyous or is sad; but, whatever the mood, sees and listens under the protection of both conscience and what we in medicine call a "sense of reality." These two aspects of our emotional development are critically important in our lives, lest we be irresponsible or incoherent: our sense of right and wrong and our ability to separate in our minds the real from the imaginary (no matter how attractive the imaginary may be).

Consequently, we see changes in both Negro and white children as days become weeks and months. A firmly segregationist boy cannot but notice the difference between two Negro classmates, their separate manner, minds, attire. A Negro girl no longer sees, as she put it, "just white," but many separate individuals. It takes a high order of mental disability for such basic observations to be prevented.

Teachers will meet many new situations, not only the obvious and immediate ones described here, but those requiring careful thought and not a little introspection. Problems of the "crisis" of desegregation will yield to those of attitude, or fairness in discipline and teaching—not that these matters do

not concern conscientious teachers all their professional lives. The usual pitfalls in teaching will be just a shade more noticeable in any specially tense situation: nervous rigidity which stifles easing of barriers, or a leniency which allows fast increasing disorder. In desegregated schools teachers will be dealing with not only the problems of their children, but those of their own lives, their habits, and expectations. These teachers should not spare themselves careful self-examination.

"How can I be fair to them all, the Negroes and whites both?" We have heard teacher after teacher in the South ask this question. Glib answers are fast spoken, but useless. There are no rules except those already known: that classrooms are for learning; that each child is an individual, but, at school, is mainly a pupil (or, hopefully, a student); and that what is important is that this role, this opportunity, be guarded in order to flourish. Here is a brief moment in Atlanta: "I think I bend over backwards to be fair with the nigra students, and sometimes I think they're getting away with too much." We told this sensitive, earnest lady that what Negro students wanted and deserved was a fair chance, not a new form of protected separation. She realized that perhaps she felt guilty about their past, or may even still feel anxious to keep them "separate" in her mind and behavior. A year later she remarked: "When I forgot about skin, or mostly did, and treated them as children who either knew their grammar or didn't it became better. I remember the first time I raised my voice at the nigra girl . . . I knew then that I'd solved a lot of my problems in teaching with nigras in my class." Ironies, complexities of emotions and behavior, will touch all of us, the best intentioned perhaps most of all.

Those children and teachers whose feelings are exceptionally strong about desegregation are, really, a special, and rather small group. We know in watching children grow, and we know from our work in clinics and hospitals, that even the most rigid ideas do not exist in isolation, that sentiments conflict with one another as well as support one another. Our studies show that many people oppose desegregation, but also oppose the closing of the schools, mob behavior, or insulting or assaulting a fellow student, regardless of skin color. Comments quoted earlier in this report suggest that the particularly enraged person, be he teacher or student, is relatively rare among millions of Southerners. Too long have those who are committed to many customs and traditions besides racial ones allowed this one problem to dominate all others.

Finally, we should like to emphasize a little of what we in medicine and psychiatry know, and also don't know, about people, and especially children. Psychiatrists are beginners. We know so little about *whether* people *will* do certain things, though, once done, we are better at figuring out why. The mysteries of the physiology of the brain, our 'bio-electric circuits" of thinking, still elude us, though we daily press closer upon them. Nor have we yet determined how much of our behavior and intelligence is controlled by genetic factors and how much by social or cultural ones.

Yet, we have spent decades studying and treating people, and are continually struck by how far any man can move with a given inheritance, a given endowment at birth. To deny mankind, and particularly its children, a large measure of supple potentiality would contradict observations which go back to the dawn of history itself. As I write these words I have before me books and reports which, in their sum, are eloquent testimony to our stubborn ability as humans to survive nature's accidents and disasters as well as the folly of man's making. War, concentration camps, pestilence—and still life gathers itself together, often makes needed changes and goes on. Any observer of child behavior knows how flexible children can be, how much they can grow and learn, given even far from optimal conditions. If we in America, in the South, deny our own plasticity and sensitivity, our own responsive capacities, we remove ourselves from our very nature as human beings. This, in truth, is a form of segregation. It is not merely undesirable, but, in a country such as ours, deadly.

We would recommend, therefore, the closest study of the desegregated school by all of those interested in the welfare of American children. This is a national problem, and there are no easy and, perhaps, few general answers. The more specific the information we accumulate about specific situations and conditions, the better informed we will be, and the better prepared to apply this knowledge to new and often unique as well as similar crises or events. It would seem wise for all Americans to look carefully at the actualities amidst us. It can be very dangerous to shun them.

N. Y. Times
Aug. 25, 1963

Troubled Minds

PSYCHIATRY IN AMERICAN LIFE. Edited by Charles Rolo. 246 pp. Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. $5.

A PSYCHIATRIST'S VIEWS ON SOCIAL ISSUES. By Sol W. Ginsburg, M.D. Foreword by Karl A. Menninger, M.D. Introduction by William C. Menninger, M.D. 296 pp New York: Columbia University Press. $5.

By FRANCIS J. BRACELAND

THE supplement of The Atlantic Monthly, for July, 1962, which dealt with psychiatry in American life, aroused great interest and some turbulence and it was inevitable that a follow-up study would some day appear. "Psychiatry in American Life" is a lineal descendant of that supplement and, like its progenitor, it is broad gauged, sprightly and well done. The contributors to the volume are equally divided between professionals and informed laymen. This makes for a balanced work which is informative and highly readable.

The papers range from Dr. Stanley Cobb's scholarly discussion of the development of psychosomatic medicine to Mignon McLaughlin's clever extracts from "The Neurotic's Notebook." Brock Brower, an editor and writer, considers "Psychotherapy in America — The Contemporary Scene," in an informal, informed and lively fashion. En route he knocks over a few idols but everything is neatly put together again in the next chapter by Dr. Rudolph Wittenberg, a knowledgeable practicing "analyst."

DRS. MOWRER and Astley, though philosophically wide apart, seem to agree that psychiatry and religion are not ready as yet to be comfortable bedfellows. Literary critic Alfred Kazin sees trouble with other professions and looks with jaundiced eye upon those Ph.D.'s who transfer from them to psychoanalysis and emerge as pundits.

A particularly noteworthy contribution from the psychiatric standpoint is Dr. Robert Cole's essay, entitled "A Young Psychiatrist Looks at His Profession." There is enough humility and wonderment in this paper to give each of us pause and to note that surely more will be heard from this young man. "Problems," he says, "will not be solved by professional arrogance or more guile and rituals, for it is more by being than by doing that the meaningful and deeply felt communion between us and our patients will emerge." There is a quiet wisdom in this essay, as there is in several others in the book. All the evaluations are of high caliber.

When Sol W. Ginsburg turned his attention to the field of social psychology in the mid-1940's few psychiatrists were

(Continued on Page 27)

Dr. Braceland is Psychiatrist-in-Chief of the Institute of Living in Hartford.

Troubled

(Continued From Page 26)

interested. Psychiatry had emerged from its "hospital era" but the problems of individual patients were occupying the attention of psychiatrists in private practice. Dr. Ginsburg continued his interest in the field until his death in 1960 and no one did more in that period to advance fundamental research in community psychiatry.

"A Psychiatrist's Views on Social Issues" is a compilation of the author's major writings. It was compiled by his cousin, Eli Ginzsberg, of The Conservation of Human Rights Project of Columbia University, with which Dr. Sol was also connected.

The book has three sections, the first concerned with "Psychiatric Concepts." In this are discussed mental health, the neuroses, adolescence, values, adjustment, and religion and psychiatry. Here one sees the fine hand of an expert and dedicated clinician and psychoanalyst. The second section deals with "Psychiatry and Social Issues" and these papers discuss social work, the family, and work and its satisfactions. The author's knowledge in these fields was vast. His descriptions of the family and what unemployment does to an individual and his dependents are poignant.

The third section considers "The Practice of Psychiatry" and includes private and clinic practice and consultation in a general hospital. In these papers the image of the true doctor shines out and one can only be grateful for fine, warm, human and dedicated scientists, like Sol Ginsburg, for they are the ones who approximate the public's image of the ideal physician.

The book is addressed mainly to social scientists, psychologists, social workers, educators and theologians, but psychiatrists and the educated layman would do well to read it. The light of the man shows through at various times and, while it is hard to convey the affection and regard in which this physician was held, one can get a hint of it from his essays.

Human Condition

WHEREAS in Europe the theologian or artist shares intimately with psychiatrists, we stand apart from them, afraid to recognize our common heritage. . . . After four years of psychiatric training in a not uncultured city, I begin to wonder whether young psychiatrists in America are becoming isolated by an arbitrary definition of what is, in fact, our work. Our work is the human condition, and we might do well to talk with Reinhold Niebuhr about the "nature and destiny of man," or with J. D. Salinger about our Holden Caulfields.
—Robert Coles in "Psychiatry in American Life."

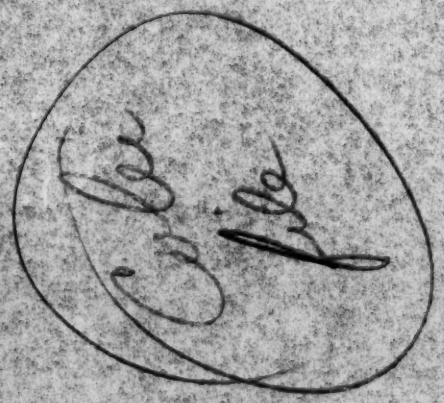
GRANTS

9/61 - 8/62	New World	$ 7,500
9/62 - 8/63	G. E. Board	10,625
		$18,125

DISBURSEMENTS

1961	-	$ 3,766.76
1962		10,861.94
1963 (Thru Aug.)		10,950.34
		$25,579.04
1963 (Since Sept.)		-1,595.28
		$27,174.32

SEA FOAM BOND



$25,579.04
-18,125.00
$ 7,454.04

RESEARCH IN STUDENT ADJUSTMENT

Disbursements, 1/1/63 through 8/31/63

Consultant Fee	$ 6,550.00
Travel and Communication	2,865.19
Research Materials	1,535.15
Total Disbursements 8/31/63	$10,950.34

Disbursements, Sept. 1963

Consultant Fee	$ 700.00
Travel	195.28
Total 9/63	$ 895.28

COLES

1961	$ 3,766.76
1962	10,861.76
1963 (through April)	6,203.26
	$ 20,831.78
Grant	18,125.00
SRC investment to date	$ 2,706.78

1962-1963 I have continued my long term work with the original students, white and Negro, in Atlanta and New Orleans. I have continued with their families and teachers. I have also seen some of the new transfer students, alone and in groups, sometimes all of them together, getting an idea how things go in later stages of desegregation. I have again taught a course, without pay, at Emory's Teacher Education School, with more information gained about attitudes by young Georgians who soon will teach these children. I have travelled to Williamsburg and studied early manuscripts having to do with attitudes toward the Negro, at the Institute for Early American Culture. I have talked with staff members there, and gathered valuable ideas and information for my study. I have continued my interviews with students engaged in sit-ins, gathering a rather extensive amount of information from them, and becoming, for many of them, someone with whom they feel they can talk. I have talked with many segregationists, especially in New Orleans, and feel some confidence in understanding some of the reasons they get involved in some of their activities. All this I am trying to think about and put into some form for writing. I have in mind both professional and general writing, and am working on articles of both kinds, trying to make as clear as possible some of the psychological forces at work in this struggle, among Negroes, among whites. I am hopeful about gathering material together for a book, and would like to work on this next, along with certain additional articles ~~on~~ upon subjects which I think my work bears ~~meaning.~~

1963-1964 For the next year, starting in September I would hope to continue my work of writing, case histories, theoretical parts, for the book. I would also write the articles mentioned above, and this would involve considerable time. Because of his approach in this field, and my prior work with him, I would hope to write and study with Erik Erikson in Cambridge in the autumn, when he gives a course which is actually a small seminar on application of psychiatric study to current problems, historical, social or political. In the summer, and later in the early winter I envision starting, or continuing, my present work through an attempt to see how migrants and their children manage under the kinds of living they endure. I have satisfied myself that this is an interesting, valuable, and, most important, feasible project. Since several families I know have relatives who have been part of the migrant stream, and since I am interested in how social crisis affects individual families, and, most important, since this is needed and important work, I would like to start it on a part time basis, and continue it as it seems possible. I would make preliminary trips to Belle Grade, Florida, and in the early summer probably connect with some of the families in New Jersey or New York. In the winter I would be with them in Belle Glade. The purpose would be such as: How do children adjust to such living, such stresses? How do the commmunities respond to these people? I have been told by doctors in the HEW dept. in Washington that there is a strong need for this kind of work, and no information on the subject....

I will need some money, and an organization to receive the money for the work. I'd be glad to talk with some people and try to raise the sum, if the SRC would do as they have and sponsor the work. Or, if the SRC would be able to support the work, that would be all the better.

It seems to me that I would need about $15,000 for this, including the travel with the Migrants and whatever follow-ups with my present work I need as I write, and also support of me and my wife, and secretarial expenses, a bit heavy this year, I expect, with all the writing.

How about:

Consultant Fee	$9.000
Travel	4.000
Research materials	2.000
Secretarial	
etc.	

I'm not very good about estimating money and asking for it. Paul suggested , roughly this budget. I think a good year's work would come out of it. I think the mobility and the writing warrent the money, and also the work has to be a bit mobile, because of the migrants and because of my writing and studying a while in Boston with Erikson.

Rec'd 3/26/65

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY HEALTH SERVICES

75 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

March 23, 1965

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

Thanks for your letter. Shortly after I mailed off the migrant paper to you Fay called me to tell me that she was directing "our" energies (The National Advisory Council's, of which I now find myself a member) toward rallying specific pressures upon Mr. Wirtz and his policies with regard to "importing" labor.

I now feel quite free and comfortable at saying that you can publish the piece without any co-existence. If you or Pat have any ideas about what should be emphasized or eliminated in the content of the paper you now have, please let me know. I would, of course, write a section relating migrant labor and sharecropper labor more specifically to Southern history and social conditions. I would also eliminate the vulgar (that is, psychiatric) words.

Today a whole collection of zealous Harvard professors gathered to fly South. I heard them talking their irreproachable truth, and felt their moral urgency. I also found myself closer to the white people of Alabama than I ordinarily can imagine.

Best regards,

Bob

Memo from **PAT WATTERS**

With the possible exceptions of the sections on Methodology and The Problems and Limitations of This Kind of Study, and of the bibliography (all of which have their own interest), I don't see anything to change here. If there is elaboration of any points, I would be interested in knowing more about the comparison of white and Negro migrants, and their attitudes toward each other. And in their attitudes toward the other world. This is fascinating stuff.

A STATEMENT PREPARED FOR THE PUBLIC HEARINGS ON
FARM LABOR AND RURAL POVERTY

of the

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR

May 18, 1964

Washington, D.C.

The Psychological Adjustment of Migrant Farm Families

Robert Coles, M.D.*

My remarks here today are preliminary observations, and they are specifically intended to be tentative and "non-technical" in nature. I hope that in some limited way they will enable further comprehension of the kinds of problems facing the migrant worker and his family, especially his children. I hope also that they will help us with our problems in understanding these people so generally apart from our national life. During the next year I shall try to describe the lives of these people more exactly, and present my full medical and psychiatric findings to appropriate professional meetings. For the present I will attempt a broad picture of my interest in the problem, my work in it, and some of my more general conclusions from my current research.

Child development does not occur in a vacuum of psychological "processes" or "stages," but in the midst of a family which in turn

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exists in a world, a society which constantly exerts its varying influences upon all its families. I am a child psychiatrist and am now in my fourth year of clinical medical and psychiatric study of how the life of the child is affected by certain social situations which might be considered stressful.

For over two years I studied Negro and white children of several ages--as young as five and those well into adolescence--in several cities of the deep South. I was interested in learning how these children managed to get along under the social crisis of school desegregation. My work involved prolonged acquaintance with children, their families, and their teachers in Georgia and Louisiana, and briefer contact with others in Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina. In the course of this research I attempted to come to know the child's larger family, his grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins as well as his mother and father. It was in doing this that I first encountered migrant agricultural and sharecropper families.

Several of the children I knew in New Orleans had cousins who either still lived on small farms in Mississippi or Louisiana, or had left them to travel with their parents as part of the "migrant stream," from Florida to the Northern states, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and back each year. The sharecropper cousins were white and Negro; the migrant ones only Negro, though I was later to meet white migrant children. I resolved to continue and extend my work by investigating the adjustment of these children and their families to the isolated and often impoverished rural life of farming, and, most particularly, to

the life of migrant farming, a wandering, socially disruptive, and often indigent background for child rearing.

I am now in my second year of this study, and it is nearing conclusión. I have been following certain Negro and white migrant families in order to find out how they live, how they think and feel as individuals, how they view the world and their relationship to it, how they conduct themselves with one another at home, at work, at play. In the course of my work I have talked at great length with public health doctors, nurses, dietitions and social workers. I have worked as a physician in mobile public health medical clinics which aim to reach migrants by going out directly to their midst. I have spent a considerable amount of time talking with growers and various state and local officials concerned with the problems of agriculture, and another large share of time interviewing school teachers responsible for the education of migrant children. But the heart of the work has been repeated interviews with migrant families of both races done in their several homes. I have tried to learn how these parents and children live by watching them at home and at work, by talking with their crew leaders (who hire and transport them) by following their movements over our country and speaking with them in different locations and seasons.

There are relatively scarce historical, sociological, and anthropological studies of migrants, and there has been, to my knowledge, no clinical psychiatric study of how they endure psychologically. The major information about their lives comes from

our novelists and journalists, our public health officials and legislative investigators, our concerned lay organizations. Further scientific study of just how these millions of people live and what their living habits do to their thinking and feeling about themselves and the world they inhabit is badly needed. In fact, the absence of such information confirms the relative isolation of migrants from our national life and its predominant curiosity about itself--sometimes of a restless, self conscious kind which embraces any research in the social sciences with uncritical passion.

Yet, studying migrant workers is not easy because they are unwilling to trust outsiders, reluctant to feel easy and spontaneous with them, and so unconvincing in the reliability of their conversation I found this to be the case with white migrants as well as Negroes: a large measure of aloof, suspicious and even sullen behavior is shown to outsiders.

We can find out much about how the migrants came to be migrants by studying the history of agriculture in this country, clearly impossible to do here. But even my very limited research illustrates how a collapsing rural economy in the South causes families either to seek out cities and their different conditions of living and working or to drift toward a lowlier, more chaotic form of farm life in migrant harvesting. After all, many of the Negro and white people I have studied as they seek and oppose desegregation have only recently left tenant farming. In both white and Negro families the choice of city living was made because the breadwinner had obtained a kind of

vocational training in the armed services which suggested to them that the move to cities like Atlanta or New Orleans, in spite of all their formidable qualities, was reasonable, that is offered some chance of a job and with it a life less pressed by hunger, cold, disease, no money, and no work.

Now there is no time and space here to describe suitably the lives of these people; and only in this way can we fully understand the reasons for the truth of what others see about them and their habits. Their homes and how they are kept, their food and how they

take it, the daily rhythm of their work, play and sleep must be carefully documented and related to their past, as individuals and as families; to our past as a nation, in all the historical, social, and economic senses of such a "past;" and finally, to their present as they are confronted with its daily tasks, and demands, possibilities and impossibilities--confronted with them in full possession of their past.

If such documentation is to be done elsewhere, we can at least emphasize here the generally illiterate quality of the minds of most of these workers; the isolated and disorganized quality of their social existence; and the fear, anxiety, and frustration which characterize much of the structure of their psychological lives.

Falling back upon my own work, I am struck by the differences I have seen within the same families, between those children brought up in relatively stable--socially and economically--urban homes and those brought up in migrant farm families. In a sense one is at loss, for a moment, to deal with the information accumulated. The children I studied in New Orleans or Atlanta faced heavy social and psychological stress. They were entering previously all-white schools under heavy community resistance and the tensions generated, the mobs, the threats, the apprehension and uncertainty, were there for anyone to see. I have previously reported upon their extraordinary survival; and, of course, such paradoxes need close study.

Briefly, what seemed stressful to me as I watched these children was that for them, but was also for them an opportunity, a challenge,

indeed a rarely sensible moment because this time pain like that long suffered by them was now sustained to some useful purpose. Their fathers were employed. They lived in reasonably steady communities, and a good part of those neighborhoods mobilized to support them and their parents. They received recognition, social and emotional support for their efforts.

In contrast, their cousins, meeting no such crisis, living on "quiet" and often lovely farms, show markedly less hopeful psychological development. In order to find out how any child thinks and feels, how he is learning to see himself in relation to the rest of the world, from his family to many others more casually involved with him, the child psychiatrist must rely upon interviews with older children, interviews with those who observe and care for children, such as parents and teachers, and most significantly, playing games with younger children and drawing with them as well as talking with them. It is in a game or through a sketch that the very young child sometimes offers unutterable indication of his budding feelings about himself and the world about him.

Looking at my notes and drawings done with these children, and comparing them with like summaries of past work with Northern children in child guidance centers or Southern children in desegregated schools, I am struck by the accuracy with which these migrant children realize and portray their special world. The disorganized, confusing, impoverished nature of migrant living does not escape the notice of the children whose parents offer it to them as their future. There

are grossly visible attitudes and symptoms in many of these children which indicate their adjustment at an early age to the restricted, isolated, yet oddly impulsive life ahead of them. What I mean is that the growing child in a migrant family learns even at five or six to adapt to the kind of life his parents live, and by example, teach to their children

What does he learn? He learns to become specially guarded with the outside world regardless of his color; and if he is Negro or Mexican he learns the additional guarding which comes from racial differences and their meaning quickly caught by children in our society. He learns to fear and distrust much of the world which "we" call our own, or simply take for granted after we have made that assumption--salesmen, gas station attendants, employers, city officials, storekeepers, mail-men, and, of course, the police. He learns that there is little prompting to be had for school attendance. He most likely has many brothers and sisters, and he learns to care for them and share with them. His capacity to do so is a striking contrast with the behavior displayed by many children from middle-class American homes where each of the two or three children is frequently encouraged to be very much his <u>own</u> self. He certainly learns much less of the controls and admonitions so familiar to middle class living. In brief, the migrant child sees a world different from ours, and learns not our lessons but his, and the result is that he grows to have a code of "right" and "wrong" characteristic of his experience and often incompatible with our attitudes and our experience. Put another way, the migrant

develops a balance of drives, conscience, and contact with the outside world which stems from his distinctive life.

Such contrasting experiences in this same country create much of our trouble in reaching and understanding these people; and our trouble is theirs, too. They simply do not trust us, or they do not understand us and our hopes for ourselves and them. Yet, it does not take a high order of intimacy with them to observe the many physical and mental diseases which afflict them. Psychiatrically they seem prone to alcoholism, depressions, violence, anti-social behavior, paranoid episodes. Their children are frequently retarded and epileptic due to poor obstetrical care--many of them are still born at home and without any medical care. They suffer a high incidence of bacterial, parasitic, and fungal diseases. Vitamin deficiencies prevail among them. Large numbers of them walk about with serious systemic diseases, either ignored or only randomly and thus poorly treated. And all these diseases have their psychiatric implications, too--in apathy, anxiety, and irritibility.

Confronted with such dismaying facts our reactions as middle class citizens, as professionals in medicine or education or government, are understandable if at time self-defeating. We want to "forget" what amounts in sum to a vastly unpleasant and complicated state of affairs. We are made uncomfortable, and we eventually feel guilty and anxious, and after that, perhaps, gloomy and angered. We don't quite know <u>what</u> to do, and sometimes it seems far easier to ignore the <u>sources</u> of human development, in their intricate relationship

to culture and society, and seize upon the results of such development, in this case so vexing and provocative.

Still, what are we to do? I am no political scientist or economist, let alone one faced with the hard responsibilities of public office. I can only say with some special experience that it is indeed possible to get to know and understand these migrant families and their behavior; and in certain ways, through them, our own. If we are to approach these people with some of our standards of living and behavior, which they see on television or from the road, and know to exist for others if not themselves, we must do so, it seems to me, with patience and willfulness. We must, that is, be prepared for the tiresome work, the coordinated planning, in education, medicine, agriculture, housing, and a host of associated fields, required for the job.

Our tenant farmers and migrant workers will respond to a consistent and strong effort exerted their way from the many directions involved in replenishing the needy. Their children can be better taught. Their health can improve. Their water can be safer, their food more nourishing. Eventually their actions can become more constructive and their spirits higher. Nor need they be enemies of their present employers, many of whom wish them well and are also caught in frustrating situations which are really part of the same social and agricultural problems afflicting the migrants. Whatever we do, then, we should mean. A few casual and half-hearted attempts are likely to result in frustration, anger, and finally a sense of failure on both sides, theirs and "ours."

File Coles. Bob

The Lives of Migrant Farmers[1]

Robert Coles, M.D.[2]

Living in America today are many hundreds of thousands of people whose lives are characterized by continual movement by crop season from town to town, state to state, and region to region. They are people whose hands harvest the fruit and vegetables we eat. ~~(1-8)~~

There are three large-scale pathways they follow (called "streams" by the farmers, public health doctors, or government officials who are involved in one way or another with their lives). One is along the Pacific Coast, drawing upon native white and Negro workers, or Mexican workers, and moving from Southern California up along to Washington and back as the harvesting season itself moves northward, then southward. There is a middle stream--heavily Mexican, but with a good number of whites and Negroes--which starts in the South-central region of Texas, Louisiana, and Oklahoma and moves northward in a wide arc, terminating in states like Minnesota, Michigan, ~~or~~ and Wisconsin. The third stream is the Atlantic Seaboard one. It is made up mainly of Negroes, but has some whites, too. Starting in Florida in late May and June its workers move steadily northward, up through Georgia, settling into the Carolinas and Virginia for some weeks, then into Delaware, New Jersey, and New York--a few into New England. They stay north for the rest of the summer and early fall. Then by the thousands they return to Florida for a winter and spring of gathering the crops there, sometimes in one general area (from farm to farm) or sometimes moving from county to county in that state. ~~(1,2)~~

In a very real sense the migrant farmers form a "sub-culture" in this nation. ~~I mean by this that~~ They live apart from the rest of us in a number of ~~significant~~ ways. By definition they are on the move, regularly or irregularly living each year in several states and in the

process managing usually to lose the many advantages of a permanent residence in any one of them. For example, migrants usually do not vote. They are rarely eligible for any local unemployment assistance. They may hardly see the towns whose nearby fields they harvest. Their rights to adequate schooling for their children, to police protection, to sanitary inspection and regulation of their homes, to enforcement of fire regulations for those same homes are in many cases prejudiced.

They come and they soon leave. They not only do this but they know they do, and they feel the implications of their behavior, the facts of their arrival, work, and departure in isolation from the life of the various communities whose fields they infiltrate and work. Whether they travel in caravans of trucks and busses, as many do, or by their own cars they ignore most of the roadside stopping places as they move along from state to state. They have their own places to eat and sleep, to stop and obtain service for themselves and their cars--there are a few stations, or there are simply fields along the highways. Migrants know their "place," they know the houses to seek out when they arrive in a county, the stores which are theirs, offering their kind of food for their kind of cooking--and if you haven't lived in their homes and tasted the food, seen it being prepared and eaten, it is hard with words alone to do justice to the grease and starch, the common lack of utensils, the consequent vitamin deficiencies suffered by people whose diet ignores food picked by their very hands and rich as is possible in vitamins.

Most of the activities which Americans of different classes and

regions call upon for their leisure time are not typically chosen by migrants. They usually have no neighborhood churches or movie houses. They join no social clubs and take no countryside trips or picnics. ~~I have never seen~~ Their children ~~at~~ attend scout meetings nor do they launch charity drives or attend book club meetings. Family visits are a matter of seeing the part of the family also on the road and hoping someday for a word or a few days with the rest of the family far away. Phones are not customary, and mail is rare indeed. There may be church services brought to them by ministers themselves migrant in order to reach them. There may be "platter parties," records played in a cabin to hard dancing and soft and hard drink. Television is not rare, bringing all of America into the lives of those who look at it. More accurately, television sets come and go, purchased by some for small down payments; watched by their neighbors, a kind of rallying instrument; often quickly taken away when payments are not forthcoming. And so there is no comparing the unstable, disorganized social life of migrants with that of the large majority of Americans. They are separated from us by their hand-to-mouth existence, their migratory habits which deprive them from intimacy with any solid residential condition, and, in the case of the majority of them, Negroes, or Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, by their racial handicaps in our country.

The history of migratory farm labor goes back well into the ~~19th~~ twentieth century when roving bands of men moved about reaping and bundling our wheat crops. ~~(9)~~ However, much of American agriculture slowly became heavily mechanized, so that by the 1920's there was a serious crisis developing in the lives of millions of farm workers whose labor was simply no longer needed. To the cities many of them went, even from the South, whose farms and cotton plantations yielded more slowly to machines than the giant wheat and corn fields of the Mid-West. Many, however, stayed ~~--eking out~~ on the land what existence they could.

With the onset of the depression years of the 1930's, dispossessed sharecroppers, or small farmers whose income was near nothing because of the depression, or additional thousands driven from their dried, choked land by a series of droughts, combined to offer a frightful spectacle to their countrymen as they moved, by new thousands, hungry, fearful, and confused across the continent in search of a decent chance of work. ~~Their fate--on their sharecropper farms or in migration--has been movingly described by Agee, Steinbeck, and Carey McWilliams. (3,4,10,11)~~

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[1]To be read at annual meeting of American Psychiatric Association, May, 1965.

[2]Harvard University Health Services, 75 Mt. Auburn Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

While many of these people also moved into the city, many others remained loyal to their competence in farming by taking jobs as fruit pickers and vegetable harvesters in the expanding farms dedicated to those crops in California, in the Mid-West, and in Florida. With rapid transportation by train and truck and refined methods of refrigerating these once perishable commodities, there had developed in the period after the First World War a large scale industry of growing fruit and vegetable produce--once, of course, grown locally by farmers near the cities they supplied. ~~(9,12,13,14,15)~~ As these new farms--and the packing houses attached to them--came into being they required workers to plant and gather their crops, then pack them and load them on waiting box cars and trucks. The farms themselves were scattered over great distances, and, in keeping with the changing seasons, over entire regions of the nation. To work on them men and their families would have to be willing to move regularly and sometimes frequently, too.

Nor do these people have ~~the most~~ comfortable lives, in comparison ~~to~~ with the way most of us live. In large measure they live in houses whose adequacy--let alone comfort--leave much to be desired. ~~(1,2,6,7,16,17,18,19,20)~~ Often they are flimsy, rat infested, one-room hovels, with improper sanitation. In them live large families, sleeping at close quarters on cots or on the floors, often eating without utensils on the same floor. If some of these people live more comfortable lives, many live under conditions which a paper like this cannot hope to describe fairly. ~~However, in general~~ What most migrants share is more than occasional exposure to poor housing, bad sanitation, a diet poor in vitamins and protein, inadequate medical care, continual movement--and consequent lack of firm association with any particular community--a very limited income, and a lack of eligibility for a number of privileges many of us either take for granted or consider "rights"--the vote, a telephone, a library card, unemployment or welfare benefits, minimum wage protection.

Such political, economic, social, and cultural facts affect the lives of these people, influencing the way they act, their view of themselves in relationship to others around them, the assumptions they make about the world. Such facts also become psychological forces as they bear down and help shape the thinking of children, the behavior of parents, the experiences of both. ~~We cannot dwell on them here, but neither can we dismiss them with a sentence or two as part of a vaguely subordinate "background" to the psychological processes at work.~~ In many respects these "environmental" forces ~~significantly~~ determine the way migrants touch and feed their children, toilet-train them, bring them up to get along with one another and themselves as they grow and develop. ~~As much as anything our task was to see how~~ These "external" facts become translated into internal ones, of fantasy, dream, action, and personality development. ~~Any introduction, therefore, to such~~ Psychiatric research must ~~somehow~~ make proper mention of its necessary and affirming kinship to sociological and anthropological observation as well as historical knowledge. ~~(21-28)~~ It is not simply a matter of seeing the impact of a social system on people. It is one of seeing how, out of historical events in a given political and economic system, a social system has developed, with its own culture and frame of mind. Migrants, ~~then,~~ have a "sub-culture" ~~even~~ within that of the poor, including their own non-migrant relatives.

Therefore,

In broad & over-simplified categories, these small, marginal southern farmers of yesteryear have done one of several things. Many, & those who are the subject of this short study, have adopted a migrant life, while continuing their occupation as workers of the soil. These people in their own way are showing as much determination and self-reliance as those others who have stayed at "home", & continue to struggle for economic survival, or those many other who have left the land & brave ~~the city~~ an alien city-life but, with ~~no skills~~ few marketable skills, have frequently & widely become public wards, living on relief. On the other hand, some of these rural dispossessed have

made the transition to self-sustaining city life. Quite often, I found that those successful ones had been those with military service, from which they had learned to do things that cities want done.

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made the transition to self-sustaining city life. Quite often, I found that successful one had been through military service, for which city had learned to do things that other men were there.

Here are the words on tape of a Negro man whose six year old daughter pioneered school desegregation in Louisiana: "We just couldn't stay on the farm no longer. My daddy's still there, but there wasn't room for us, so we had to leave or we would have been taking our mother's food and bringing nothing in...I mean you can grow some food, but not enough to keep you fed all year, and there's no money for anything else...So we left one by one...I went to New Orleans because I'd learned how to be an auto mechanic in the service. So I figured I could always get me a job there...My brother didn't have nothing he could do but farm and he figured he could go to Florida and get a living from that...We had some cousin do that a few years back, so he knew to go to them."

A white man is now telling me his story--a deeply convinced segregationist brought up in Mississippi, he had withdrawn his child from school when the Negro man just quoted sent his child there, yet they grew up only ~~thirty~~ 30 miles apart: "...It was the army that did it... I mean getting my trade...my electrician's training gave me the push to come here...One of my brothers is still home with my folks and there ain't much they're getting out of the farm to keep them but barely alive; and another's in Mobile and he ain't doing much of anything

so far as we can hear. I think he works on the docks there when he can; but he's got no skill is the trouble...and we have a brother in Florida who works on farms there. He stays there most of the year, and they leave in the summer and do some picking North, and then they come back. It's better than no work at all...No, I think they'd rather be right where we are, to tell the truth. They came here before we did...yes, he's older than me...so he didn't get a job and he didn't get a job, and then he either had to stay on relief or leave, so they just packed up and went back to the farm (their father's small farm in Mississippi) and then I guess he had to leave that too, like we all do... so that's how he come upon Florida."

What emerges from these family histories is a small confirmation of what we all know about the serious troubles of millions of Southern tenant farmers, black and white, and how these troubles cause emigration, and how the destination chosen can be influenced by educational experience, (the armed services were unwittingly serving as "vocational rehabilitation" centers for both of these men) and finally, how the difficulties of poor people lead to frustrations and animosities easily channelled, given any social and political encouragement, into racial antagonisms. ~~I would imagine that my "accidental" meeting with~~ the problems of sharecroppers and migrant workers as I took routine notes on relatives from families involved in racial conflict reflected an important historical truth which I may have once dimly perceived in the abstract but now was learning more concretely.

Nature of This Study

~~Our~~ My interest in these people was aroused in the course of a study of the adjustment of Negro and white school children to school desegregation in the South. ~~(29-31)~~ Several of the Negro children and one white child had been born in sharecropper cabins in Mississippi, Alabama, or South Carolina. Their early years had been spent on farms, and their parents had only recently moved into New Orleans or Atlanta, where they came upon the crisis of a serious social struggle that affected them and the education of their children. In the course of taking family histories we learned that in five families (four Negro and one white) there were uncles, aunts, and cousins who had left those same fixed if no longer sustaining farms to join the migrant labor force rather than the tide going steadily toward cities of the North or, ~~in our cases,~~ the South.

~~We initially~~ wondered what made for such different choices, and what happened as a result of them to such differently lived lives. Through one Negro family in New Orleans we established preliminary contact with their relatives and other Negro families who harvest winter crops in Florida and move up the Atlantic states in summer and autumn doing likewise. ~~We were~~ I was unable to trace down the migrant relatives of our white family, but in the attempt met with other white migrant families in Florida and established effective communication with them. In preliminary visits we interviewed at length public health doctors and nurses who have long been concerned with the severe medical problems which afflict the bodies of these people ~~(1,2, 7,8,32,33)~~, and the related sanitary problems which rise from their living and working conditions (contaminated drinking water, inadequate drainage and sewage facilities). We worked as a general physician in the mobile public health clinics which attempt to reach migrants (known to be suspicious and isolated) by seeking them out directly. We accompanied nurses on their "post-natal rounds." We did likewise with dietitians whose job it is--often against stubborn emotional resistance--to try to educate people whose diet is woefully unhealthy about ways of improving health through modification of food habits. (The irony of people surrounded by fresh fruit and vegetables, yet shunning them for themselves and their children in the face of medical advice to the contrary, was one of the first reminders we encountered that more than simply "material deprivation" was at work in these families.)

Can the reader be shown?

We also talked at considerable length with the farmers who employ--and often provide living quarters for--migrants and have had considerable experience and difficulty with them and their habits of living. We spent a good deal of time talking with county agricultural agents in Florida and some Northern states, learning the history of agriculture (and hence migrations of people to support it) in the various counties and states. We talked with some school teachers who must try to educate migrant children, and visited schools where they are taught. ~~(34)~~ We also talked with certain social workers who come into significant contact with these people, and with those from church groups who, again, have come to know and try to help these people while others of us have scarcely heard of them and their kind of existence.

Eventually ~~we~~ I selected ten families for more intensive study.

also

Six ~~of them~~ were Negro and four white, all part of the Eastern Seaboard migration. We interviewed these mothers, fathers, and children over a period of two years. Some months we visited them weekly at home. On later occasions we followed them in their migration northward, traveling in busses and trucks with them or in two instances in family cars. We lived with two Negro families and one white family for two weeks each. We tape-recorded our interviews and with young children both played games and placed heavy emphasis on drawing and painting pictures. We photographed homes and their interiors, fields and the way bodies and hands must posture themselves in them to harvest their crops, or busses and trucks with their dense "loads," so that we might document such conditions of existence and study their meaning to the people who live under them, work under them, and move about under them.

Observations and Discussion

Our primary interest has been with the relationship between the "outside world" and the growth and development of the migrant child's mind. Migrant farmers live a kind of life that asserts itself upon their infants and children, and emerges once again in adults able to live with its demands. ~~Just as we noted in our work with Negro children under the severe and threatening stresses of school desegregation, (29) we must emphasize that the~~ extreme poverty, the cultural deprivation and social fragmentation, in sum the uprootedness which characterizes their lives, falls not suddenly upon them (as it does upon the observer who tries to comprehend their manner of survival) but as a constant fact of life from birth to death, summoning therefore a whole style of life, a full range of adaptive maneuvers. Perhaps if we take a migrant child at birth and follow his life along we will best combine the telling of their lives with the psychodynamic developments in them. ~~of primary concern to us as psychiatrists.~~

Infancy

In only two of the ten families ~~we studied~~ were the children delivered by doctors. ~~(32)~~ The rest of the mothers relied upon midwives or simply relatives and friends. Frequently a pregnant mother returns "home" (where relatives--parents, brothers and sisters, even cousins--maintain a permanent residence) to deliver a baby. In many instances such is not possible, and children are delivered wherever the mother happens to be, often enough "on the road," that is in the course of traveling for working purposes. ~~We~~ were struck at the casual attitude toward child birth displayed by these mothers, and their common knowledge of how to deliver children, remove the placenta, tie and sever the cord.

Many of them are quite afraid to deliver their babies in a hospital, fearful that the child in some way will be "hurt." For example, one of our mothers remarked that, "They say it's cleaner there and safer, but I tried it once and I got scared to death and my baby didn't behave good. He cried more and didn't take my milk so easy." While many also complain that they simply have not sufficient money to pay for good medical and obstetrical care, it seems clear that even were such facilities free to them, their substantial fear, suspicions, and superstitions would have to be overcome--and perhaps some accommodation on the part of the doctors and hospitals be made in keeping with the migrants' cultural attitudes towards child-bearing and rearing.

Thus, migrants seem much less self-conscious about pregnancy and child birth than not only middle-class families but many of the urban poor we have met in the South, both Negro and white. Though we observed some discrepancy between white and Negro families in this regard--the Negroes less shy or embarrassed--we also observed some discrepancy between poor whites we knew in Atlanta and New Orleans, or indeed on small farms in Georgia and South Carolina, and the white migrants we studied.

During the pre-natal period the mothers constantly refer to their pregnancy even well before it is obvious. Other children are told about the fact as soon as menstruation stops. We heard one mother tell her four children, "We is getting a baby again, 'cause I don't bleed no more." As her abdominal wall swelled in later months the children would often come up to touch and fondle it, even to talk to the baby inside. We saw similar behavior in the other families we came to know. Moreover, likely as not, the mother would wear little or no clothing in the early morning and evening hours. The mothers frequently wear heavy clothes during their work in the fields, pants, rubber boots, and rubber guards on their knees to protect them during stoop labor, and are sometimes relieved to be rid of all clothing at home. Thus, the unborn child is publicly seen, felt and followed along as he grows in the womb.

Many Negro migrant women--we did not notice this in whites--at this time become more religious, going with special frequency to the various churches that flourish among them. Names such as "The One and Only Church of God" or "God's True House of Faith" describe the more evangelical and customarily passionate among them. In addition, more conventional denominations send ministries to migrants, and these ministries come perhaps into closer and more directly helpful contact with them than any other segment of "our" population with the exception of certain public health service doctors, nurses, social workers, and dieticians.

The increase in church attendance was attributed by several mothers to a desire to ensure a baby who would survive pregnancy, be born without complication and live. The loss of children due to miscarriages, the mishaps of difficult deliveries, or the various untreated diseases of the first days and weeks of infancy are very much on the minds of these women.

Likely as not the child is born at home, in the presence of his brothers and sisters, or, if a first child, his "father." (Many Negro migrants do not formally marry, or may do so after several children have been born.) Of course, there may be several "fathers" to a given family of children, though the current husband is almost always called "father" by all children, and his name is assumed. Since residences and schools alike constantly shift, this is an easier practice to follow than in the cities or rural areas where some of these same customs hold for non-migrants, but with less formal cooperation from the society. White migrant families are much more likely to have a common father.

From the first day of birth the new child eats and sleeps with the rest of the family. Migrants quite often live in "one-room" houses, small shacks which are built to cover people with a roof rather than help them divide their activities and time with one another in certain ways. The

children are breast fed, and so fed for a year or more without any other food, except perhaps soft drinks which are introduced in the first months. There is little of the modesty one sees in our predominant culture, and again even in the poorer sections of it. Children of five and six may fondle both baby and breast during the feeding period. There is no concept of a schedule of feeding. Infants are often brought to work, watched over by their brothers and sisters, or grandmothers; their mother is summoned when the child cries, there to be fed with little interest in covering the breast from anyone nearby.

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The infant sleeps with his mother for the first few months, then is entrusted to the considerably older children, if there are any, rather than any siblings one or two years older. In such cases girls of five and six become quite occupied with introducing food to the child, playing with him, clothing him. If there are only very young children the infant still will likely go to the oldest of these--almost as a gift or birthright. ~~We~~ There and ~~have seen~~ families within families, younger children "belonging" to various older ones.

The young child sleeps with the other children--if he is a first or even second child he or she may sleep with his or her parents until enough children come to warrant a second bed, or cot, or sleeping bag. The infant thus grows and becomes a child in the midst of the constant physical presence of others--their noises, smells, actions, and habits. He is constantly touched, held and seen by them and thus receives that sensory--especially tactile--stimulation; or we might say, metaphorically and literally both, that kind of nourishment.

The growing child of one or two responds to such an environment by talking and moving about with ease. He is often naked, allowed to be so and encouraged to be so. Since his parents follow the sun in pursuit of work made possible by the sun, he is usually quite comfortable without clothes. He is not toilet trained until he is well able to walk outside his house--usually in the second year, though sometimes well into the third year. The outside world is often his toilet, the nearby land of trees, thickets and grass. Many of these children have never been in a house that has a bathroom, never seen a bathtub or sink. The mothers tend to be fairly firm once they have decided to train the child. They or one of their other children quickly carry him outside, where he can continue, or, if he is finished, he may be left there a bit alone, told not to come in and prevented from doing so. That is a harsh fate, a cruel exile for children so constantly close to others. ~~From what we can see,~~ They rapidly seem to get the point. On the whole, then, toilet training seems to be accomplished quickly, without great self-consciousness on the part of anyone, indeed rather smoothly and effectively.

Childhood

The children are allowed great freedom in moving about--their very inheritance--as they leave the infant and baby years to become walking, talking boys and girls. They are extraordinarily responsible for one another.

They feed one another, clothe one another, sleep together, and often work together, following their parents at picking in the fields as they become seven, eight, or nine and thus old enough to do so.

These homes have practically no printed matter. Many migrants are illiterate. They do not read newspapers. They do not even receive mail. Their children fast pick up their parents' words, but they come to school with little preparation for books, maps, or pictures. The walls of their homes are barren. Some of them, however, have seen a good deal of television. On the road they often cannot have it, because they are in homes unequipped for electricity. In Florida the same may hold; but it may not if they live in certain camps or housing compounds. The first thing purchased is a television set; and the children become utterly taken up with it for a while. After a while the enthusiasm seems to subside and then stop altogether, enough so that the set is ignored for long spells. We wondered how the children--and for that matter their parents--responded to the comfortable world of America as it entered their world. We soon learned that they seemed to respond to it as "our" children do to adventure stories, science fiction, or plain comic strip stimulation of dream and fantasy.

For example, one child of six ~~told me~~ confided he would some day board a rocket to the moon, and on the way "get off to see the cities up there." Questioned earnestly ~~by us~~ about the existence of cities on the moon, he explained ~~to us~~ that he meant the cities--and the life in them--he saw on television and passed by--at small but significant distances--in his travels with his parents.

Particularly revealing are the drawings these children do at five and six or eight and ten. ~~They compare markedly with drawings we have seen from Negro and white children in middle-class child guidance clinics or poorer homes in the South.~~ When asked to draw pictures of themselves they consistently sketch their brothers and sisters with themselves. When asked to limit themselves to a drawing of themselves, they hesitate, seemingly confused or paralyzed, or use the crayons in helter-skelter fashion that results in no picture at all. They seem very much afraid of being alone, of asserting on paper or in the games ~~we played~~ the kind of individuality rather commonly sought by children from different backgrounds.

For example, a seven year old boy was asked what would happen to a soldier ~~we~~ isolated from other soldiers in a game ~~we played together~~. He said he would die of starvation. ("He'd better get back fast or he won't eat and that'll end him.") All such games showed the children anxious to have groups of soldiers close together. There were no isolated leaders, and when ~~we~~ tried to establish their presence the children wanted them back with the others, or feared for their lives. They seemed unable to command their imaginative resources for situations that found people on their own.

The games and drawings also gave us some indication of how these children felt about themselves in relation to non-migrant children. They are, of course, well traveled, though they do not move on the main highways, or the planes and trains the rest of us use. Still, with their parents they see the land and its people, and from their parents they get a series of notions about others. "I tells my children we feeds the rest of the children," one

mother told us. Another mother constantly told her children that the alternative to their kind of life was "trouble" or "no food and going to jail." Several parents frequently remarked upon the good fortune of being able to get what work they did as harvesters. The children were reminded that they had cousins whose parents didn't work at all, and "they takes to drinking and fighting all day long."

The children thus sense that they and their parents do something important for others, that those others have a better but distantly unobtainable life, that the alternative to the migrant life is not that better life but one even worse than the one they know--full of danger and pain--and that their present life--(whatever its trials)--serves to keep them and their families from not only external hardship but internal disintegration.

~~How do the children tell us such ideas? They are obtained, of course, over time from their parents and from their own developing sensibilities. After knowing us for several months~~ one child was finally able to formulate (and confide ~~that formulation~~) her impression of the life of city children. She drew a house so large as to cover almost the entire paper, then filled it with furniture. There was only one small window. The furniture seemed so abundant as to be a logjam. I had a sheaf of her drawings showing her own house; it had many windows and walls so drawn as to leave spaces that ranged from crevices to gaping holes. She invariably filled "her" houses with six, seven, or nine people, but never any furniture. (She was one of six, her mother was pregnant, and ~~of course~~ with her father there were nine in the family.) ~~We noted that~~ the walls on the city home were scrupulously and thickly crayoned--and in red, instead of brown and black. The girl was telling us that she knew that other children lived in more solid, perhaps brick houses, less exposed and open to the wind or rain, filled with tables, chairs, and beds she knew she did not have in her own. When asked about the people who lived in the urban home, they slowly took on shape at her hands; parents and two children, all bigger and stockier than her own family. She had to draw them, incidentally, on another piece of paper, there being no room for them on the first piece. The house and furniture had monopolized all the space.

~~We have~~ other children do consistently similar drawings, ~~from other children, and~~ as they become nine and ten, they can speak their observations more readily. One little white boy of seven emphasized his own kind of living (its rootlessness) by spending considerable time on the kind of foundation (including an elaborate cellar) he gave to the houses he imagined non-migrants to have. A migrant child of nine explained the differences between his family and many others as follows: "We has to keep moving or we don't eat except from relief, if they give it to us. . . . They have the work near their houses, and they has it all the time. . . . They takes the pictures on TV in their homes, because most people can recall them and there aren't but a few of us, so we aren't there on the picture."

As migrant children become four and five they learn their mothers' wishes and develop the controls necessary for their later life. The power of police, traffic lights and other rules of the road are recited by their parents to them as they move along. Children are physically punished--hard and mean at times--for taking food not theirs, for squabbling with one another

or failing to execute assigned tasks promptly--fetching water from a pump, holding the baby, feeding the dog. (Stray dogs abound in migrant camps, and are by no means ignored. One public health doctor said to us, "They may symbolize what they think of themselves, because they sure take care of them and feed them whatever they have to eat.") Older children are trained to follow after their parents, harvesting in the fields. They must learn how to pick tomatoes or pluck beans, and if they become slow or careless they are hit and shouted down. We have noticed that when punished in the fields they are very often hit by hand on their legs. It is leg work and hand work that makes for harvesters.

By the time, then, a migrant child goes to school he has been taught his do's and don't's, to fear certain others, to get along with people in certain ways. Impulsiveness, self-assertion, rivalrous expressions and envious feelings tend to be strongly discouraged at home, but allowed to children as groups, that is in conjunction with brothers and sisters. Thus, groups of children can fight other groups, or envy one another openly so long as collectively. Mothers show great warmth and open affection, kissing and fondling their children, rubbing the skin on their arms, but also quick anger toward them and severe punishment of them, most often slapping accompanied by shouting. Rarely is one child punished alone; or often the mother will remind the others that they, too, have done similar wrongs in the past--and will in the future. Very significant, we thought, was the absence of grudges in parents. A punished child will likely as not be embraced seconds or minutes after being punished, almost, we sometimes thought as part of it. The result seems to be a sharply defined sense of limitation or restriction, one that does not spread into general shyness or inhibition. This may explain what many observers of migrants notice, their capacity to change moods and behavior so rapidly; they can be fearfully, grimly silent (especially before the "strangers" of our world) and then quickly joyful and talkative with one another. "Their moods don't last," a nurse told us. We suspect that their early training sets the stage for what they will later need, a highly developed sense of flexibility in their personality, an ability to manage the constant restrictions of the external world, but still not succumb to the apathy and despair that would fatigue and immobilize them. In a sense then there is a "bounce" to the way these children are punished that teaches them fast recovery from a slap as well as specific, responsive obedience to it.

Much of the hardest punishment goes into confirming the child's sense of submission to the non-migrant world, or passivity before it. There is a striking difference in the relationship between the child and his family "at home" or in travel, and the child at school, in the fields, even on the streets. At home the children play together easily and warmly. They are very free with their parents, and their parents with them. Open expression of love and demonstrations of it are seen. In children of eight and nine, when one might expect otherwise, we hear boys talk openly of wishing to marry their mothers, girls of wishing to marry their fathers. There is, later on, a substantial incidence of step-father-step-daughter sexual liaison, and those between fathers and daughters have been noted by social workers who observe both white and Negro migrants. Two mothers told us that such happenings were not rare; but were frowned upon and reported about as the "events" they apparently are: "It goes on sometimes, I think 'on the road'

if the mother is getting ready to have a baby, or something like that. . . . I don't think it goes on a lot. No, it should't, but it does sometimes; maybe on account of drink, and you kind of get frustrated."

In point of fact the rigid incest barriers that hold for middle-class families seem less sturdy with these families, often fathered by several men, in constant movement, living and sleeping practically on top of one another despite their invariably large size. Their children are much less secretive, resort to much less furtive and symbolic maneuvers to express their attachment and direct love for their parents, and also their anger. Yet, in contrast to such physical intimacy and propinquity, openness of feeling and of anger, closeness of relationship between children, when migrant children meet many people on the "outside" (as their parents are apt to refer to anyone from a teacher to a farm manager) they often appear isolated, guarded, withdrawn, suspicious, and apathetic or dull.

Thus, in many respects migrant children are brought up to have two rather explicit ways of responding to the two worlds of their family and "others." Though, of course, all children learn a version of that kind of distinction, there is a contrast to the two-fold behavior in migrant children, ~~a sharpness to that differentiation~~, that is quite special. It is at times uncannily as if they had two sets of attitudes, two personalities, one for their family, one for the rest of the world.

From Childhood Straight into Adulthood

Migrant children become migrant adults with no ceremony, or time to be not quite either, so as to consolidate the one before taking up the other. ~~If ever we as psychiatrists need to realize how much "youth" is a social and cultural concept as much as a matter of strict chronology, our acquaintance with migrant children is to be recommended.~~ There are two elements that mark the beginning of adulthood in the migrant, and when both are fulfilled, he or she is an adult, and so treated by parents, brothers and sisters, and neighbors. These are experience in working the fields and the onset of puberty.

By ten, many migrant children~~--all of those we came to know--~~have put in considerable time at harvesting whatever crops their parents have worked at. In some Southern states school times used to be adjusted so that children could help with cotton or other crops, and by no means has that practice yet vanished for many sharecropping regions. With migrants there is an even greater possibility for school schedules to yield to the needs of work; though the several states may insist that children within their territorial limits attend school, migrants tend to shuffle in and out of towns, counties and states, making it hard indeed for any regulatory agency to keep track of them. Their children may spend most of the winter and spring in one Florida school, or they may move about from one school to another, or not attend any school for very long. Dropouts among even the more "stable" migrant population--those who do less moving about--tend to be high in the junior high years.

At ten to twelve the children start becoming adults physiologically; many of them have already been working for several seasons. It is

not long before they are marrying, ahd having children. Brides of fourteen and fifteen are common, and their husbands are likely to be the same age or not very much older.

Before actual marriage the young men and women may live with their families and travel with them, but they clearly at, say, twelve to fourteen are "on their own time," as several mothers described the fact that their sons and daughters were going out at night, and often staying out. They were, too, earning money and keeping it rather than turning it in to their mothers. We noted that sexual maturation seemed to trigger the social and economic independence of the child with great speed. We wondered about the "defensive" nature of this fast departure, whether the highly crowded living conditions made a sexually aroused young man or woman "too much" for his parents to bear. The parents told us that they felt that migrants tended to "marry earlier" than sharecroppers, and certainly part of their explanation is the ease with which older children can often make at least some money, and the fact that migrant farmers need their children rather less than do sharecroppers--whose children must help their parents work the land even when married, and often for no money at all.

Young Adulthood

Married and parents, workers and housekeepers, young migrant men and women (at sixteen or eighteen, for example) do have their "platter parties" when they can join record machine with a source of electricity. On their way to work at six in the morning they can be seen literally dancing in the streets or pathways, often with a beer or two before they get on the busses which take them to the fields. Often their first child is given to the maternal grandmother as a kind of "present," though slowly the mother accepts responsibility for the baby, and with it for adulthood itself.

Many of the younger migrants try very hard to break out of the migrant stream, to venture into cities for jobs, or at the least buy a car on time, which means they can travel by themselves rather than in the crowded trucks and busses that many of their parents may have to use--tired as they may be of depositing money for used cars that soon break hopelessly down. In large numbers they seem headed for disappointment. In our observations, it is not only their lack of education and the unemployment which afflicts their segment of the economy--serious problems indeed. They themselves are at once afraid when they approach the city, many of them unaware of just how to obtain work there. Moreover, we have talked with many earnest young migrant workers who are repelled by the prospect of sitting week after week waiting for jobs that do not in any case seem forthcoming. They are made anxious by the sight of relatives, friends or simply fellow human beings drawing relief (as migrants they are ineligible for it until they establish residence, which may be easy or very hard, depending upon the state and its criteria for residence). Part of the explanation for their common anxious reluctance to join the ranks of the urban unemployed is perhaps based on fear of the city and its pervasive "authorities," and a developmental reliance upon the movement of travel, and farming done during it, for a sense of their own identity or self-respect.

One migrant (aged ~~seventeen,~~ 17 two children) told us his feelings as follows: "I tried the city for a job, and I moved in with a cousin, and no go. . . . They was all on relief and I was supposed to get on when I could, after applying; but we got tired of waiting, and we just left one day. . . . I'd rather keep "on the season" and feel right than sit all day as they do and do nothing." There were several psychological themes in this and other interviews with him: his awe and confusion before the complexities of bureaucratic procedure; his fear of the city, its people, will, and customs; his restive inability to accommodate himself to a passive, idle, "taking" posture in contrast to the one he grew up to know; the energetic, kinetic, changeable, and active one of migrants.

Young migrants, like their parents, show few inhibitions over sexuality. They have grown up with it, heard and seen it from their first days. Their parents have never seen fit to restrict their love-making to private or relatively secluded places. (They are generally not to be had anyway.) In the evening hours as the children play noisily with one another, their parents will have sexual relations. We noticed, however, that many young, childless couples preferred privacy from their parents for such times--not always available while in transit. The woods are then often used.

Finally, we noticed a gradual change in mood or spirit in youthful migrants. At twenty, at ~~twenty-two,~~ 22 they are full-fledged adults--we would call them "older" migrants. They have lost much of their interest in the possibilities of another kind of life; they often move about by themselves, no longer attached to their families, and little interested in seeing and visiting them even when near them or migrating with them; they are caring for their own children; they have settled into the curious combination of industry and initiative (needed to keep moving over such distances, to keep working at such back-breaking work) and lethargy and despair (reflected in their faces, their gestures, their way of slow movement, flattened speech, infrequent merrymaking). "We keeps going," said the father of one of our ten families, "but it ain't a good time like we once thought."

Psychopathology

Having discussed some of the ~~more significant~~ features of growth and development as ~~it~~ takes place in migrant farm families, ~~we~~ might now mention--~~in the limited fashion allowed us at this time~~--some of the medical and psychiatric problems particularly evident in these people. We have already noted the high infant mortality rate. From infancy through childhood a host of illnesses, uncorrected deformities and congenital abnormalities, or developmental disorders face these children; and any psychiatric study cannot exclude such facts from a discussion of the sources of migrant psychopathology.

Striking ~~to us~~ is the evidence in ~~our~~ the ten families, and in ~~our~~ my work as a "general practice" physician beside the public health doctors, of tooth decay in children; of uncorrected disturbances of vision; of repeated ear infections that have resulted in faulty hearing; of valvular heart disease, congenital and rheumatic, that are associated with impaired circulation of blood; of continual parasitic diseases that produce diminished appetite,

weakness, and anemia; of vitamin deficiencies based on faulty eating habits, many of them from aversions as well as poverty or lack of availability; of chronic diarrheas, chronic fungal diseases of the skin, chronic tuberculosis; of untreated or poorly treated, chronic and recurrent, venereal diseases; of chronic kidney and bladder infections; of muscle pains and bruises, or bone injuries or back diseases brought on by working conditions; of nerve palsies.

~~We find it difficult to see how~~ Such illnesses can help but affect the minds of people regularly suffering from not one but in all likelihood many of them. Fatigue, insomnia, loss of appetite, trouble breathing or walking, pain, itching, bleeding, blurred or double vision, hardness of hearing are some of the symptoms of these diseases, and their psychological effects upon people will be appreciated.

To view the more formally psychiatric disorders seen in migrants, we must see much of their behavior--as with all of us--as an attempt to adapt to (cope with) the particular kind of life which is theirs. ~~We see~~ There little sense in taking middle-class social and cultural standards and transposing them to migrant families as measurements of their "normal" or "abnormal" behavior. While it is true that migrants share an American citizenship with us all, their living conditions and habits have a quality all their own.

This said, we can, however, take notice of the breakdown of adjustment in these people, and try to indicate when it seems to happen and why. Migrant children generally start life with strong support from mothers who predominantly breast feed them for long, unanxious periods over many months, and offer constant affection and tenderness to them. Their toilet training is largely casual, basically unconcerned with time, frequency, or specific place, though gradually firm on the distinction between house (or vehicle) and the "outside." Children learn to get along closely with brothers and sisters, but scrap easily with other children; they are punished quickly but without prolonged residual hostility, and allowed both to be openly affectionate and angry to their parents. They are in contrast taught rigid controls before non-migrants, and fears of them also.

What we see in migrant children to some extent as a result of this is a preservation over the generations of a certain soundness of mind, self-confidence and self-esteem in one set of circumstances, in company with a rigid, anxious, fearful way of engaging with another set of circumstances. Thus, ~~we have seen~~ little to no childhood schizophrenia in migrant children, very few of the temper tantrums and bed-wetting complaints commonly seen in middle-class child guidance clinics. ~~We have seen no~~ specific "learning problems"--again so frequently seen in those clinics--because the entire culture of the migrants has a "learning problem" built into its whole way of life--work taking precedence over residence, let alone schooling, and parents basically tired and illiterate having no capacity to stimulate a taste for education in their young.

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On the whole, these children, at five or six, seem cheerful, spontaneous, affectionate to one another, and relaxed, in spite of their frequently poor physical health, and the comparatively hard life they and their parents must live. ~~We feel therefore, that~~ There are positive forces

There are few of any

at work in their family life that give them initial psychological strength to face the world.

However, bit by bit over time this initial stamina faces challenges and threats. Physical health deteriorates--the first sight of some of the teeth, squinting eyes, infected skin, and bent backs of "young" migrants in their twenties confirms that fact, but of course further diagnostic examination and tests are required to establish the extent of the deterioration. The tight-knit, isolated protection that migrant living offers children yields to the demand that the child, in his early teens, establish his own livelihood, marriage, and capacity to "keep going" (literally as well as metaphorically).

At this point migrants often develop a variety of "symptoms" or ways of thinking and feeling which indicate their response to the cumulative stresses of their kind of existence. They may drink heavily before or after work, using the cheap wine and beer they can afford to dull their senses in the face of, or in the wake of, their long hours of harvesting. They may become nasty and violent with one another, just as when children they were allowed to be toward neighbors. They often become careless and hurtful toward the homes furnished them by farmers, destroying screen doors, stopping up the central plumbing facilities of a camp. Some may call such behavior "accidental"; but many farmers, in our opinion, are correct in sensing the barely submerged hostility and resentment at work in these people. Our interviews indicate that the migrants don't specifically "intend" to damage property, but are aware of feeling overworked and underpaid, and carry those feelings around with them fairly constantly. When, after many months, we hesitantly "interpreted" for several of them a connection between those feelings and their way of not caring for property, we met surprise and denials, followed several days later by admissions from two of the five migrants that they did in fact consciously kick doors or walls at times--and thus might well do other similar deeds without even knowing why.

Apathy, gloom, and severe depressions are seen in many migrants. We have seen a number of depressions severe and crippling enough to be considered psychotic. In fact, we have seen seven cases of psychotic behavior recognized as such by migrants and reported to us by members of the ten families we studied. They are people who are called "different," yet they work and are generally tolerated. Incidents of wildly dangerous behavior--suicidal, homicidal--have been reported to us, but never witnessed. Rarely, except for criminal reasons, do these people see psychiatrists or even mental hospitals, even when grossly schizophrenic. We thought two of our seventeen adult informants (three of the homes were fatherless and without a continuing husband) psychotic, that is--in comparison to the others--guarded, depressed, hard to follow in thinking, and inappropriate in mood. The hazards in such determinations, however, still puzzle us.

Migrants are particularly liable to use such psychological mechanisms as denial, projection, and suppression. They favor conversion reactions (we saw paralyses and seizures which made no neurological sense) and tend to express a good deal of their anxiety or despair in somatic form (and language, too). "My blood is weak," or "my stomach is weary" may express depression and tension but also tell of episodes of bloody stools and

One way of approaching some of our observations is to hear what others who work closely with migrants feel about them. Growers employ them and are very sensitive to their capacities and behavior. Here are small sections of one long taped interview with a Florida grower, a man whom I found to be an earnest, hard working, thoughtful, and kind person--I have heard similar comments constantly from other growers, from doctors, nurses, teachers, county agricultural agents, from all whose work brings them close to migrants: "No matter what we try to do for them, they undo it. We build houses for them, and they destroy them. We fix their screens, and they tear them within the same day. We try to get them to take care of things, you know, where they live, everything from the house to their own belongings, and they don't seem to care...If you ask me the real answer to this is massive education of the children, because I know they're not born the way they are, but they sure develop that way as things are now, and you could give them twice their salary and they'd still do what they do now...They'd drink it away and waste it on a lot of junk they buy, silly trinkets and unnecessary luxuries if you ask me...and then they still wouldn't eat right if they could get as much money as anyone around here; and they wouldn't know how to save it and spend it sensibly the way you and I would...So it's not just money, it's their bringing up... and what a lot of people want is for them to change and be more like us... Well, if they're going to be more like us I think you'd have to get children right from the beginning and set up good schools for them and teach them real intensively, not just reading and writing, but all

the things we learn at home as well as school...you know, how to care for yourself and what the world expects of you...I mean that you should study and try to get ahead...then if they had that kind of education I do think they'd grow up different from their parents...Yes, I suppose they wouldn't want to work for us then...But if we're trying to make those kinds of changes with them we'd probably have to do something about our agriculture, too...We won't be needing them anyway the way we used to; it's a matter of time when machines will take it all over, or most of it, and then we could use the better educated ones; and just a few of them compared to what we have now could run a farm if they were intelligent enough...But meanwhile we're caught in the middle. We've got to worry about the market prices and weather and all the overhead we have and we have all the trouble of getting migrant labor and then keeping them steady and productive...It's easy to jump on us, but no one helps our vegetable prices the way they do some crops, and we can be wiped out in a season from a freeze or price drop, and when we need labor it's an emergency. Either those fields get harvested right away or they don't. And who's going to do it?...Maybe if they helped us with getting equipment to take away the need for so many field hands, and also got going on educating them, we could sooner or later get rid of the whole problem."

Again and again one hears that migrants are unreliable, unkept, lacking in thrift and tidiness. Worse, they tend to be willfully destructive of property, heavy drinkers, quarrelsome with one another, and generally a discouraging and depressing lot, unresponsive to aid,

sullen before advice, ill-suited even for more money or better working and living conditions. And their employers make a sound case not only for this, but for their own precarious position in our economy.

Such assertions and complaints lodged by many intelligent growers and hard working officials in the fields of migrant health and education are hard to dispute. ~~I am thinking of~~ how very trying ~~it is~~ for a dietician to work with a family daily surrounded by citrus fruits yet unwilling to serve them to their children. Potato chips, cokes, perhaps canned and stewed corn, fried fat, yes for those. Fresh fruit and vegetables, the very harvest of their hands, are ignored or rejected. ~~I am thinking of how suspicious~~ migrants often are when mobile units come almost to their very door offering nearby free medical diagnosis and treatment. ~~I am thinking of~~ how many migrant families don't want their children to go to school, don't care whether they receive their "shots," ~~the various vaccines and immunizations we so eagerly welcome for our children,~~ and don't, certainly, pay attention to the amenities of property care, or civil behavior with one another; to the value of moderation in alcoholic intake, sexual indulgence, and child bearing; to the conventions of marriage and divorce; or the refinements of budgeted expenditures for sensible, and hopefully useful, "permanent" possessions.

gastritis. It is hard to separate the various causes and effects in such cases; but we have seen chronic complaints revive, summon a new interest in people whose reserve of energy had been depleted by a hard day or a disappointment--loss of a baby, breakdown of a car.

Of practical interest in a discussion of migrant psychopathology is their common refusal to eat oranges, grapefruit, tomatoes, cherries--the healthy foods they so desperately need. Even when they hear earnest and effective dieticians correlate in simple, stark language the relationship between their eating preferences and habits and their own and their children's ailments, many stubbornly refuse to make changes in their diets. Ignorance is surely one part of the explanation, but our interviews suggest that another part is a strong aversion to eating what they must live by and work upon. In several cases we saw real revulsion at the mention of eating or serving a tomato or oranges--a real kind of fear, as if in some way all the anger they felt at having to harvest those foods for a living would eventually come to haunt them and live in them if they were consumed.

~~Finally, it is our impression that~~ many migrants seem to have constructed a split in their personalities which results in two distinct personality styles. With their children and husbands or wives they will often be warm, open, and smiling. At work, with strangers, and often with one another while traveling or even walking the streets, they are guarded, suspicious, shrewdly silent, or sullenly calculating in what they do have to say; and sometimes clearly apathetic, humorless, or even bitter, resentful, and touchy. Such alterations in mood and attitude appeared to us as grim and striking examples of the capacity of the human mind to respond to its environment and keep itself intact by developing a high order of ability to divide itself severely and categorically. ~~Nowhere in our years with these people did we hear this put better than by the mother of one of our ten families:~~ "We switches back and forth, from being in a good mood to a bad one because you learns how to travel and you just make your head travel with you, so you gives yourself and the kids a break from the field."

Methodology

Finally, there are several matters of observation and methodology which require at least brief attention here--each of them in turn needing much further elaboration elsewhere.

The problem of differential behavior in white and Negro migrants had to be considered by us. There were definite differences between the six Negro and four white families studied along such variables as promiscuity (higher in Negroes), duration of breast feeding (longer in Negroes), tendency toward open expression of anger toward one another, by word or deed (higher in whites), distance covered in yearly migrations (higher in Negroes), number of children (slightly higher in Negroes).

~~We felt that~~ in the important respects of viewing the infant as a rare and thus specially valuable possession (to be nourished well ~~indeed~~ in the early months), of generally having a "permissive" attitude toward toilet training, of attitude toward education, toward the time their children

became adults, and toward themselves in contrast to the world, the two sets of families largely resembled one another. Other observers have told us that in some cases white mothers are not as warm with their infants, stricter with their children later, and prone to more pervasive depression--including more overt anti-social violence--when so disposed. (Of course whites in the South can behave more aggressively "in public" than Negroes, regardless of class or occupation.)

Our observations, however, tend to indicate that migrants, including white migrants, have developed certain characteristic attitudes on the basis of their work and travel habits. The constant movement, the threat of social chaos, the cramped living and traveling, make for common problems and remarkably similar responses to them which separate to some extent migrant behavior from that of the rest of the poor. (20,23,24,25,35,36,37) Indeed, we are in general perhaps ill advised to lump millions of poor people together--at least psychologically--on the basis of their common relative lack of income.

In our work with Southern families caught up in the various crises of desegregation we have had occasion for a number of years to work with poor Negroes and poor whites, in both rural and urban situations. (29-31) We certainly have spent a good number of months observing sharecroppers and small farmers, again of both races. Migrant farmers once were mostly poor farmers. They still are poor and they still are farmers, but they are also migrants. As such there is a specific social and cultural condition to their lives, and a specific psychological stress and challenge, too. If poor people have their own culture grounded in the life and laws of the slum or the rural village, migrants do not share in it--though they may of course carry some of it with them in what they do possess, a life of mobility that calls forth its own variation of habits and practices, surely resembling the way poor people live more than middle-class people, but different from both in ways, too.

Still, as we have noted, these people are fellow Americans. They may watch the same television sets we do, travel in cars similar, if older, than ours, and on our road system, though most of them shun our major roads out of fear, the wish to be alone, the dread of "breaking down on the road and ending up in jail." Their assumptions about everyone from the policeman to the gas station attendant may be different from ours, even from that of many poor people, but they see those toll roads, gas stations, signs advertising the host of goods and services we are accustomed to consider part of our way of living in this rich land.

We have been asked by many who work with these people about the psychological effect of living the migrant life in a land where others seem well able to live a more settled and comfortable one. We can only report what we have seen in drawings from migrant children, pictures showing that they know such facts and generally tend to judge themselves in some way both weaker, blemished, guilty, or at fault for their condition. One four year old girl told us that were her mother's rheumatic heart condition better, they would doubtless live better. A seven year old boy in another family put the blame for his general bad luck on his own poor health, a bone disease affecting his right leg. There is a tendency, thus, to feel not only weak and

hard pressed, but responsible for that fate. Though by such a maneuver of the mind these men, women and children may achieve a rare feeling of control over their destinies, the price they pay in largely unrealistic loss of self-respect is rather a significant one.

Particularly unfortunate is such self-accusation when, in point of fact, these migrant families are willing to move about us so far and wide, working so hard. Many ~~of our~~ poor are now called "unemployables," and many others rely upon welfare payments to keep them from hunger until jobs are more plentiful. Migrant farmers try to work, often go far to work. What ~~makes for their~~ psychological insistence ~~that they~~ travel to work, rather than travel to a city ~~then~~ to go on relief, cannot be answered by any one generalization. ~~We feel~~ the explanation rests in a combination of such factors as a fear of the city, a genuine attachment to the land, a sometime enjoyment of movement, a depression that sets in for many of them when they do stop traveling and working (and a fear of that depression).

The Problems and Limitations of This Kind of Study

This study has its value and its very definite limitations. In no way is it a survey or systematic study of attitudes from a selected sample of people.[3] It represents the application of medical and psychiatric training to the work of observations "in the field." In a sense it is a clinician doing a kind of sociological and anthropological investigation, but concentrating on those problems particularly in need of his evaluation as a physician, as a child psychiatrist specially interested in social psychiatry, and as one who works also with college students. I had my previous experience with our middle-class children and youth as a standard for comparison against which I could place my daily speculations and occasional conclusions about migrant children and young adults. As one who has had, in addition, years of working with the culture from which these white and Negro migrants (mostly rural Southerners) came, I could make similar comparisons between the ways, say, sharecroppers (poor, rural folk) live and the ways migrants live. In two cases I could compare families related (from the same grandparents, both poor) but different in that one set of parents and children moved to the city to face its stresses (in their case they would include the threats associated with desegregation) while another joined the migrant stream. ~~(29, 30)~~

This training and experience simply suggests some ability to take reasonably relevant notice of a few of the significant psychological and medical problems in the migrant families studied, with a view toward putting them in some social and cultural context. This is not, however, meant to be anything more than it is, clinical information gathered from an essentially "case-historical" method of work, supplemented by additional interviews, observations and background study. Much of what Kardiner and

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[3]See, for example, the study by Malzberg and Thomas (38) which attempts to assess the relationship between migration, per se, and mental illness. Of course, their study was not concerned with migrant farmers, but with the more general problem of "mobility" in American life and its consequences so far as hospitalization for mental illness is concerned.

Ovesey (26) stated in their preface to Mark of Oppression (their discussion on methodology) must hold here. The case history cannot tell us a lot; but it also can tell us much that no other method to date can--how people feel (and in this case behave with one another) over a period of time, how they developed those feelings, manage them, convey them to others and change them in the face of new situations or confrontations--be they the psychiatrist, or the government agent arriving with a new and promising program of help.

As a white, middle-class doctor (my role as a psychiatrist could only be clarified for these people over a long period of time; they simply had no appropriate idea what a psychiatrist is) I brought with me certain notions, and was received by people who had a variety of notions about me--how many I learned slowly and with difficulty. These families, moreover, were simply living out their lives, and in order for those lives to be studied, I had to seek them out, follow them, work with them and even live with them. As many government officials--including physicians--have observed, such an approach is essential with people so isolated and mobile.

In so doing, of course, I introduced my presence, my skin and profession--as well as my own personality--to the daily, ongoing lives of people, in that sense affecting them right off by making them feel fearful, anxious, curious, awkward, self-conscious, embarrassed, ashamed, hesitant, annoyed or desirous of pleasing me and telling or showing me what might be sensed I wanted to hear or see. Such problems are inevitable in work like this, and it must be remembered, bear a relationship not only to the hazards of any observations by social scientists, but psychotherapeutic work itself, where lives are viewed by an observer, where the observation itself introduces a new dimension to the life, where the life of the observer is of considerable relevance both to the life observed and what is seen by the observer (and, for that matter, communicated to the person observed or to others at conferences).

Moreover, lives are lived in history, and in their individual continuity of time. What social scientists describe about given lives at any given moment may neither always hold true nor represent more than a modest share of the truths those lives embody in their daily existence. While this is common sense (or should be) it is perhaps necessarily said when any attempt is made to do justice in words and theoretical formulations to human life in general or its various adaptations to society in particular.

Especially at this moment in our national history migrant life is likely to change. Agriculture itself is facing serious alterations in its relationship to machinery and government policy, and our country is looking rather closely at its obligations toward our relatively separated and impoverished citizens. Such facts of history and politics become psychological facts as migrants see new faces, buildings, and programs directed their way. How they respond to these overtures is a matter of old assumptions meeting new realities. The encounter is not always without its suspicions and antagonisms on both sides.

In my work I certainly felt those suspicions and irritations from migrants, and felt them in myself, too. The value of spending a long time with a few families is not only that unconscious fantasies can be "heard"

by the attentive observer (as well as a host of important facts about habits and customs), but that quite conscious attitudes may also eventually be spoken by people ordinarily unwilling indeed to do so. In addition, precisely what causes a given mother or child shame or annoyance tells the observer a lot about the feelings of those people with one another as well as in front of him.

For example, I noticed no apprehension, "modesty" or shyness from these mothers (including the white ones) when they breast-fed their children with their blouses removed and both breasts more commonly than one breast exposed. Again, I noticed no special concern for my tastes in food when I ate with these families--in contrast to what I had certainly noticed even in poor homes in Southern cities. I did perceive, at times, that there had been an almost immediate tightening of discipline so that the children were less frolicsome in my presence. I also realized after a while, that the mothers had been specially solicitous of their children's personal appearance, and their toilet habits, too. From the start I heard apologies for stained clothes or "slip-ups" as the toilet accidents were often called. Thus, though few efforts were made to tidy up the appearance of the cabins--a contrast itself with the way many sharecroppers treated my visits--definite attempts were made to change personal appearances and to control or freshly restrict certain of the practices of the children.

What I think can be learned from such specific instances of shame or ingratiation and apology (often accompanied by a noticeable exasperation afterwards) is that migrants are perhaps particularlysensitive to their relationship with others along the lines of the worth of their efforts, as judged by "outsiders," the possible consequences of their true feelings being seen, and the criticisms and even punishments likely to be forthcoming upon them from other people. They feel comfortable with their highly intimate and nourishing attitude toward their infants, but fear the consequences of making known some of their hidden feelings to other people. They do not really identify themselves with their living quarters--as others do to varying degrees--and thus can ignore their faulty houses and furniture when a stranger comes, but they do have some very real concerns about their personal worth to that stranger. They fear him, hence control themselves, but also seek his approval and understanding and try to behave so as to get it.

Finally, I must say that over time many of these suspicions leave. One then gets the real flavor of these lives, the nastiness and joyfulness in them, as they struggle hard to make do in a world not always kind to them.

Conclusions

On the basis of our observations we would make the following conclusions:

1. Migrant farm workers comprise--by the hundreds of thousands--a vastly ignored sub-culture whose work is essential to our well-stocked tables, but whose lives are often simply not known to most of us. There has, for example, been no psychiatric study of how these people manage such strains

as constant movement with its social and cultural disorganization, economic hardship, political disenfranchisement, and the personal and familial conditions of uprootedness in general.

2. This psychiatric investigation finds that in order to adapt to such unusual facts of environment migrants turn their isolated, mobile life inward, becoming guarded and suspicious toward outsiders but, in compensation for a rootless life, exceptionally close-knit with their young children. They tend to be unusually warm and stimulating with their infants, and rather lax about disciplining them. They so treat them that there appears to be significantly less hostility between the children, much of it channeled toward other families as well as the world in general, which is seen as unfriendly and punitive. Families thus become separated from families, even within the migrant culture, so that the price for cohesion within the family is isolation and alienation from others.

3. Migrant children progressively learn a sense of their own weakness and inadequacy in comparison to the rest of the population, whose existence they comprehend and see from the distance of the traveler or television viewer. Their drawings and their play in games as well as their words indicate that they see themselves as smaller, less able to make decisions affecting their own lives, and for some reason not clearly understood by them, stained, crippled or paralyzed.

4. Migrant children do not have the cultural accompaniment to physiological adolescence that we call "youth." They go directly into adulthood, with its work, marriage and parenthood, in their early teens.

5. Migrants tend to be not only distrustful of others, but even hostile toward many attempts to help them--with medicine, shelter, or advice. They tend to avoid the very food they harvest, often in a phobic manner. Such behavior urges study of <u>why</u> it occurs and in what context of social and economic facts.

6. Migrants develop a variety of psychiatric illnesses. Especially are they susceptible to mood swings, violence toward one another, heavy drinking and a severe kind of apathy, with loss of appetite, aimlessness and indifference which may or may not go on to a more severe clinical depression, with suicidal preoccupations or paranoid thinking.

7. The physical health of these people is generally quite poor, with a host of diseases plaguing their skin, muscles, blood, vital organs and nervous system from birth to death. These diseases also affect the minds of those so afflicted, causing anxiety, fear, irritability and excitability, withdrawal and moodiness.

8. There is an urgent need for closer study of the lives of migrant farmers, and the problems in such a study are to some extent indicated. We can only end this study by remarking upon the extraordinary resilience shown by many of these people. The exertion of will they can muster--under the conditions of life they have as their very own--calls for further psychiatric study into how people manage stress and preserve--as well as lose--some of their psychological stability and human dignity.

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file
Coles Bob

July 1, 1965

Dr. M. Robert Coles
Coolidge Road
Concord, Massachusetts

Dear Bob:

I am ashamed that your letters of March 23 and April 5 have gone unanswered. It's been pretty busy here, Pat has been deep in his own work, the research directorship has been vacant as is more or less usual. (New man, Sam Adams, coming now.) Pat did, however, weeks ago, read your APA paper and was enthusiastic about it. I have now worked through it and the NACFL statement.

What I have done, and am enclosing, is intended to be largely a suggestion to you as to how the two papers might be merged. As you will see, all that I have done is take two hunks of the NACFL paper and insert them into the other. I have also suggested in a comment written on the manuscript that you might combine what you say in the last few pages of the NACFL paper with what you say in the last few pages of the other one, and re-write into a conclusion.

In addition, I have flyspecked the manuscript throughout, and have at one point ventured to write a paragraph or two of transition.

What I would hope you might do now is to consider the enclosure as a piece of not quite finished wood, which you would plane and sand paper a bit more. After working through it, I am just as keen about it as before, and even more so.

In your letter of March 23 you said that you would want to write a section relating migrant and sharecropper labor to southern history and social conditions; fine, though it seems to me that you would also be justified in believing that you have already covered this sufficiently.

In your letter of April 5 you asked for some statistics, and I will see that somebody sends them off to you.

Also in that letter you said that you were prepared to join issue on the question of importing foreign workers. Go to it, if you believe it can be handled within the themes and focus of the present piece.

Having cut up these two papers of yours, is there a chance of getting a fresh copy of each for our research files?

The Massachusetts Review is hard to come by down here; do you happen to have a reprint of your article?

Perhaps you are one of the many people who have already heard through the spreading grapevine that I am leaving SRC about October 1 to go to the Field Foundation. You can be thankful that you were not in Atlanta, where you would have been drafted into helping me sweat through the decision.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
enclosure - 1.

Dear Coles, Bob

August 9, 1965

Dr. M. Robert Coles
Coolidge Road
Concord, Massachusetts

Dear Bob:

The two articles you sent me are excellent. The one about the South is a delight, and the one on "Public Evil" is, to me, one of the most instructive things you have done.

Thank you for your letter of July 27, and for your congratulations. I was happy when I first heard about the Field grant to you. Most especially, though, thank you for your letter to Pat.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

PA ✓

file – Coles, Bob

By March in New Orleans Miss Tara Conner was an eventful year old and over 150 children were attending the Frantz school. In Atlanta it was a slowly warming early spring and Wesley was taking College Boards and hoping for admission to Amherst College. Spring was much further along in New Orleans and azaleas were marking their trails of red and violet while Ruby Bridges was rehearsing her role in the Easter play at Frantz. While all seemed quiet around the six somewhat desegregated schools there were tremors in other parts of this old port city. Archbishop Rummel ended segregation in the Catholic schools of New Orleans, to take effect in the autumn of 1962. His Eminence at this time and in conjuction with this deed found it necessary to excommunicate three citizens who loudly refused to accept such rulings. The bus terminals were witnessing "reverse Freedom Rides," with paid departures for northern cities offered only to Negroes by smiling members of the segregationist White Citizen's Council. In the federal courthouse the school board was being urged to accelerate its program of desegregation, and, in the same locale, an all white Tulane University was being informed by a quiet and determined and concerned judge that it, too, might be "public" enough to warrant some of the surveillance of the Constitution of the United States.

"I think we've got a strange kind of spring fever this year," Mrs. Conner told me on Easter Monday. She was describing the school play and the party and reception for parents afterwards.

"Everything, just about everything, is happening now in this confused city; and we keep on seeing New Orleans on the national TV programs. At least around this neighborhood people are more relaxed. Mrs. Bridges came to our party, and it was awkward at first, but several women came up to her, and it got better after a while. One woman came up to me afterwards and remarked that Ruby's mother never looked at her, always seemed to look down shyly and almost as if afraid of something or somebody. She then turned to me and said: 'You know, Margaret, that's what segregation probably does, and I suppose helping Mrs. Bridges to feel free to look anyone straight in the eye is what all the talk about integration is about.' Of course this woman herself had only recently felt free enough to send her two children back to Frantz."

Mrs. Bridges by now was looking very directly at my wife and me. A tall, handsome woman with strong features and erect bearing, her natural dignity and pride had been only emphasized by those fearful evasions of eye or servility of tongue. "Ruby is doing fine at school...all those friends she has ...Lord, is she popular! I walk her to school now. No need for riding any more. We get no trouble on the way from any of these people. They must be going elsewhere to bother someone different. Even with my family in Mississippi the white folks seem to have forgiven them for what Ruby and me have done. My brother and his little boy passed suddenly

two weeks ago of some bad infection. It took them both together. We were all upset and couldn't hardly believe it. I went to the funeral even though I was afraid they might recognize me and remember what I'd done and hurt me. Abon and I were sure surprised at what happened, though. The whites who worked my brother came after the funeral and they stood outside the house where we were at, and they put on the sidewalk near where they were standing bags of flour and sugar and some coffee. And then we came out from the house and thanked them and picked up the helpings and brought them inside. It was real good." I pictured the silent, standing white people with condolences and affection and assistance heaped in bags of grain and crystals of sugar and beans of coffee; and the slow approach of the injured, grieving colored people; and their grateful, mutely thankful looks; and their self-conscious retreat from the street into the poor, terribly poor cabins; and the awkward walking away of the visitors, back to their world. "They seem to have forgotten all that integration trouble, at least so far as we're concerned. Last year my folks didn't know whether they'd make it alive. Sure is better now."

One person who has not forgotten such matters, and whose feelings have not changed, is the man who arranged for Ruby's father to lose his job when Ruby entered Frantz. In the course of our travels in New Orleans we always rode past the Archbishop's home in proceeding from one home to another. One day on our April visit I noticed five citizens walking eagerly and with some

animation along the sidewalk fronting His Residence. Cars would stop or hesitate and people would stand at a distance and watch. We parked near by and walked to the scene. They carried signs which insisted in rather vigorous and passionate phrases that Communist money had purchased the integrity of the Catholic Church, and that Integration was forbidden and dangerous for any Christian. I was interested in talking with them because as a psychiatrist I had found myself reading about "integration" in the context of the development of human personality, and I wondered what Integration meant to these people who seemed so very much opposed to it; so very much involved with its troublesome, even fearful, nature.

They were a determined and available band. Here they were, waving their quaintly and personally fashioned placards at a city which either ignored them, laughed at them, or was embarrassed by their effrontery and national notoriety. Not that many didn't agree with some of their statements. It was their fervent and apparently excessive commitment which seemed to alienate others who just care less about such matters. We talked at great length, and they invited me to join them in their endeavors. I returned on several occasions, and they gave me much of their literature and talked about their families and their earlier lives. It was in such conversations that I learned one afternoon that I was talking with the man who had fired Ruby's father over a year ago. I had just learned a short while before

that the principal of the private school established by segregationists when New Orleans desegregated the Frantz and McDonough schools in 1961 was the sister of the present superintendent of the New Oeleans public schools. I was now beginning to feel that there was a circular or elliptical quality to all events in the Crescent city.

"I'll always talk to a Caucasion," Mrs. Delphine Roberts had told me. "It's money, and money is sent out by the 130 Group. They control the Church. They're in control of Moscow, New York, and the Vatican has sold out to them." It was hard to trace with Mrs. Roberts and her friends the exact nature of this 130 Group, but one could feel that they were grasping, hateful, against the traditional American and Catholic or Christian way of life, and rather dirty, vulgar, and unkempt. Names like Ralph Bunche and, of all people, Jascha Heifetz, came up. I was told that such persons would soon "be in the White House." I suppose that they were worried about any defilement of white, even a building. I couldn't resist mentioning rather quietly that I thought that as things now were going in Washington I was sure they were right, and Heifetz, and a few like him, probably had been or would be in the White House. Continuing in their reformist zeal, they told me that they were Catholic Laymen, but "we'll found a new church if necessary. We're afraid of no one, and we're serious. We won't be dragged down and contaminated by this integrationist communism. Black and white do not mix." Their descriptions of themselves to me

seemed eminently fair. They were indeed serious and in a sense unafraid of those powers and people whom they were defying. I was stuck by their Protestant spirit, and by the Marxist view of the world which seemed to run through their repeated associations of money, power, Church, and American society. Three were elderly, and it seemed tiring for them to walk so long in such warm and humid circumstances. A portly and smiling man with a battered felt hat which had an American flag on its brim, kept on telling me that he was as old as Jack Benny (not, I don't think a member of the 130 Group), and that a young man like me with strong shoulders should carry the picket signs. While I protested ageing and an infirm back, he continued, a bit sadly, a bit wistfully, a bit perplexed, "If I were younger, I'd be scared. Everything is changing, and it isn't America any more. The air is contaminated with radioactivity, the drinking water is contaminated with fluoridation, and now they want to dirty the schools of New Orleans. I'm going to die soon but I'll die fighting all this dirt." Both he and Mrs. Roberts sent me to a strongly built man of about fifty with dark skin and straight black hair who in face and rumpled clothing of black suit and white shirt and socks reminded me of pictures I used to look at in the National Geographic Magazine; for instance, a Peruvian Indian standing in front of his modest home in his Sunday best. He was a talkative man, and after a few moments I felt that he was moody and irascible and quick to take offense or feel anger. He outlined his complaints to me: "I'd give my life to keep the races separate. It's some of those mixing whites who are the cause of this. We can

take care of the colored. You take the father of that girl who went to Frantz school, he worked in my gas station. I fired him fast. And I tried to keep him out of work. We picketed a couple of places we heard had hired him, but we lost track of him. ... would you let your son go to an integrated marriage class? The archbishop has integrated marriage instruction classes. I'd kill my son first." At about this point I murmured something about coming back later, and left. I had to see the family whom he had pursued so ardently; I had heard many minutes of implied and spoken dissatisfaction; the emergence of this man's unresolved Oedipal problem seemed rather sad; and, in truth, I was hurrying toward a later appointment at a christening in a small church near Tulane. The mother of a little Negro girl named Sylvia Nuchurch, now attending an uptown desegregated school was about to become the God mother of a little white girl whose sister was a classmate of Sylvia's. I knew both families well, had accepted their invitations, and wished to be there on time.

In May schools get ready to close in Southern cities which often know June as northerners know August. There were promotion parties in New Orleans and graduation exercises in Atlanta. During those last months of school in Atlanta I felt that I was seeing much turmoil and struggle amongst many of the white teen-agers. The Negro children had reached a plateau of adjustment to a plateau of environmental pressures and accommodations. Whoever they were, however they reacted, whatever their style

of living and thinking and feeling and responding, whichever world they saw and didn't or couldn't see, all eight of them would obviously graduate or become seniors. "People talk a lot about the pressures we're under," said Tommy, "but they forget that we're always under those pressures as Negroes in a white world. They worry about us having to be insulted or self-conscious, or alone. But I grew up getting used to all that everytime I went in town or even thought of doing something that whites take for granted. I can still remember the time I wanted a soda in a department store, or asked my mother to take me to a Walt Disney movie in a downtown theatre. I remember my parents when all those situations came up, how they got nervous, or fumbled around for explanations. After a while you figure it all out; or, in my case, my grandaddy took me inside one day and explained a lot to me. I think my parents may have explained it all before, but that's the time I remember when it all clicked with me, and I never asked questions again. I just knew what I could do and where, and what I couldn't,and why. It's a hard thing to get across to a young kid, though. But, the great thing about this year is that I feel I'm doing something that makes sense, that gives meaning and purpose and hope to being embarrassed or insulted. Many white people feel sorry for us, or say they do. They think we're going through too much, and that it's unfair to put the burden on us. But the burden has always been on us, and this is the first chance we've had to take it off a bit.

I think it's harder for the whites, because a lot of them are just beginning to see what the burden has been, and so they feel nervous because up until now they never had to notice or never did notice, and now they do, and they probably feel very bad about a lot of this. I'd do it again, even though it's unpleasant, because what is the choice? Worse unpleasantness, like we've known so long before." Though often a bit battered emotionally, they all echoed sentiments like this. "It's a daily challenge, and I get strength from it every day, even though I sometimes wonder from where," Tommy was continuing. "When I think about some of those situations I never know what I'll do, or never can figure out afterwards how I managed to handle some of them. Somehow you just have to trust yourself. If I kept on trying to get strength out of thinking and planning, I'd be pretty sorry today."

At one of the graduations we watched a handsome and athletic boy with noticeable poise and assurance walk down the aisle of the Atlanta Municipal Auditorium beside Lawrence Jefferson, the first of the Negro students we had met almost a year earlier. His name was Drake Taliaferro. In the South, we had long ago learned in our talks with him, his name is pronounced Tulliver. His ancestry is best described by the following excerpt from Mary Chestnut's A Diary from Dixie:

> "Today General Tailiaferro dined with us. He served with Hood at Second Manassas, and at Fredricksburg, where Hood won his

> Major General's spurs. He says: 'On the battlefield, Hood has military inspiration!' We were thankful for that word, for our all now depends on that Army at Atlanta. If that fails us, the game is up.
>
> General Taliaferro says his place on the river was burned. 'Why not? I am not less patriotic than my forefathers. Our house was burned by the British in the first Revolution, and again by the British in 1812. We are so easy to get at, so near the coast. Now the Yankees have followed suit and burned me out once more.'

Having spent a year in class with Lawrence, and grown to like him, Drake had asked him whether he might walk beside him during the processional at graduation. Lawrence was "honored." Drake said that he was, too.

Less concerned with honor were some white children who continued to be afraid of what they described as "the segregationists." They pictured themselves as apart from such people, but either unwilling or unable or unconcerned enough "to get involved in all that." Barbara, who talked very freely with me, and usually wanted my advice on how to handle the complexities of her relationship with her boy friend("You <u>are</u> a psychiatrist," as if <u>she</u> understood what my work <u>should</u> be and was admonishing me gently for my annoying distractions) stated her position as follows: "Of course, it's hard <u>not</u> to notice the Negro girls, after all, there are only two of them. And we all pretty much know how they are getting along, or, mostly, how they are not getting along. In a way, though, I try my best not to notice. Sometimes I feel real sorry for them. But I have other worries,

too, and other things to think about. I'd talk with them or sit beside them, but it's too much of a risk. You gamble with your reputation, and "they" make phone calls and remarks, and you almost stand out like the Negroes. I talk with both in the restroom or whenever there aren't a lot of kids around. Otherwise, to be honest, it's too much for me to take on. They're a small group, but they seem to have the power, at least this year at our school. I think that this is temporary, though. When more Negro kids come in, and when the teachers are more sure of themselves, it'll be easier. Even now I think that a little initiative from some of the teachers could set a different atmosphere, and help some of those who are afraid to be friendly feel able to be that way without trouble. But I think some of the people in the school administration are in a spot, too. They have to deal with the parents of the ones who cause trouble here. And I guess that those people make as much noise as some of their children do here at school."

It is certainly clear to me that Barbara's fears are not simply "internal" and attributed falsely to a largely neutral world. There is a long tradition of facts and events to support her fears. And if her world is fast changing, she is very much in the center of these changes, and it is hard for her and others like her to have the distance and vision which others may more readily summon. Those children and adults whom she often describes as "they" are not large in numbers, but their passionate concern

and involvement with the Negro children in the white schools is not small. In contrast with those who have other interests and attachments, "they" restively brood over what they call "Integration and Mixing," Touchy and charged subjects.

Three such youngsters, two boys and a girl, I feel I know fairly well. For this past year I have been for them a doctor, and interested in their views; and they have hesitantly, then willingly, often warmly, talked. In early May a tall young lady with soft brown hair and full and clear blue eyes said, "I wish they never came, just as I said to you last September, because they've ruined my senior year. I watch them, and they distract me. I'm glad I'm graduating. What do they want from us? They're going to pull all the standards down. You wait and see. They're not like us, and they have no right to be in school with us. You won't be able to recognize this school in a few years. They're taking over everything. Yesterday, some of my friends were laughing at them, the way they look and talk. I got angry then; it seems as though they've pushed their way into the school and are bothering us all the time. My boy friend thinks they're funny, and after they'd finished their teasing of them, he went up to them and joked about taking them out on a date. In fact, that's what he and his friends do sometimes, they call them up after school and ask to take them out...I sometimes wonder what they want from us, and how they must feel at school. But they have no right to be here. We didn't ask them to come, and if they have trouble, it's what they asked for. My daddy says

they're trying to ruin..."

She is very pretty, and gets good grades. Her family is not poor, but her father is a clerk, and, despite his necktie and white shirt his income seesaws precariously with family bills and tastes and wishes. My wife and this young lady talk about clothes and houses to be built after marriage and her deep pleasure in reading Frank Slaughter's novels about the lives of doctors. And she has a gentle voice in a church choir.

It does not seem to be the time, now, for her to realize her own sensitivity , her own anxiety at seeing others hurt, her own worries about others insulted, her own, and her boy friend's, groping wish to make up for those attacks with the offer of an evening of love and entertainment. Like all of us in one way or another, she is unaware of many of her own feelings. I have heard her anger at the injustices she has seen, and felt impelled to commit. I have heard her remorse and anxiety afterwards. And I have heard her want to do something to make up for such unkindness, and have heard her angry and frustrated feelings grapple with the contradictions in her thinking and feeling about people. Most often at these minutes I harken back to my office in Boston, where, before this Southern effort I would sit with people struggling, people unaware of just how they did feel, people pinioned with paradoxes within themselves and about themselves, people who express kindness

with anger, closeness with sarcasm, concern with avoidance. It is very hard with those people at those moments.

My wife and I made several trips in the spring to other cities in the South where desegregation was happening. We wanted to see, even briefly, how children and teachers were getting along "five years later" in Little Rock or in Clinton, Tennessee; how it was going in Asheville, North Carolina, now in its first year; how Charlotte, North Carolina was getting along with this problem. Each city, like each person, is alike and different. There are common problems and many variations and anomalies. Cities differ in which children and how many Negro children will be allowed to enter the desegregated classroom; choosing their ages, numbers, geographical origin, deciding upon their personality, motivations and intelligence all these seem tied up in complicated problems of social custom, political pressures, economic or business needs and fears, rural and urban struggles. Teachers and school officials will differ in how they lead, respond, or hesitate. It is America, and the schools are local and not national institutions. It is hard after you've been visiting homes and schools and cities to sift out local realism from local fear. It's hard to know why Negro children in one city were naturally taken into the high school honor society, even in those schools where acceptance of them is quite in question; while in another city such membership is resisted even as racial tensions in that city seem to be on the wane and the Negro children participate in choral singing

and athletics, neither of which are yet in evidence in the other city. One embattled area will witness the Negro children at school clubs and parties. Another less harrassed city will hesitate.

Even ways of preparing a city for initial desegregation vary. Little Rock and New Orleans and Clinton came in early and uncertain times, and have served to warn and also frighten other cities. In 1962 Atlanta and Memphis and Dallas each made a quiet beginning, and each chose different ways of desegregation and different ways of preparing for the event. In Atlanta there were many months of small discussion groups, forums, various committee meetings. In Dallas the preparation was intensive and under the direction of a specific group of business men and very much involved with public relations men and their views of people and how to reach them and cause them to reconsider their attitudes. In Memphis there was little discussion and organized meeting; the city itself knew what it would do, and did it quickly and quietly. Perhaps it was the year 1962 more than the manner which made the difference. In any case I am reminded of the story told me by the principal of a small Appalachian town in North Carolina. "It was 1960 and I just got all those parents together in the new gym. We had just built the school, and we were real proud of it. I said that they could do one of two things, they could fight, or give in. If they fought, they'd lose the school, and if they gave in, they'd keep it and use it. And besides, I added, they have the atom

bomb up there in Washington, and you're not going to win anyway." They laughed, and knew what I was talking about, and everything was smooth from then on." In those small towns along the mountains where every one knows everyone else, this smoothness goes into the classroom. "Oh, they fought it awhile in the 50's, it was new and a change in customs. But people up here know one another and live and work and depend upon one another. And that's the way it is now, and, of course will be as long as this town is the way it is." High up in the mountains, away from public print and unconcerned about "business" and "progress," the schools there seemed to me very much at peace and "integrated." Natural getting along at study, at work, at play, in activities. I could hear the facts and descriptions from parents and teachers and the words from the students; but their relaxed somewhat slumped, interested and bored faces as I peered into rooms and corridors told the story very well. I had only to recall other buildings and children.

A teen-ager in one North Carolina city somewhat away from the mountains,alone in a large and very fine suburban school, had argued at 15 his own case before his city school board. This had caused much surprise amongst some and little concern amongst others. Comments will vary, you learn after a while, from "Why should a young boy have to go through that kind of humiliation in pleading for his simple rights?" to "He's a fresh, wise-guy. The school board was soft in taking him in." In any case, Don is a quick, alert, and most articulate young man, and, regardless of obstacles, he will persist in word and deed. Recalling for me the widely different attitudes

of some people and the largely indifferent attitudes of what he called "the heavy majority," he interrupted one of his remarks with what seemed to him to be a moment of pause and reflection and discovery for himself (he was usually a rapid, fact soaked unquestioning speaker). "Those segregationists who scare every one in the South are all tied up with us Negroes. They watch me, they follow me, they notice me, they talk to me and kid with me in their own crazy way. What happens to people that gets them on a kick like that? Why them and not others? What's really bothering them? At times I feel closer to them than a lot of the crowd, just faces that I never will know or meet. I know them, know how they talk and joke. And they know me, too. Why is every one so afraid of them? Why do they all say that they can't do anything because of fear of what "they" will do? "They" are afraid, and the heavy majority are afraid of them. I'm sure the percentages of both groups are the same as at this school, about 10 per cent of one and ninety of the other. I Know the percentages. Have you figured out people's emotions, how funny they are?" I flipped off the tape recorder in agreement and puzzled.

Memo from **MURIEL BERGER**

Written by one of the Transfer students from Coles —

to Lin Coles

Ber

Algebra 5: Augmented/Average

Basically the algebra 5 course at Howard was ~~mainly~~ a review of second year algebra. But due to overcrowded conditions, inadequate classrooms and classroom facilities, the course was greatly hindered. The classroom was the lobby of the school gymnasium and on cold days the school library. The class did not have a black board for several days of the course, so naturally not too much progress could be made.

The textbook used was "College Algebra". This book contained most of the basic fundamentals of algebra but mainly there were advanced topics in higher mathematics, almost none of which were covered by the class. Here is a list of the topics covered in this class:

1. simplifying equations
2. multiplication, division, subtraction + addition of equations
3. Solving systems of equations
   a) graphically
   b) determinants, addition, subtraction, substitution etc.
4. Other basic fundamentals: factoring, etc

On the other hand the algebra course at Grady was widely varied and covered a wide range of old + new material. The course is taught by an instructor who teaches night school at Georgia Tech. The book used was "Review Course in Algebra". But much of the material taught in the classroom was taken from other textbooks, some advanced trigonometry + calculus books, others advanced algebra books. The course included: review of simification of equations, factoring, addition multiplication, subtraction + addition of equations, radicals, imaginary numbers, solving systems of equations in 2 or more unknowns: graphically, addition + subtraction, determinants, triangular form, substitution etc. Finding absolute values, Descartes rule of signs, Advanced methods of solving polynomials, word problems, a little analytic geometry, elementary fundamentals of calculus, ratio, arithmetic + geometric progressions, mathematic induction, binomial theorem, combinations and permutations, progessions: explicit + recursion.

Laurence Jefferson

Oklahoma
Agricultural and Mechanical College
SCHOOLS OF AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE
AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL LIFE

STILLWATER

September 19, 1945

RECEIVED
SEP 24 1945
Southern Regional Council

Conference on Education and Race Relations
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I should be highly favored to have a list of institutions of learning in the southern states which offer one or more courses that are primarily concerned with "race relations".

Thanking you cordially, I am

Very sincerely yours,

J. F. Page

J. F. Page
Professor of Sociology

JFP:if

College Courses on Race Relations

September 26, 1945

Professor J. F. Page
Department of Sociology and Rural Life
Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Professor Page:

Your letter of September 19, addressed to the Conference on Education and Race Relations has come to our attention. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation which sponsored the Conference was absorbed by the Southern Regional Council in February, 1944. The Conference no longer exists as a separate unit, but the Council is attempting to carry on the work which was begun by the Conference.

I am enclosing a list of southern colleges which offer one or more courses that are primarily concerned with race relations. Unfortunately, this list is badly out of date since it was compiled over ten years ago. I am sure that a good many colleges have instituted such courses since this survey was made. We hope to make a similar survey which will bring the information up-to-date, but I cannot say right now just when we are going to be able to find the time for this work.

I am enclosing a leaflet entitled College Courses In Race Relations which was prepared for the Conference by Mr. R. B. Eleazer in 1939.

I wonder whether you will be interested in undertaking a survey of race relations courses, which are now being offered. If so, we will be glad to take care of the cost of stationery and postage. My experience has been that it is hard to get satisfactory replies to a letter or questionnaire, so I think that the best procedure is probably to write each college and request a copy of its latest general catalogue. One can easily run through these catalogues and spot the courses which deal with race, and make a tabulation. I shall be glad to have your reaction to this suggestion.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

List of Southern Colleges Offering Courses on Race Relations

ARKANSAS

Ouachita College, Arkadelphia
State Teachers' College, Conway

FLORIDA

Rollins College, Winter Park
State College for Women, Tallahassee

GEORGIA

Emory University, Atlanta

KENTUCKY

Asbury College, Wilmore
Transylvania College, Lexington

LOUISIANA

Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, Ruston

MARYLAND

Goucher College, Baltimore

MISSISSIPPI

University of Mississippi, Oxford

MISSOURI

Central State Teachers' College, Warrenburg
Drury College, Springfield

NORTH CAROLINA

Atlantic Christian College, Wilson
Duke University, Durham
Elon College, Elon
Meredith College, Raleigh
North Carolina State College, Raleigh
North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

OKLAHOMA

A. & M. College, Stillwater
Central Teachers' College, Edmond
East Central Teachers' College, Ada
Southeastern State Teachers' College, Durant
Northeastern State Teachers' College, Tahlequah
Phillips University, Enid
University of Oklahoma, Norman
University of Oklahoma City

SOUTH CAROLINA

Furman University, Greenville

TENNESSEE

Peabody College, Nashville
Vanderbilt University, Nashville

TEXAS

Abilene Christian College
Baylor College, Belton
Baylor University, Waco
North Texas State Teachers' College, Denton
Sam Houston State Teachers' College, Huntsville
Southern Methodist University, Dallas
Southwestern University, Georgetown
Southwest Texas State Teachers' College, San Marcos
Texas Christian University, Fort Worth
Texas Tech, Lubbock
University of Texas, Austin

CONFERENCE ON TESTING NEGRO CANDIDATES IN COLLEGE BOARD CENTERS IN GEORGIA

On Wednesday, January 7, 1960, I met in Atlanta with a group called together to discuss the problems encountered in testing Negro candidates for College Board examinations in the state of Georgia, and in Atlanta particularly. Present at the conference were the following:

Dr. John R. Hills - Director, Testing and Guidance, University System of Georgia
Dr. Rufus E. Clement - President, Atlanta University
Mr. L. H. Pitts - Executive Secretary, Georgia Teachers and Education Association (the Negro equivalent of the Georgia Education Association)
Mr. T. A. Carmichael - Director of the Division of Negro Education, State Department of Education
Dr. Warren Finley - Assistant Superintendent for Pupil Personnel Services, Atlanta Board of Education
Mr. Ben Gibson - Liaison Officer Between High Schools and Colleges and the Board of Education, City of Atlanta
Ben F. Cameron, Jr. - Southern Regional Director, College Board.

The procedure now followed in the assignment of candidates to centers was explained, and the problems faced in testing Negro candidates were discussed. Difficulty in the testing of Negro candidates has been recognized outside of Atlanta only in the August administration of the SAT, when the number of centers is very limited. In Atlanta, difficulties have arisen in the re-assignment of candidates to a center other than the one requested when the first choice center has been filled. (The four centers in Atlanta will all accept Negro candidates. Georgia Tech has had Negro candidates on only one occasion.)

A number of approaches to the problem were discussed. Those listed here were agreed upon by all participating in the conference as being reasonable and feasible, and they are presented here as recommendations for immediate action:

A. APPLICATIONS FOR TESTS

1. It is recommended that the application form be changed to allow the candidate, in item eight, to list a first and second choice test center.

2. It is recommended that a list of the high schools in Georgia be obtained by the Test Administration Division of ETS from the Atlanta State Department of Education. This directory lists the Georgia Negro high schools within the state, and will permit checking in individual cases when a candidate from Georgia can be sent to neither his first nor second choice test center.

B. TESTING CENTERS

1. President Clement of Atlanta University generously offered to have a College Board test center established at Atlanta University, despite the fact that this institution does not utilize Board services. President Clement attached to his offer the provision that no effort should be made to send to the center every Negro candidate or only Negro candidates. This is, of course, consistent with normal practice. It is recommended that negotiations be opened with a person designated by President Clement for the establishment of a testing center at Atlanta University for 1960-61, and possibly for later test administrations this year.

2. It is recommended that testing centers be established at all of the state institutions for Negro students, and that all of these be maintained as centers on all testing dates, regardless of volume of students tested. The Negro state institutions in Georgia are Albany State College, Fort Valley State College, and Savannah State College. Of these only Albany State College is now a center. Paine College in Augusta is a private college for Negroes, and is now a center for all except the August administration. It is further recommended that Paine College be requested to administer the SAT in August also.

3. It is recommended that the Negro high schools in Georgia which are already testing centers be asked to administer the August test. These schools are already centers in March and May, and should be continued as such (and perhaps asked to administer tests on other dates).

The Negro high schools which are now testing centers are the following: 8105, Athens H. & Indus; 8147, East Depot Street High School, LaGrange; 8151, B. Hudson High School, Macon; 8161, A. E. Beach High School, Savannah; 8177, Center High School, Waycross. There may be other centers in Negro schools where only the town is designated; this may be checked with the Georgia Education Directory.

4. It is felt that the adoption of the recommendations above will meet the immediate problem. It is recognized, however, that the number of Negro candidates thus far tested in regular test administrations has been comparatively small, and that probably more Negro candidates have been tested on the campus in September than have been tested prior to admission. As counseling is improved, more of these will be tested earlier. This may necessitate establishment of additional centers. It is recommended that, as additional centers are established, these be established in Negro high schools in towns already having testing centers.

These recommendations supersede those already submitted.

January 13, 1960 Ben F. Cameron, Jr.

TOTAL CANDIDATES FOR COLLEGE BOARD ADMISSIONS TESTS IN REGULAR ADMINISTRATIONS

Southern Region

State	1959-60	1961-62
Alabama	2,438	3,104
Florida	10,272	15,858
Georgia	18,901	26,645
Kentucky	3,015	4,342
Louisiana	3,295	4,503
Mississippi	1,065	1,267
North Carolina	12,158	23,929
Oklahoma	1,958	2,484
South Carolina	3,617	11,088
Tennessee	5,208	6,972
Texas	10,690	28,288
Virginia	18,383	29,135
	91,000	157,615

Appendix I

RACIAL SEGREGATION IN COLLEGE BOARD TESTING CENTERS

Report to the Trustees
from the Southern Regional Office
College Entrance Examination Board
March 1, 1961

INTRODUCTION

As was requested by the Trustees in their December meeting, studies of the conditions under which Negroes have been tested for the College Board have been undertaken by Educational Testing Service and by the Board's Southern Regional Office. Neither of these studies may be regarded as being complete, but there are sufficient data and conclusions to warrant the submission of reports at this time.

Since the ETS study has to do with all testing programs administered by them, since it seems desirable to present reactions and recommendations which go beyond the factual data compiled by ETS, and since the Board's Southern Regional Office will and should be involved in the implementation of any active policy adopted, this report is submitted separately from, and in addition to, the ETS report.

There is also some difference in coverage; the ETS study encompasses seventeen states and the District of Columbia. Four of these states (Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, and West Virginia) and the District of Columbia are not in the Southern Region, and are not covered in this report; it is assumed that almost all College Board testing centers in these states are desegregated. Two of the thirteen states within the region, Kentucky and Oklahoma, have virtually discontinued the practice of designating Negro high schools, so that it is not possible to obtain meaningful data regarding these states. Again it is assumed that Board tests are given primarily in desegregated centers. This report, therefore, addresses itself to the other eleven states.

Conclusions, generalizations, and recommendations here presented are my own. These are based on information obtained from ETS, on interviews and conversations, and on my knowledge and impressions of the situations existing in various parts of the South.

PRESENT TESTING POLICIES

At the outset, it should be clearly stated that the policy under which ETS has been administering Board tests has been consistently equitable, and is primarily responsible for the fact that College Board testing centers in all parts of the South are well ahead of either community attitudes or judicial decrees in fostering the progress of desegregation. The Trustees might choose to have the process of establishment of testing centers continue on the present basis with sure knowledge that there would be less and less segregation in these centers. The policy recommended in this report is, however, somewhat more active in its approach to the problem.

In the operation of the College Board's testing programs, ETS's primary purpose in the establishment of its centers is to serve the needs of the candidates as efficiently and conveniently as possible. The application which the candidate files with ETS does not indicate his race,

and the choice of a center is the candidate's unless his application is received after the center which he chooses has been filled to capacity, in which case it is necessary for ETS to reassign the candidate to the closest center at which there is room.

Since ETS has neither knowledge of a candidate's race nor control over his choice of a center, every supervisor is instructed to be prepared to make the necessary arrangements for testing under competent supervision and standard testing conditions every properly registered candidate who reports to the center. If a supervisor cannot act under these conditions, his school administration is asked for a ruling. If this ruling is adverse, the center is removed to the nearest location where the conditions can be met. This change is usually from a public secondary school to a college or an independent school.

Under the instructions issued by ETS, supervisors in southern centers test Negro candidates under one of four sets of conditions. They may be seated and tested with all other candidates (the only arrangements which fully satisfies the definition of "desegregated" used in this report), or they may be tested in the same room with other candidates, but in a separate block of seats. In some centers Negroes are tested in the same building, but in a separate room. The fourth arrangement has been to transport Negro candidates to another building, typically a Negro high school, an armory, or a state or federal office building. Whenever Negro candidates are tested in a separate room or a separate building, the center's supervisor is responsible for arranging for a stand-by proctor to test the candidates in the separate location.

In some areas separate centers have been set up in Negro and white schools in the same town or city; these are listed separately in the Bulletin of Information, but any candidate is still free to select any center. This matter is discussed later in this report in connection with experience in Georgia.

In some instances Negro candidates have complained about their treatment at testing centers. In every such case ETS has investigated; when it has found that Negro facilities have been inferior, the Negro candidates have been offered special administrations. When facilities for Negroes have been found to be satisfactory, it has been explained to Negroes who have complained that the tests could be administered only under segregated conditions. In all instances thus far the Negro candidates have accepted this explanation, or at least have not reacted to it.

In at least one case the investigation-negotiation process has led to the complete desegregation of a center at which Negro candidates had been tested in a separate building.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

Most of the factual data which we have relative to school desegregation, white and Negro candidates tested, and the location of College Board testing centers are summarized in Table I. Although candidates cannot be identified by race, their secondary schools can be identified in most cases.

TABLE I

STATE	TESTING CENTERS* 1959-60 White Inst.	1959-60 Negro Inst.	1959-60 Total	1960-61 White Inst.	1960-61 Negro Inst.	1960-61 Total	CANDIDATES 1959-60 Total	CANDIDATES 1959-60 From Negro HS's	NEGROES IN SCHOOL WITH WHITES, Nov. '60+ No.	%
Alabama	11	1	12	12	3	15	2438	46	0	0
Arkansas	13	0	13	15	0	15	1202	49	113	.107
Florida	32	0	32	31	0	31	10272	29	27	.013
Georgia	61	13	74	72	48#	120	18901	467#	0	0
Louisiana	11	0	11	12	0	12	3295	31	4	.001
Mississippi	10	2	12	10	3	13	1065	41	0	0
N. Carolina	49	0	49	55	5##	60	12158	164	82	.027
S. Carolina	13	0	13	29	0	29	3617	34	0	0
Tennessee	14	0	14	16	0	16	5208	31	342	.217
Texas	50	0	50	68	0	68	10690	72	3500	1.21
Virginia	37	1	37	49	3	52	18383	174	208	.099
TOTAL	301	17	317	369	62	431	87229	1138		

Notes: (*) Many of the centers identified as being in White Institutions or Negro Institutions are desegregated. Since the actual situation is not known for all centers, no attempt has been made to distinguish between segregated and desegregated centers.

(#) See text regarding increase in Negro testing centers in Georgia and number of Negro candidates.

(##) These five centers are at the state colleges for Negroes, which requested the centers to give their candidates a choice between being tested at a white or Negro institution.

(+) Data for Public Schools, from Southern Education Reporting Service.

It is obvious from the table that there has been very little actual school desegregation in the eleven states listed (for purposes of comparison, Kentucky had this year 16,329 Negroes in school with whites, representing 38.9% of the Negro school population, while Oklahoma had 9,822, 24.0% of the population), and that there are relatively few Negro candidates for College Board examinations in these states.

The eleven states may be divided roughly into three groups, though there are sometimes marked differences between different parts of a single state. North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas and Texas may be considered to be moving in a slow but relatively orderly fashion in the direction of integration of the public schools. Virginia, Florida, and Louisiana are moving somewhat more reluctantly. South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi are the die-hard states. In the worst of these, Mississippi, there has been no litigation directed toward the desegregation of public institutions at any level; a Roman Catholic seminary is the only desegregated institution of any type in the state.

As far as is known, all College Board testing centers in Arkansas and Tennessee are desegregated, and have been for some time. Substantially all centers in North Carolina and Texas are known to be desegregated, and there were no testing centers in Negro institutions in either of these states until the five state colleges for Negroes in North Carolina this year requested and were granted centers to allow their candidates a choice between a center in a white institution and one in a Negro institution. Presumably these centers will be desegregated also, though most of their candidates will probably be Negroes.

There is a great deal of variation within the states of Virginia, Florida, and Louisiana. Although the majority of candidates in these states are probably tested in desegregated centers, there are areas within each state where this cannot be done. For instance, over half of the 31 Negro candidates tested in Louisiana last year were tested in New Orleans, where all five regular centers are completely desegregated. Some centers in other parts of the state are desegregated, though some have stand-by supervisors to administer tests to Negro candidates in a different room.

It is difficult to learn just how much desegregation of testing centers there is in Alabama and Mississippi. Again, there is probably a great deal of variation; in some instances, Negroes are known to have been tested with other candidates. There has been no report of difficulties from Mississippi, and no specific report from Alabama since 1956, although one of the two new Negro centers in Alabama established this year was placed in a parochial school for Negroes at the school's request because it reported difficulties in getting its students tested. There is probably very little desegregated testing in South Carolina, though one public high school has tested whites and Negroes together for years; one center has been moved from a high school to a Naval Reserve armory to allow desegregation; and one center in a private college states that "Necessary arrangements are made for the testing of <u>all</u> candidates." It is not specifically stated what these arrangements are.

Georgia is the only one of the elven states which has had a substantial number of Negro candidates, since all units of the State University System, including Negro colleges, have been requiring the SAT since 1957.

In view of this requirement, the number of students from Negro high schools tested in Georgia last year (467) is surprisingly small. This number does not, however, include some tested in special August centers. More importantly, it does not include those candidates tested on the campuses of the Negro colleges through the summer SAT administrations. The majority of candidates for these institutions are still tested through the summer programs, and most of those in September. This is probably due primarily to inadequate counseling in the schools, coupled with uncertainty about college plans. It is impossible to evaluate any reaction to, or fear of, conditions in the testing centers. Two incidents involving the failure of Negroes to be tested with other students in white high schools have been reported to ETS; two others were learned about from one of the Negro colleges. There have undoubtedly been other incidents which have not been reported.

In an effort to make sure that all Negro candidates in Georgia would have an opportunity to be tested without difficulty, and in the hope that more of them would be tested in the regular administrations, the number of centers in Negro institutions in Georgia was this year increased from 13 to 48. This larger number includes some centers which will test both races; probably a larger proportion of the 72 centers in white institutions will test under desegregated conditions. Outside of Atlanta, however, most testing is done under segregated conditions. In Atlanta all centers will test both races; one of these (Georgia Tech) has had Negro candidates only once, and they were tested in a separate room. Other centers test all candidates together. Two of the new Negro centers added this year are in Atlanta; both will test white students under desegregated conditions. In Augusta both the white center (in a public high school) and the Negro center (in a private college) have tested students of the other race. In both instances, numbers have been small.

OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The summary of present conditions in the preceding section suffers from incomplete data. Although we need more detailed information about present testing conditions, the entire situation is likely to be changing so rapidly that conclusions drawn from last year's data are likely to be no more valid than projected general experience in making plans for the future.

The changes which are taking place are complex. Since the 1954 Supreme Court decision, there has been a marked decrease in tolerance in some areas, and an equally marked increase in others. For instance, the high school in Montgomery, Alabama, reported in 1953 that "All candidates are seated in the same room." The same school requested in 1957 that a separate center for Negroes be established, since some Negro candidates had complained to ETS about being moved about. In 1950 Auburn reported to ETS about its non-CEEB center: "No objection to administering test to both white and colored students in same room." This probably is not true today.

Kentucky accomplished its substantial desegregation at all levels with surprisingly little difficulty. The incidents attending the admission of four Negro children to previously white schools in New Orleans were particularly unexpected in view of the city's traditionally relaxed racial

attitudes, mixed housing in some areas, and the easy integration of LSU's New Orleans branch. Most of the differences which are observed can be attributed to differences in the leadership chosen by the people. It is a fact, however, that there is more racial tension now in the more difficult areas than there was before 1954. These difficult areas are the only ones in which the College Board is faced generally with segregated testing now; it will probably be harder to change these conditions immediately than it would have been eight years ago.

As a public educational corporation, the Board has two clear obligations which impinge on the question at hand. One is to test, under satisfactory condtions, all candidates. The other is to conduct itself in a socially, morally, and educationally responsible manner in all of its activities.

In discharge of both of these obligations the Board is now serving a significant segment of the educational community in the South. It is being called upon to extend these services fairly rapidly; much of the extension is to institutions which differ in many respects from the Board's traditional clientele. These colleges differ in their educational philosophies, student bodies, and in the use to which they are putting and will put Board examinations. It is the use of Board services by these diverse institutions which lends added significance to the question which we are examining.

State institutions, and state systems which include colleges for white and Negro, have adopted requirements of College Board examinations (usually the SAT only, but there is a definite trend to achievement testing) in recent years. In some instances a reliable inference is that examinations have been adopted to limit desegregation of the white institutions. Regardless of motives, however, most such institutions and systems are making valid and valuable use of the examination data. A case in point is the University System of Georgia. A central research office works constantly with test data and school and college records, and publishes studies for use by secondary school counselors in predicting a student's success in various units of the System. With these data as a basis, the entire college guidance procedure in Georgia schools has been greatly strengthened. Even if Georgia's system-wide adoption of an SAT requirement in 1957 may be assumed to have been motivated by a desire to limit desegregation, the scores from this same test greatly strengthened the case for the admission under court order of two Negro students to the University of Georgia this year. The point here is that the College Board itself, and its tests, are contributing significantly to the improvement of a state's educational system for students of both races.

Another recent development in the South is the use of entrance examinations by Negro colleges. The state institutions in Georgia have been the first to start requiring such tests, though state colleges in North Carolina have adopted test requirements for students entering in September, 1961. This movement will probably spread fairly rapidly to private colleges. Fisk University last year, and Dillard University this year have required that all entering students take either the Cooperative Intercollegiate Examination Program (developed under Board sponsorship as a testing instrument for scholarship applicants to the colleges participating in the United Negro College Fund, and given in limited areas only once a year) or the SAT. There have been a number of additional inquiries from public and private Negro colleges. If there is the expected use of Board tests and services by these colleges, there will be a rapid increase in the number of Negro candidates in all of the eleven states being discussed.

The developments outlined give the Board a real opportunity to expand its services to the entire educational community in the South, and to continue to lead in such things as the sponsorship of desegregated conferences and desegregated testing. Implicit in these developments are several factors which should be explicitly stated, and which are recognized in the recommendations which follow. These are:

1. Although the expected increase in the number of Negro candidates over the next few years may magnify the problems of desegregated testing, the expectation will also simplify the procedure in some areas where responsible school officials would prefer to take steps now, while numbers are small.

2. In some instances it may be desirable to accede to requests for the establishment of centers in Negro institutions. It is impossible to evaluate the effects on test standardization of enforced testing in normally white environments under certain conditions, or of enforced segregated testing under other conditions, or for different individuals. It may be important, particularly in a transition period, to give candidates a choice, as is being done through the establishment of centers in the five Negro colleges in North Carolina.

3. A policy of working specifically toward desegregation of all testing centers is recommended. Implementation of such a policy would be definitely hampered by any action which would bring public attention to the policy. Supervisors who have been testing Negro candidates with all others without comment or difficulty would usually be forced to take a questionnaire about their policy to their superiors, with the frequent result that the centers would become segregated, particularly when school boards become involved. Any public announcement of such a policy is particularly to be avoided. In Georgia, for instance, where there is a good opportunity now to work for desegregated testing of most candidates, it is a good bet that the Regents of the University Sustem, faced with such a public announcement, would drop their requirement of the SAT, and change to another testing program which would agree to test only in segregated centers. The College Board could probably continue to test its reduced volume of candidates in a few desegregated centers, but it would lose its opportunity for leadership in education as well as in desegregation.

4. If the Trustees adopt a policy of working toward desegregated centers, they should do so with the understanding that temporary local regressions in some of the more difficult areas may be expected, and some may have to be accepted in the long-term pursuit of the stated goal.

5. Adoption of the recommendations here presented or of similar precepts will inevitably involve the Board's Southern Regional Office in some of the mechanism of center establishment, complaint investigation, and the like. This would not imply shift of responsibility from ETS, but rather consultation and cooperation in difficult areas until adjustments have been made and accepted.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Policy

It is recommended that the Trustees adopt as their internal policy to guide Educational Testing Service and the Board staff in the establish-

ment and continuation of College Board Testing Centers the following precept:

The first responsibility of the College Entrance Examination Board is to provide for the testing of all candidates under standard, equitable conditions. The Board will, however, make a definite and specific effort in all areas to assure that all testing centers will be equally accessible to all candidates without regard to race when this can be accomplished without definitely jeopardizing the Board's ability to test all candidates.

B. Implementation

If the Trustees adopt such a statement of policy, it is recommended that the staff be directed to take whatever steps are necessary, including the following, in implementation of this policy:

1. Determine as fully as practical the conditions under which all Negro candidates were tested in 1959-60, and, if data warrant it, the conditions under which they are being tested in the current year.

2. Refuse to establish any new testing centers which will not be open to candidates of all races unless careful investigation indicates that a center is needed, and that local conditions will definitely prevent the establishment of a desegregated* center sufficiently close to provide for the testing of all candidates.

3. Close any testing center at which investigation confirms that a candidate has been inequitably treated because of his race, and where negotiations fail to produce a satisfactory solution.

4. Instruct supervisors that candidates who select or who are assigned by ETS to a particular center are, normally, to be accommodated in the same building. Separate, nearby buildings may be used when candidate numbers require more space but, in this event, the assignment of candidates to buildings cannot be according to race.

5. Proceed immediately to provide for only desegregated centers in all metropolitan areas where this can be accomplished; the definition of such areas should be determined through consultation with local educational leaders of both races.

6. Seek to establish now additional centers which will be desegregated in areas where separate centers now exist for whites and Negroes, so that the separate centers for both races may be gradually closed.

7. Keep progress made under close scrutiny, and report such progress regularly to the Trustees.

Respectfully submitted,

Ben F. Cameron, Jr.
Southern Regional Director

* As used here, "desegregated" means that candidates will be admitted, seated, and tested with no regard to race.

CONFIDENTIAL

BACKGROUND MATERIAL
for the
COMMITTEE ON EXAMINING CENTER POLICY
September 20, 1962

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Trustees of the College Entrance Examination Board, at their meeting in December, 1960, discussed at length problems associated with discrimination against Negro candidates for College Board tests, particularly in the South. The Trustees voted to ask the staff to "make a study of the facts in regard to segregation at centers for the Board's tests and to report to the Trustees at their March, 1961, meeting, looking toward appropriate action." The staff report which was prepared is attached as Appendix I (Appendix II is a parallel report prepared by Educational Testing Service). The recommendations at the end of the report were incorporated into two resolutions, which were adopted by the Trustees as the College Board's statement of policy; members of this committee received a copy of the actual resolution with the letter asking them to serve. Shortly thereafter, the Educational Testing Service Trustees adopted the same statement of policy for their testing programs, substituting "ETS" for "the College Board" in appropriate places. They adopted also the resolution pertaining to implementation, with the deletion of the word "metropolitan" in the fifth paragraph, and the word "gradually" in the sixth.

Since the adoption of these resolutions, plans and operations directed toward the desegregation of College Board testing centers have been primarily the responsibility of the Board's Southern Regional Office. Although other members of the Board and ETS staffs, educators, and other interested people have been of valuable assistance, a year's experience led to the recommendation, presented to the Trustees in March, 1962, for the establishment of this committee. As was stated in the letters to each of you, it is hoped that the committee will serve as follows:

1. To re-examine periodically the Trustees' statement of policy with reference to the responsibility of the College Entrance Examination Board in the testing of candidates of different races, including steps approved by the Trustees for the implementation of this policy, and that it recommend to the Trustees changes in the statement of policy, or in the implementation, as such changes seem appropriate; and

2. To advise the staff and/or the Trustees on the adequacy and appropriateness of efforts being made towards the implementation of the Trustees' stated policy.

Regional directors normally report to the Trustees once each year, at the December meeting of that body. It seems likely that the problems attending segregation, and other possible racial problems in testing centers, will be with us for some years. As long as seems necessary, it is hoped that the Committee on Examining Center Policy may meet each fall to consider recent developments, and to make appropriate recommendations.

ETS BACKGROUND

Since its formation in 1948, Educational Testing Service has been responsible for the operational aspects of the College Board Program. Of relevance here is that part of the operation concerned with the administration of all College Board examinations. Although ETS administers two other testing programs for the Board (the Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test and the Advanced Placement Tests), these are normally centered in the schools attended by the candidates. We are concerned here only with the regular admissions testing program, consisting of the Scholastic Aptitude Test and the Achievement Tests (these same tests are also administered through the Institutional Testing program; again we are not concerned, since administrations are on the campuses of colleges considering the candidates for admission).

The Board's regular admissions testing program is administered in centers throughout the country on five specified dates each year. Normally ETS assumes full responsibility for establishing a center; this includes obtaining the services of a supervisor, and arranging, usually through the supervisor or some school official, for space for testing. Centers are established to meet anticipated numerical and geographical demands; after the publication of the annual Bulletin of Information, supplementary centers may be established to meet special situations. Testing centers must meet criteria of adequate useable space, lighting, freedom from distracting noise, adequate rest room facilities, and accessibility of eating places. All administrations come when schools are not in session.

Candidates for the examinations usually obtain Bulletins of Information from their schools, though copies may be obtained directly from ETS. Each individual chooses a testing center from the list provided in the Bulletin, and notes this choice on his application for the tests. The application is usually sent directly to ETS by the candidate. Assignment to a testing center is made by ETS on the basis of the candidate's choice; reassignment is made only if the capacity of the center requested has been reached, or if the candidate has made an incorrect choice. In these instances, the candidate is reassigned to the nearest center which has room. The race of the candidate is not known, and is not considered in making an original assignment or a reassignment. A small departure from this policy in Georgia is discussed in the special section devoted to that state.

First negotiations for the establishment of a new testing center are handled by individual letters written by ETS, usually in the winter or early spring. Final arrangements are made, however, by the use of a form letter, sent in late summer each year to all supervisors, old and new. Prior to 1961, these form letters addressed to supervisors for most testing programs administered by ETS, contained the following paragraph:

A. "The test application which is filed with Educational Testing Service does not in any way indicate the race of the candidate, who himself chooses a center from the list published in the Bulletin of Information. Since it is most important that no candidate be prevented from taking a test for which he has registered, you should be prepared to make the necessary arrangements for testing under competent conditions every properly registered candidate who reports to your center."

The only departure from this procedure related to special examinations administered for selection of candidates for Naval ROTC, under contract with the Department of the Navy; for this program, the paragraph read:

B. "The test application which is filed with Educational Testing Service does not in any way indicate the race of the candidate, who himself chooses a center from the list published in the Bulletin of Information. The Department of the Navy is proud of its policy on nondiscrimination, and deems it essential in any program that it sponsors, to maintain the fine reputation that it enjoys in respect to the functioning of this policy. I am most anxious, therefore, to be assured that steps will be taken to provide equal testing conditions for all properly registered candidates presenting themselves for examination. It is necessary that candidates for the test not be segregated for any reason whatever."

After the adoption of a specific policy to move toward desegregation of testing centers by the Trustees of both the College Board and ETS in the spring of 1961, ETS substituted a new paragraph to be sent to supervisors of all programs administered by them except for the College Board Program and the Law School Aptitude Test (LSAT). Other programs include the Graduate Record Examinations (GRE), the Secondary School Admission Test (SSAT), the National Teachers Examinations (NTE), and the Admission Test for Graduate Study in Business (ATGSB). The NROTC examination is not at present administered by ETS.

The paragraph used in 1961 for GRE, SSAT, NTE, and ATGSB centers was as follows:

C. "The test application does not in any way indicate the race of the candidate, who himself chooses a center from the list in the bulletin of information. We expect that, unless you notify us to the contrary, you will admit and seat all candidates impartially."

The Law School Policy Committee would not accept this paragraph, so that the paragraph sent to LSAT centers read:

D. "The test application does not in any way indicate the race of the candidate, who himself chooses a center from the list in the bulletin of information. We expect that, unless you notify us to the contrary, you will operate the center on an entirely non-segregated basis."

(The special LSAT paragraph carried the additional stipulation from the Law School Policy Committee that any center which declined to test on a non-segregated basis should be closed, and another center found which would meet this condition.)

In view of the very large difference in size between the College Board programs and the other ETS programs, and particularly of the difference in center locations (most College Board centers are located in public high schools; most centers for the other programs are at private independent schools [for the SSAT] or on college campuses), the joint ETS-College Board staff decision was that the letter sent out to College Board centers in August, 1961, would contain no paragraph similar to those here recorded. The paragraph used earlier (A) would have been inappropriate, while it was feared that the inclusion of Paragraph C, used in other ETS programs, might cause the sudden loss of centers which could not immediately be replaced, including some which were actually testing in a desegregated manner.

On the other hand, all new centers established in the summer of 1961, and since then, have received Paragraph C, or a close approximation of this paragraph, in the initial letter seeking to establish the center.

After staff discussions in the spring of 1962, it was decided that it would be practical to include a slightly modified version of Paragraph C in letters to all centers. Accordingly, new College Board centers established since April 1, 1962, and all centers, new and old, in the August, 1962 circular mailing, have received the following paragraph:

E. "The test application does not in any way what indicate the race of the candidate, who himself chooses a center from the list in the bulletin of information. You should be prepared, therefore, to admit and seat all candidates. If you cannot do this, please notify us."

It is not yet possible to assess the total reaction to the inclusion of this paragraph; a number of protests and inquiries have been received at ETS, but these have started only since the opening of schools. More may be expected; it may be possible to give you a better indication of developments when your committee meets.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE INVOLVEMENT

In the past, all negotiations with College Board testing centers have been handled exclusively by Educational Testing Service. Board staff members inevitably received comments or inquiries, but these were passed on to ETS. The Board was involved only in the establishment of broad policy, and in setting testing dates.

It has been clear, however, that it would be extremely difficult to deal with the complicated aspects of racial segregation in testing centers from Princeton. The Board's Southern Regional Office has, therefore, worked closely with ETS in all phases of testing center negotiations which have, or might have, racial complications.

Specifically, the Southern Regional Office is consulted by ETS in the establishment of any new testing center in any of the "hard-core" states (Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana), as well as any negotiations with established centers which have to do with difficulties of testing candidates of either race. In the other seven states in the Southern region (Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas), this office is consulted only when there are racial implications. In all cases, however, all direct negotiations with centers and supervisors continue to be carried on by ETS.

The Southern Regional office is consulted also on broader questions, as in choosing and wording paragraphs to be used in letters to supervisors.

In addition, the Southern Regional Office has embarked on a series of visits to, and other communications with, established testing centers in the hard-core states, in an effort to ascertain more precisely the conditions which obtain in the testing of candidates of different races, and to estimate better what advances may be made in implementing the Board's policy. These visits (142 thus far, with 130 in the hard-core states) form much of the basis for generalizations in the section which follows.

As has been indicated, this involvement of the Southern Regional Office in ETS activities is unusual. It is also viewed as undesirable; it should be discontinued as soon as is practical, with the return to ETS of complete control of testing center operation.

THE PRESENT SITUATION, COLLEGE BOARD PROGRAMS

It would be misleading to say that there has been a great deal of change in the eighteen months since the action of the Trustees in March, 1961. There has, however, been some change. A few testing centers have been closed; some which were previously segregated now test all candidates without discrimination. But there is little indication of increased moderation in most of the hard-core area.

As far as is known, all College Board centers in Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas seat and test all candidates impartially, though there may, in some isolated centers, be segregation of Negro candidates within the testing room. Where segregation has been enforced, supervisors have been authorized to employ standby proctors or associate supervisors to test Negro candidates in a different room; such employment shows up on the Supervisor's Report, which is submitted to ETS after each administration. There has been no such report, and no report of discrimination, from any of these states within the last year.

As was pointed out in our report of March 1, 1961, the problem has been somewhat attenuated by the comparatively small number of Negro candidates for College Board examinations in all parts of the South. But, as is shown in the tabulations in Appendix III, the increase in the number of candidates from high schools for Negroes in the six hard-core states in the last two years has been dramatic; there has probably been an even greater increase in the other states within the region.

It is practical for this committee to restrict its discussion to the six states identified as hard-core; the six are South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. The situation in each of these states will be discussed separately; by discussing Florida first, we can probably reduce the number of states to five.

Florida

Florida was included among the hard-core states because of enforced segregation in many testing centers in the northern and central portions of the state. There have been negotiations with a number of these centers during the past year. Also, a number of schools and junior colleges which were asked to accept new centers during the year refused to do so because we asked that all candidates be seated and tested impartially. One center in the central part of the state was closed because the supervisor could arrange to test white and Negro candidates together only in the local court house, which did not have adequate facilities. Another recalcitrant center in central Florida has now agreed to "meet all the stipulations called for in the seating of candidates."

In 1961-62 116 candidates from schools for Negroes were tested in Florida (of a total of 15,858 candidates). Six of these were tested in three administrations at Robert E. Lee High School in Jacksonville; these were tested in a separate room. After the March, 1962, administration, parents of white candidates complained to the school board about the presence of Negroes. The board said that it could no longer test Negro candidates. The center was closed forthwith, and other centers, which would accommodate all candidates, were located in Jacksonville. The other 109 candidates were apparently tested under desegregated conditions.

Fairly rapid expansion of school desegregation in all of Florida, including the northwestern part of the state, and our ability to locate centers which will provide desegregated testing facilities in all parts of the state, indicate that we can insist on complete desegregation of all College Board testing centers in Florida.

South Carolina

As far as has been known, only one public high school in South Carolina (Florence) has been testing Negro candidates impartially. The center at the College of Charleston (private) has also been desegregated, as has the Spartanburg center, located in a Naval Reserve Training Center, but supervised by school personnel. There had been no centers in institutions for Negroes in the state until the spring of 1962, when the dean of South Carolina State College (for Negroes) asked for the establishment of a center on his campus to permit the children of a number of faculty members to be tested without having to be placed in a separate room in the local high school. The college could not, however, accommodate white candidates.

Yet, of the total of 132 Negro candidates presumably tested in the state last year, nine were tested in separate rooms in a total of six centers. Seven candidates were tested at South Carolina State College. The presumption is that the remaining 116 candidates must have been tested in the same rooms with white candidates, if not under completely desegregated conditions.

The center at Camden found that it was to have a Negro candidate for the May, 1962, College Board administration; the supervisor notified ETS that he could not be tested. The supervisor was promptly told that the center would be closed; he immediately obtained the consent of his board of education to test all candidates impartially. This is the only case in which a school board has given such consent; that it did happen is remarkable, and may be a good sign.

The South Carolina Entrance Examination Committee, which is a special College Board committee in the state, will meet during October. The committee has been primarily concerned with special testing provisions within South Carolina during the last two years. But it is entirely appropriate that this group, composed of representatives from member colleges, secondary schools, and the State Department of Education, should concern itself also with the desegregation of testing centers in the state. Although there is no feeling that all centers within the state may be immediately desegregated, it is believed that more pressure may be applied, and progress made.

Alabama

Alabama seems somewhat contradictory in attitudes and postures towards desegregated testing, but most of the apparent contradictions are easily

rationalized. The only potential trouble spots have been in Montgomery, where the influence of the state government is strong, and in Birmingham, which has been ruled in all racial matters by a highly irrational police commissioner. In Montgomery the only College Board testing center is at the offices of the city board of education. Negro candidates are tested here; white candidates are moved across the street into a junior high school, thus getting around the letter of the law if prohibition of the transportation of candidates to a separate building because of race be limited to the transportation of Negro candidates.

The situation in Birmingham has deteriorated definitely within the last few years. Earlier, all candidates were tested in Phillips High School without incident, though Negro candidates were tested in a separate room on most occasions. When Police Commissioner Connor learned of this, he prohibited the presence of Negro candidates in the white high school. When this was first done, hurried arrangements had to be made for the principal of Parker High School (for Negroes) to test several Negro candidates in his school. Since then, Parker High School has been continued as a regular center. Any Negro candidates who might be assigned to Phillips High School would be referred to Parker for testing; but as of the date of our visit to this center (September, 1961), such referral had not been necessary. On the other hand, several white students had been referred from Parker (which is prohibited from testing white candidates) to Phillips. One of these expressed indignation at being moved to the principal at Parker, but filed no protest with ETS.

Of the 156 Negro candidates, 85 were tested at Parker High School in Birmingham, seven at the Board of Education in Montgomery, and 22 at Tuskegee Institute (which will test all candidates impartially, but which has had no white candidates).

The remaining 42 candidates were tested out of the state, or in scattered centers within the state, where they were tested under desegregated conditions, or in the same room with other candidates. Practices in testing centers are varied and unpredictable; most centers have had no Negro candidates, and anticipate no problems; some have traditionally tested all candidates together with no difficulty (though one complained about out-of-town Negroes).

As surprising as is testing without discrimination in small towns in the southern part of the state is segregation within a single testing room in Huntsville, which might be expected to have an enlightened outlook (the Huntsville supervisor has taken it upon herself to try to find a location within the city where separation within the room would not be necessary, but has not been able to find a place outside the school system with adequate facilities. She has also tried unsuccessfully to get the ruling of the school board changed).

At the present time it probably will not be possible to make changes in either Birmingham or Montgomery; the rest of the state will pretty well take

care of itself. Some expedients suggested separately for general application might have particular utility in Alabama.

Mississippi

Particularly at this point in time, a native Mississippian feels the less said the better; and, as far as the College Board is concerned, Mississippi might almost be ignored. A total of only 1,267 College Board examinations, including repeaters and preliminary candidates, were administered in the state last year. Over the last two years, while the total number of candidates tested in the South has increased by 67 per cent, the number tested in Mississippi has remained almost constant, and the number of candidates from high schools for Negroes has dropped more than 50%. Undoubtedly many factors contribute to both of these phenomena. The decrease in the number of Negro candidates is surprising, however, in view of the talent searches directed toward the less-prosperous portions of the region, and particularly of the fact that two private colleges for Negroes (LeMoyne in Memphis and Xavier in New Orleans), which draw fairly heavily from the state, announced SAT requirements for all applicants for admission this September (neither, however, was able to get SAT scores on as many as 90 per cent of its applicants). Another nearby private college, Dillard in New Orleans, requires either the SAT or the CIEP (an examination program administered by the United Negro College Fund primarily for scholarship purposes) of all applicants. Especially with numbers so small, a sizeable proportional increase in the number of Negro candidates in the state would have been expected.

There have been no incidents connected with the testing of Negroes in Mississippi. This is not surprising, since there were no more than seven tested in the state on any one testing date last year. Nine of the total of 26 Negro candidates were tested in two centers established in Negro high schools; when allowance is made for these, there were no more than five candidates to be accommodated within the twelve centers in white institutions in the state, or outside the state, at any one administration.

It is known that at least two centers in Mississippi have tested Negro candidates without discrimination; the more common practice is to test them in separate rooms in the same building. The situation might be expected, however, to be quite different were the number of candidates increased substantially.

The small total number of candidates in Mississippi, and the fact that more than half of these were tested in three centers in Jackson, Gulfport, and Vicksburg, suggests that it might be possible to do something drastic in this state.

Louisiana

Despite the difficulties experienced as public school desegregation was initiated in New Orleans last year, all College Board centers in New Orleans have tested all candidates impartially for many years. All of these centers are in private or parochial schools and colleges (it should be noted that the remark recorded in Table IV, the final page of Appendix II, indicating probable difficulty with desegregated testing, was gleaned from a conversation with a public school official).

Seventy-three per cent of the total of candidates tested in Louisiana were tested in the five desegregated centers in New Orleans last year; 70 per cent of the 236 Negro candidates came from New Orleans schools, and were presumably tested under desegregated conditions.

Only one center in Louisiana reported the use of an associate supervisor to test five Negro candidates in one administration last year. An additional 19 candidates were tested at Grambling College, a private college for Negroes which will test without discrimination; it is not known whether or not any of these candidates were white. A number of centers outside New Orleans will test without discrimination; the principal exceptions are in the northern part of the state. In Shreveport (probably the most sensitive spot in Louisiana) Negro candidates are transported from Byrd High School (a College Board member, as well as a testing center) to Booker T. Washington High School to be tested. There was previously a desegregated center for the NROTC Tests in Shreveport, but this has been closed, and Shreveport candidates now have to travel over 100 miles to take these tests.

The only incident reported from Louisiana in the last several years involved white rather than Negro candidates. Several late applicants from Byrd High School in Shreveport were reassigned to Grambling College, 70 miles away, since test supplies already shipped to Byrd were not sufficient to take care of these students. The students complained to their principal, stating that they refused to be tested in a Negro institution. The principal was able to arrange for the shipment of additional test supplies from ETS to take care of these students in his own school.

Although it might not be possible to arrange immediately for desegregated testing within 75 miles of every candidate in Louisiana, it should be possible, in the course of a year or two, to arrange for desegregated centers to take care of all candidates in the state. This will be facilitated if cooperation of state colleges, many of which are desegregated, can be obtained.

In passing, it is instructive to note that, although the number of students from Negro high schools in Louisiana is still small, the proportional increase

in the last two years is almost twice that of any other state. This is probably due primarily to the requirements of Dillard and Xavier in New Orleans.

Georgia

Discussion of the situation in Georgia has been saved until last because it is more complicated and more challenging than that in any other state.

As is noted in Appendix I, all units of the University System of Georgia, including the three colleges for Negroes, required the SAT of all applicants for admission beginning in September, 1957. Although the requirement was rigorously enforced at all of the colleges for white students in the system, it was not initially enforced in the colleges for Negroes (the requirement was that the test must have been taken at least 20 days before the beginning of the term in which a student planned to enter). As a result primarily of pressure from the colleges for Negroes, the Board of Regents last year ruled that there would be no distinction in the enforcement of the requirement in any of the colleges. This enabled the colleges for Negroes to insist that the tests be taken in the regular administrations, or comparatively early in the summer (through the Institutional Testing Program), rather than after a student arrived on campus. This move has been accompanied by some improvement in counseling in the schools, so that the number of candidates tested in the regular series has increased markedly. As will be noted in Appendix III, the number of Negro candidates for the regular tests in Georgia exceeds the number in other states here considered, except for Louisiana, by more than ten times.

The comparatively large number of Negro candidates in Georgia (also more than ten times the number in any other hard-core state in 1959-60), coupled with the racial tension in most rural portions of the state, and in some of the cities, contributed to a number of incidents in the testing year 1958-59, and to fear of more incidents. This lead to the conference in January, 1960, reported in Appendix IV, and to the establishment of a dual system of centers, a decision which, in retrospect, was probably unwise. Almost every community in Georgia which has one testing center has two--one in the white high school, and one in the Negro high school. Also, the Bulletin of Information departs from standard practice to list the school involved in those few communities which have only one center, so that the candidate may be guided to choose a center in a school for his own race.

In addition, ETS agreed informally to check the school attended by any candidate in the Atlanta area who had to be reassigned outside of Atlanta, so that Negro candidates, who had requested assignment to a desegregated Atlanta center, might not be assigned to a white center which would refuse to test him.

No protests have been received from Georgia, and there has been no indication that any Negro candidate has had difficulty being tested in Georgia, since changes described here were instituted; there has been a single instance in which

a white student left the desegregated center at Emory University at the March, 1962, administration, because he refused to be tested in the same room with a Negro. There was no protest from the student.

Last year there were 129 testing centers in Georgia. Forty-eight were in Negro schools or public colleges outside of Atlanta. Sixteen of the 129 would test all candidates impartially; eleven of the sixteen were in Atlanta. The others were the University of Georgia, Paine College (Negro, private, Augusta), Berry College (white, private, Rome), and two private schools in Gainesville. Until four of the public high schools for white students in Atlanta accepted a few Negro students in the fall of 1961, all Atlanta centers had been in private institutions, except for Georgia Tech. Last year three of the four public high schools, and Georgia State College were added to the list of centers which test impartially in Atlanta.

Of the remaining 51 centers in Georgia, four were in private colleges. Two of these would test a small number of Negroes with other candidates, but would put a larger number in a separate room. Two would not test Negroes with other candidates.

Nine centers were in state-supported colleges (in addition to the three which are listed above as testing in a desegregated manner). None of these would test candidates of the other race without discrimination prior to last year. Last fall, however, Chancellor Caldwell agreed to recommend to the Board of Regents that all state colleges with testing centers test without discrimination any applicant who appears. This recommendation was approved without publicity (but not without much argument), and the presidents of all state institutions were notified of the action. But the action was taken in view of the fact that Negro candidates outside of Atlanta are tested almost exclusively in centers in Negro schools, and with the assumption that any Negro candidate appearing at a center at one of the white colleges would be likely to be a test case, more expediently accepted than turned away. There seems to be less concern about the possible appearance of white candidates at centers in Negro institutions in Georgia than there is in South Carolina and Mississippi.

The remaining 52 centers in Georgia are in white secondary schools, one private, the rest public. All of these have been visited, and racial testing problems discussed with the supervisors, and almost always with their superiors. The probable practices in these schools may be summarized as follows:

No school will routinely test Negro candidates, either in the same room, or in a separate room in the same building. But

1 school stated that, with the understanding that there is a nearby center in a Negro school, it would accommodate an occasional possible Negro candidate in the same room, and

28 schools said that, with the same understanding as above, an occasional possible Negro candidate might be tested in a different room in the same building (usually the counselor's or principal's office).

4 schools stated that they had routine arrangements (left over from the days when there were not dual center systems) to test Negro candidates in a separate building.

17 schools stated that they will not test Negro candidates under any circumstances.

6 schools declined to give a definite reply, but probably would not test Negro candidates.

An attempt was made to obtain the support of the State Superintendent of Education in working with the schools in Georgia, but this was met without sympathy.

The total number of candidates tested in Georgia last year was 26,645. Of this number, about 30 per cent were tested in desegregated centers. But more than 90 per cent of the 1,779 Negro candidates tested appeared at centers in Negro schools.

It is difficult to speculate with any assurance about the changes which are likely to be possible in Georgia within the next year or two. We have some hope that desegregated centers in Savannah, Macon, Columbus, and Augusta may be arranged in that period, but much depends on such unpredictable developments as those in Albany in recent months. It seems likely, however, that no desegregated testing in smaller communities, or in rural areas, can be arranged within the next few years.

THE PRESENT SITUATION, OTHER ETS PROGRAMS

It will probably be instructive to consider briefly the present testing situation in other ETS programs in the South. In doing so, however, it is important to remember essential differences between the College Board program and the other programs. To begin with, the volume of College Board tests and candidates in the area being considered is many times the volume of the other programs combined, necessitating many more centers, and larger centers. Also, the Secondary School Admission Test (which has a very small volume in this area) is given primarily in private schools, and the number of Negro candidates is negligible. All of the other programs are for graduate or professional programs, or for teachers who are, or soon will be, college graduates. Almost all centers for these examinations are on college campuses; the absence of parents and school boards contributes to an entirely different atmosphere. Only centers about which ETS has reported to us are included.

Alabama

SSAT centers in two private schools, and at Tuskegee Institute, are desegregated; at one public high school, and at the Montgomery Board of Education, centers are segregated.

Centers for other programs are desegregated on seven private college campuses, at Alabama A & M (state, Negro), and at Auburn University; they are conditionally desegregated (large numbers of Negroes tested in separate rooms) at the University of Alabama, and at Florence State College.

Georgia

SSAT center desegregated in one private school, segregated in two public schools.

Graduate and professional programs desegregated at one public, two private colleges; conditionally desegregated at two public, one private college; segregated at one public, one private college.

Florida

No report on SSAT centers. All graduate level testing centers are on public and private college campuses; all are desegregated.

Louisiana

One SSAT center in private school in New Orleans desegregated.

All graduate and professional centers at public and private colleges desegregated, but one at public college (Louisiana Polytechnic Institute) cancelled in spring of 1962 because it refused to test Negro candidate. One NTE center operated in a court house by local school board is segregated.

Mississippi

One SSAT center in a public high school is segregated.

Graduate level testing desegregated at two private colleges; segregated at one private and six public colleges. The University of Mississippi has operated both graduate level and College Board programs on a desegregated basis, with the understanding that conditions would have to be changed if anyone started talking about it.

South Carolina

SSAT centers segregated at one public high school, one private college.

Graduate level centers desegregated at three public colleges; conditionally desegregated (will test small number of Negroes with white candidates) at one private college; segregated at two public, one private college.

NEW FACTORS

No attempt will be made here to enumerate or evaluate probable changes in race relations in the South in the immediate future; changes are underway, and all will eventually lead to progress.

There are, however, several possible developments which would have immediate effect on the Board's position relative to the segregation of testing centers. Among these are:

1. An increase in the number of Negro candidates for College Board Examinations. A sizeable increase here should have no effect outside of the hard-core states (with Florida no longer considered one of these states), or in Georgia, under our present testing arrangements. Such an increase, however, could quickly multiply our problems in South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and parts of Louisiana. In one of these states, South Carolina, the one public college for Negroes, South Carolina State, has just indicated an interest in requiring the SAT of all applicants. Another development which would affect all of these states would be the requirement of the SAT by participants in the United Negro College Fund, which now operate the Cooperative Intercollegiate Examination Program. Two of the CIEP colleges have moved unilaterally to an SAT requirement; two others have an either/or CIEP/SAT requirement. At least twenty-two (including three of the four mentioned above) are conducting comparative validity studies between the two tests this year. But representatives of these colleges seem much more concerned about the conditions under which their candidates will be tested than they are about the relative validity of the SAT.

2. The substitution of a College Board program for the NROTC examinations. The Department of the Navy is now negotiating for the possible use of a Board testing program in 1965; if such a move is made, the Navy will insist that all of their applicants be tested without discrimination.

3. The requirement of College Board examinations by the Coast Guard Academy. All of the other service academies now require College Board examinations, and are members of the Board. But they have

not expressed concern about testing conditions; this is partially true because of alternate provisions for testing of their own candidates on military bases, but a contributing reason is undoubtedly the fact that systems of congressional nominations have thus far limited the number of Negro candidates from the South.

The Coast Guard Academy, however, which has been using testing facilities of the Civil Service Commission, insists that the Board guarantee that no candidate will be discriminated against because of race.

POSSIBLE DEVICES FOR DESEGREGATION OF CENTERS

Listed here are some devices which have been discussed which might serve, in some areas, to hasten the process of center desegregation. The list is not exhaustive, and any additional suggestions should be listed for consideration.

1. Use of military installations. This is probably the most promising possibility, since a number of large military bases are located in all of the problem states, many of them in strategic areas. It is likely that, if a directive can be obtained from the Department of Defense, some of these bases which serve as receiving or educational centers may be used. Some have excellent facilities and large capacity. Most, however, are very limited in both quality and size of facilities. Others (particularly air bases) are likely to have distracting noises. It is believed, however, that the establishment of perhaps one large center in each state at a military base, with the closing of segregated centers in the general area, would have a beneficial effect on other centers in the state, and might lead fairly rapidly to a willingness to desegregate civilian centers.

2. Use of other federal facilities. Although this sounds attractive, other federal facilities which we have investigated, including post offices and armories, have been inadequate in terms of size, seating space, and lighting in every instance. There might, however, be some places where suitable facilities may be found. In almost any such instance, supervisory personnel would have to be willing to go to a great deal of extra trouble.

3. Increased use of college facilities. This is an expedient which has been increasingly adopted, but its utility is limited. Most colleges are in session on Saturday morning, when examinations are administered; few have large unused auditoriums, classrooms, libraries, or cafeterias, such as may be used in schools. Few

non-College Board colleges are willing to administer tests (this would be a problem particularly in Mississippi and Alabama, where ACT is firmly entrenched). And, in the hard-core states, few public or private colleges outside of the larger metropolitan areas would feel able to administer College Board examinations on a desegregated basis if the number of Negro candidates is substantially increased.

4. Increased use of Colleges for Negroes. In the more reactionary states, public colleges for Negroes are afraid to test white candidates (this is true, for instance, at South Carolina State and Jackson /Mississippi/ State Colleges; it is probably true also at Alabama State). On the other hand, most private colleges for Negroes are glad to test any white candidates who show up, and a number operate desegregated testing centers for us at present (though white candidates in substantial numbers are tested only at Atlanta University and Clark College, also in Atlanta). These colleges are faced, however, with the same difficulties of testing on Saturday which face all other colleges. Also, their number is limited, and they are not always in the most strategic geographical locations (there is, for instance, no private college for Negroes in south Georgia, though all three state colleges for Negroes are located there). Finally, it is not unlikely that serious difficulties would be caused a college for Negroes in, for instance, Mississippi, if it were the only testing center in the immediate vicinity, making it necessary for any white candidates who wanted to be tested to go there. But in less incendiary areas, the use of such facilities can probably be increased.

5. Increased use of parochial schools. In many areas parochial schools, particularly Roman Catholic ones, are willing to operate desegregated centers. The principal difficulty here is that most of these simply do not have the facilities to test large numbers of students.

6. Use of other church facilities. There has been virtually no use of church facilities except for parochial schools. Some churches would certainly be willing to have desegregated testing centers operated on their property, which usually is not in use on Saturday. The problem here again is one of capacity and adequacy of facilities, but in some areas where candidate volume is not large, this is certainly worth exploring.

In considering all of these alternatives, and any others, the problem of numbers must be kept in mind. Again, Georgia furnishes the most dramatic illustration. In that state last December 2, 10,771 students were tested; 3,248 were tested in desegregated centers. It will be difficult to fill the gap.

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD

Regional Office: Sewanee, Tennessee, Lyric 8-5668

BEN F. CAMERON, JR.
Regional Director

September 25, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Hotel Berkshire
Madison Avenue at 52nd Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I would like to apologize again for calling you this morning before the day got moving well. Communications between Tennessee and New York seem to be particularly difficult when the time differential is two hours rather than the usual one.

We are very glad that you will accept appointment to the College Board's Committee on Examining Center Policy on such short notice, and that you will be at our meeting at the Westminster Schools at 9:30 on Monday morning, October 1.

In addition to yourself, the members of the committee are:

Mr. Arthur Howe, Jr., Dean of Admissions and Student Appointments, Yale University, Chairman
Dean J. Alton Burdine, University of Texas
Mr. Ralph McGill, Publisher, The Atlanta Constitution
Dr. William L. Pressley, President, the Westminster Schools
President Stephen J. Wright, Fisk University

Mr. George Hanford, Vice President of the College Entrance Examination Board, with offices in New York, will attend the meeting, in addition to myself, to represent the Board staff; Mr. J. E. Terral, Executive Director, Administrative Services, will represent Educational Testing Service.

By the time this arrives, you should have received a formal letter of appointment from Dr. Edward S. Noyes, Acting President of the College Board, containing the charge to the committee, and a copy of the Trustees'

resolution on which your deliberations will be based. If the letter has not arrived, the charge is given at the bottom of the first page of my enclosed summary, and the resolution consists of the formal adoption of the recommendations on the last page of Appendix I.

I am sorry that the homework is so lengthy; it seemd best to give rather complete information, particularly for those members of the committee who are not familiar with College Board-Educational Testing Service operations. More particularly, however, I used this means to gather together information which has been recorded only in scattered files, if at all.

We look forward to seeing you on Monday.

Sincerely yours,

Ben F. Cameron, Jr.
Regional Director

BFCJr:gb

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD
475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N.Y., University 5-9500

EDWARD S. NOYES
Acting President

September 25, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

It is my understanding that Ben Cameron, Director of our Southern Regional Office, has recently talked with you about the possibility of your becoming a member of the Committee on Examining Center Policy which was authorized by the Trustees of the College Entrance Examination Board at their last meeting. Since Ben has told me that you are willing to serve, I am writing in a more formal way, on behalf of Frank Ashburn, Chairman of the College Board, to confirm your appointment as a member of this committee.

The chairman of the committee is Arthur Howe, Jr., Dean of Admissions and Freshman Scholarships at Yale University, one of our former Trustees, very much interested in the problems with which this committee will deal. The other members of the committee are: President William L. Pressly of the Westminster Schools in Atlanta, Ralph McGill, Publisher of The Atlanta Constitution, Dean J. Alton Burdine of the University of Texas, and President Stephen J. Wright of Fisk University. We do not believe that the duties of the committee will be, though very important, very onerous; hopefully, a meeting once a year, for which information could be supplied in advance, might be sufficient. I believe that Dr. Cameron has already given you the particulars of the first meeting, to be held in October.

The mandate to the committee is as follows:

1. To re-examine periodically the Trustees' statement of policy with reference to the responsibility of the College Entrance Examination Board in the testing of candidates of different races, including steps approved by the Trustees for the implementation of this policy, and to recommend to the Trustees changes in the statement of policy, or in the implementation, as such changes seem appropriate; and

2. To advise the staff and/or the Trustees on the adequacy and appropriateness of efforts being made towards the implementation of the Trustees' stated policy.

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the policy resolutions approved by the Trustees for the gradual integration of our testing centers. I think we all recognize that in carrying out this policy, common sense, tact, and also vigor, are going to be necessary. It is extremely gratifying to all of us here that you have consented to serve on this committee.

Yours sincerely,

Edward S. Noyes

Edward S. Noyes

ESN/lr
Enclosure
cc Mr. Cameron
Mr. Ashburn

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD
475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N.Y.

COMMITTEE ON EXAMINING CENTER POLICY
Minutes of Meeting, October 1, 1962

The first meeting of the Special Committee on Examining Center Policy was held at the Westminster Schools, Atlanta, Georgia, beginning at 9:45 a.m. on Monday, October 1, 1962. The following members of the committee were present:

Mr. Arthur Howe, Jr., Dean of Admissions and Student Appointments, Yale University, Chairman
Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
President William L. Pressley, Westminster Schools
President Stephen J. Wright, Fisk University

Also present were Mr. Ben F. Cameron, Jr., Director, Southern Regional Office, College Entrance Examination Board; Mr. George H. Hanford, Vice President and Treasurer, College Entrance Examination Board; and Mr. J. E. Terral, Executive Director, Administrative Services, Educational Testing Service.

Two members of the committee, Dean J. Alton Burdine, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, University of Texas, and Mr. Ralph McGill, Publisher, The Atlanta Constitution, were unable to attend.

I. Discussions were based on information presented in the confidential document which is appended as Appendix A to these minutes, "Background Material for the Committee on Examining Center Policy," and in Appendices I, II, III, IV, and V to that document. In the course of those discussions, a number of general points of agreement emerged, though not necessarily in chronological order, as follows:

The general situation with respect to desegregation in the South has been improving in recent years and may be expected to continue to improve in the years ahead, though local variations are recognized. The policy statement adopted by the Trustees in March, 1961, with respect to the desegregation of testing centers made sense in the light of then existing conditions.

Significant progress has been made in the past eighteen months under that statement of policy.

The existence of a statement of policy and the fact of progress under it suggest the applicability in this particular matter of the generalization that nothing will happen unless pressure is put and kept on.

The improvement in the general situation, the progress already made in the specific matter of desegregation of testing centers, and the desirability of assuring continued progress by maintaining pressure suggest that a stronger statement of policy is both possible and desirable at this time.

The promise of continued improvement in the general situation, and of further progress in the specific matter in response to a stronger statement of policy, suggest that complete desegregation of testing centers can be achieved in the foreseeable future.

The Board's responsibility is to test all candidates who present themselves, not to reform Southern Education. Because it would hurt the Board in meeting its responsibility if public announcement of policy in this matter were made in the interests of accelerating the improvement in the general situation, such announcement should be withheld until such time as a policy of complete desegregation of testing centers can be fully enforced.

Enforcement of policy has been shown to require financial sacrifice on the part of the Board and a sacrifice of convenience on the part of some candidates. Continued and probably greater sacrifices will be required to implement a stronger statement of policy.

The involvement of the Board's Southern Regional Office in the matter of arrangements for the administration of the Board's tests, for which the Educational Testing Service normally has the full responsibility, remains desirable in the light of the exigencies of the current situation during this crucial, transition period.

II. Against the background of these judgments, the committee recommended the adoption of the following statements of policy and policy implementation by the Trustees to replace that adopted on March 15-16, 1961:

That the following precept be adopted as internal policy to guide Educational Testing Service and the Board staff in the establishment and continuation of College Board testing centers:

> It is the responsibility of the College Entrance Examination Board to provide for the testing of all candidates under standard, equitable conditions. Conditions cannot be considered "standard" or "equitable" if any discrimination against a candidate within a testing center is made on the basis of race, color, or national origin.

That the staff be directed to take whatever steps are necessary, including the following, in the implementation of this policy:

(a) Determine regularly the conditions under which all Negro candidates are being tested.

(b) Refuse to establish any new testing centers which are not operated in conformance with stated policy.

(c) Close any testing center at which it is established that a candidate has not been treated in accordance with stated policy, and where negotiations fail to produce the assurance of future conformity to stated policy.

(d) Seek to establish now additional centers which will be desegregated in areas where separate centers now exist for whites and Negroes, so that the separate centers for both races may be closed.

The committee also recommended that the statement in the Bulletin of Information for the Scholastic Aptitude Test, the Achievement Tests, and the Writing Sample which now starts "Special centers will be arranged upon request . . . ." be changed to read to the effect "Arrangements for the establishment of special centers will be attempted upon request for the convenience of candidates who would otherwise have to travel more than 75 miles to reach a regular center."

These specific recommendations grew out of a point-by-point review of the original statements of policy and implementation procedures adopted in March, 1961. For the purposes of these minutes, the words retained from the original wording appear in normal form, deletions therefrom in parentheses, and additions thereto with underlining.

III. It is the (first) responsibility of the College Entrance Examination Board (is) to provide for the testing of all candidates under standard, equitable conditions. (The Board will, however, make a definite and specific effort in all areas to assure that all testing centers will be equally accessible to all candidates without regard to race when this can be accomplished without definitely jeopardizing the Board's ability to test all candidates.) Conditions cannot be considered "standard" or "equitable" if any discrimination against a candidate within a testing center is made on the basis of race, color, or national origin.

The changes from the original to the proposed wording of the basic statement of policy were prompted by the following considerations:

Overriding, of course, was the committee's belief that a strong statement of policy is necessary and desirable in accordance with the considerations outlined in I above. The committee expressed the further belief that the policy could be effectively implemented through the procedures recommended in IV, V, VI, VII, and IX below.

The substitution of It is for (first) at the beginning of the statement was made to avoid the implications either that the Board has additional but less important obligations of some sort, or that there are subsequent steps, time-wise, for which the Board has responsibility.

The substitution of the proposed for the original second sentence reflected the committee's effort to strengthen the statement by removing any ambiguity in the phrase "equally accessible" and the temporizing and contradictory implications of the phrase "without definitely jeopardizing." The committee noted in the former regard that accessibility in the sense of distance traveled is not equal for all candidates under any circumstances, and that accessibility may be made even more unequal if less generally accessible, nonsegregated centers are established to replace segregated ones. In the latter regard, the committee felt that experience to date, and the promise of improvement noted earlier in the general situation, indicate that the policy can be implemented without unduly jeopardizing the Board's ability to test all candidates.

The phrase "within a testing center" in the revised wording was included to cover facilities necessary to the operation of a center, including rooms used for testing centers and washroom facilities. The committee noted that dining facilities are not a necessary adjunct to a testing center.

The committee explicitly excluded from the phrase "without regard to race, color, or national origin" any reference to religion on the grounds that the Board does discriminate against normal candidates in the matter of attendance at special Sunday centers established for those whose religious beliefs prevent testing on Saturday.

IV. Determine (as fully as practical) regularly the conditions under which all Negro candidates (were) are being tested (in 1959-60, and if data warrant it, the conditions under which they are being tested in the current year).

The committee found the statistical and other information provided by Mr. Cameron most helpful in its deliberations, and felt that a regular, continuing program in this regard would be essential to its continuing efforts. Concern was expressed over the many areas of uncertainty and the many qualified generalizations in the information, and the wish expressed that efforts be made to obtain more detailed data within reasonable financial limits.

V. Refuse to establish any new testing centers which (will not be open to candidates of all races unless careful investigation indicates that a center is needed, and that local conditions will definitely prevent the establishment of a desegregated center sufficiently close to provide for the testing of all candidates) are not operated in conformance with stated policy.

The fact that few new centers have had to be established under the terms of the qualification of the original wording, and the committee's wish to give increased meaning to the revised statement of policy, led to the revision in wording suggested above.

Discussion of this particular statement of procedure led to consideration of two related matters. First was the matter of closed centers. The thought here was that, if schools were able to contract--at a price--for a center restricted to its own students, the schools, and not the Board, would be responsible for any segregated testing. This possibility was explored and rejected on grounds of administrative complexity, which has led recently to the abandonment of all closed centers, as well as opposition to the concept of the purchase of immorality. Second was the Board's policy of establishing a special testing center for any student who would have to travel more than 75 miles to reach a regular testing center. The committee suggested the change in Bulletin of Information wording noted above from the flat assertion that the Board will establish, to the statement that the Board will attempt to establish, such special centers to cover the possibility that in some areas it may not be possible to establish a new center on a nonsegregated basis in accordance with the above stipulations within 75 miles of a particular candidate's home or place of school. /Although it was not specifically discussed by the committee, the staff infers from the discussion recorded, and from the specific statement of policy, that the Board's practice of allowing any member college which desires it to have a testing center would be subject to the same limitations./

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October 1

VI. Close any testing center at which it is established that (investigation confirms that) a candidate has not been (inequitably) treated (because of his race) in accordance with stated policy, and where negotiations fail to produce (a satisfactory solution) the assurance of future conformity with stated policy.

The committee arrived at the proposed wording in the light of a rather complicated set of considerations.

Starting with the simpler considerations first, the committee felt that the word "inequitably" was not definitive enough and so substituted the words "not . . . in accordance with stated policy." Similarly, the phrase "a satisfactory solution" seemed to be unnecessarily vague and was therefore redefined as one which would produce "the assurance of future conformity with stated policy." Reference to the word "investigation" was omitted in part on the grounds that the proposed statement is simpler and clearly implies the need for the Board to be correctly informed about any charge of discrimination at a testing center--a candidate either has or has not been treated in accordance with policy.

The committee was careful to note, however, that the proposed statement stops short of insistence that all existing centers be required to express willingness to operate on a nonsegregated basis immediately, and noted that some administrative leeway is implied. This willingness to temporize was based primarily on the realization that, even with unlimited staff, complete desegregation of testing centers could not be accomplished overnight, the critical aspect of implementation of a complete desegregation policy being the availability of adequate space. The committee therefore felt it necessary to provide adequate time to explore the alternatives set forth in Appendix A to these minutes (that is, military installations, other federal facilities, increased use of Negro and other college facilities, parochial schools, and churches) and others which might be suggested. (One such was the possibility of making double use of some locations through Sunday administrations.) In this general regard, the committee recognized that there would undoubtedly be additional expense involved in finding and setting up such centers but expressed a sense of urgency in this matter which it hoped would receive consideration in the Board's ultimate disposition of dollars and staff time.

The committee recognized that the proposed statement will permit continuation for the present, the practice in Georgia--outside of the largest cities--of having two testing centers in a town, one in the Negro

and one in the white high school. The committee expressed specific concern, however, about the perpetuation of this practice; it was careful to note that it expected the continuation of these practices to be, in fact, temporary. On the one hand, the probable adoption of an SAT requirement by a larger number of Negro colleges will produce increased numbers of Negro candidates, who will in turn force the issue at centers at which few, if any, Negroes are now tested. On the other, alternate test center sites will be being established as substitutes for present centers at which only segregated testing is feasible. As experience is gained in the establishment of such alternative centers, the committee expected that local school systems, finding their students inconvenienced by having to attend nonsegregated centers in other localities where nonsegregated testing is permitted in the public schools, or at such out-of-town sites as military installations, may well be willing to desegregate their public high school centers for both races.

Finally, as to the possibility of institutions shifting to another testing program in the face of the Board's action in this regard, the committee felt that the Southern community recognizes that any other testing program would, in a very few years, be operated under nonsegregated conditions in any event. Thus, any shifts could be expected to be made on educational and not integration-related considerations.

In summary, the committee adopted as its guiding precepts the immediate goal of providing opportunities for all candidates in desegregated centers by 1965; and the long-range goal of assuring that all centers will be operated on a nonsegregated basis (that is, all centers open to all).

VII. (Instruct supervisors that candidates who select or who are assigned by ETS to a particular center are, normally, to be accommodated in the same building. Separate, nearby buildings may be used when candidate numbers require more space, but, in this event, the assignment to buildings cannot be according to race.)

The committee felt that the over-all statement would be stronger without this particular item. It recognized that supervisors have been so instructed in communications within the last year; and that any center which actually sends Negro candidates to another center, and which will not modify this practice, will be closed in accordance with provisions made in VI above.

Committee on Examining Center Policy--8 1962
October 1

VIII. (Proceed immediately to provide for only desegregated centers in all metropolitan areas where this can be accomplished; the definition of such areas should be determined in consultation with local educational leaders of both races.)

The committee agreed that this statement needed to be included originally but saw no need for its perpetuation.

IX. Seek to establish now additional centers which will be desegregated in areas where separate centers now exist for whites and Negroes, so that the separate centers for both races may be (gradually) closed.

This statement was approved as revised as explicit evidence of the committee's aims with respect to the dual center system in Georgia discussed under VI above. The word "gradually" was omitted as further evidence of the sense of urgency felt by the committee for the need to proceed as rapidly as possible.

X. (Keep progress made under close scrutiny, and report such progress regularly to the Trustees.)

The committee recommended the elimination of this provision on the grounds, first, that the initial part of the statement is covered under IV above (calling for regular, continuing determination of pertinent conditions) and, second, that the latter part of the statement is unnecessary in the light of the appointment and existence of the special committee.

XI. The committee also spent some time advising the staff on one matter of administrative detail relating to the wording of the pertinent paragraph in the letter sent regularly to testing center supervisors. Although no formal action was taken in this regard, it was the sense of the meeting that the paragraph might appropriately read:

"The test application does not in any way indicate the race of the candidate, who himself chooses a center from the list provided in the bulletin of information. We expect that you will operate the center on an entirely nonsegregated basis. If you cannot do this, please notify us."

XII. After agreeing to hold another meeting at approximately the same time of year in 1963, the committee adjourned its meeting at 3:45 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

George H. Hanford
Ben F. Cameron, Jr.

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD

Regional Office: Sewanee, Tennessee, Lyric 8-5668

BEN F. CAMERON, JR.
Regional Director

October 4, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Once again, please accept our sincere thanks for joining our committee on such short notice, and particularly for the valuable contributions you made.

I hope this office is at least somewhat successful in putting into practice the rather ambitious program we outlined. We'll do our best.

We are writing separately to request a subscription to The New South.

I look forward to seeing you again before too long.

Sincerely yours,

Ben

BFCJr:gb

SBV
MA-file

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD

Regional Office: Sewanee, Tennessee, Lyric 8-5668

BEN F. CAMERON, JR.
Regional Director

November 19, 1962

To Members of the Special Committee on Examining Center Policy:

You will recall that, in the material which I prepared for our meeting in Atlanta on October 1, I said that I hoped to have information on reactions of supervisors in centers in the hard-core states to the ETS letter establishing the centers for this year summarized in time for our meeting. I am sorry that the data have just now reached my desk. I summarize them now to complete your records.

The ETS letter in question went to all supervisors in Southern states, including 261 in the six "hard-core" states. Only nine supervisors responded at all to the paragraph, and one of these was in a non-hard-core state (two others, who gave the center's address as a Board of Education, are suspect, though neither of these said anything about racial questions).

You may recall that the ETS letter contained the following paragraph:

> "The test application does not in any way indicate the race of the candidate, who himself chooses a center from the list in the bulletin of information. You should be prepared, therefore, to admit and seat all candidates. If you cannot do this, please notify us."

Responses received are summarized as follows:

NORTH CAROLINA (non-hard-core)

<u>Fairmont</u>

The principal of Fairmont High School, who had been acting as supervisor, stated that he could test only white students. In correspondence and telephone conversations which followed, he said that the center would have to contend with four "different" racial groups, including white, Negro, and two Indian tribes. At his suggestion, the center was canceled.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Newberry

The center at Newberry High School is under supervision of James Abrams, Registrar and Director of Admissions at Newberry College, a member college. Mr. Abrams stated that there had been no Negro candidates at the center in the two years since it was opened, but that Negro candidates could not be tested in the same building; arrangements had been made for testing them in the court house, three blocks away. Abrams has been informed that this is unacceptable, and he understands the situation. He will continue to operate this center as at present, but will meanwhile continue efforts to locate other facilities where all candidates can be tested together. He understands that, should a Negro candidate report to this center, and be discriminated against, the center will be closed.

Walterboro

The supervisor at the Walterboro Junior High School center is a County Director of Guidance Services; in her routine response to the request for information for the testing center this year she stated that any Negro candidates would be tested in a separate room in the same building, as in the past. Since this has been permitted under existing policy, no steps will be taken with this center (and no response was made to this routine comment) until there is a case of candidates being tested in a separate room.

GEORGIA

Butler

The supervisor at Butler High School, a white public high school, stated, in his routine response, that it would not be possible to test Negro candidates. This is in line with information we had obtained in visiting the center previously. There is a center in the city at a Negro high school; Butler High School had not had Negro candidates, but any who reported there would be referred to Eureka High School. The fact that this supervisor responded, when many others did not, does not indicate that his situation is different from others in his part of Georgia. No effort at change will be made unless a Negro reports to the center, and is not tested.

Macon

The principal and counselor at A. L. Miller Senior High School, a public school for white girls, responded with the return of the regular card that there had been no Negro candidates, but that any such candidates would be referred to the Negro high school in the city. This is consistent with information we had been given on a visit to the center itself, and a separate visit to the Bibb County Board of Education. The center will be allowed to continue unless a Negro candidate is assigned to the center, and is referred to another center, until alternate arrangements can be made (there is a desegregated testing center in Macon, but its capacity does not approach that needed in the city).

Rome

The supervisor at Berry College responded to the ETS inquiry by saying: "unfortunately, we will not be able to administer the test to Negro candidates." Since the president and dean at Berry College had indicated to Mr. Buford that all candidates would be admitted and tested without discrimination, Mr. Buford called Mr. Way, Director of Admissions, and Supervisor. Mr. Way had responded without consulting others; he telephoned President Bertrand in Chicago, and was told that Berry College would, indeed, test without discrimination. This information was passed on to us, and Berry College is being continued as a desegregated center.

President Minor of Shorter College, in returning the regular cards for his center, said: "Traditionally, Shorter College is and has been a segregated institution. It is felt that for the present this practice should be continued in all phases, including the administering of the College Entrance Examination Board tests." This was consistent with what President Minor had told Mr. Buford when he visited Shorter last year. I wrote President Minor, outlining the situation, and asking that he reconsider this position. President Minor's reply was not unequivocal, but he agreed to the continuation of the center, with the stipulation that an attempt would be made to accommodate any Negro candidates who might appear. His reply, however, was very much influenced by the fact that no Negro candidate has appeared, or is likely to appear, at Shorter College.

Savannah

The center at Savannah High School has been one of our real problems. The principal is intransigent, and almost insulting.

Mr. Gibson visited the school in November, 1961, and recommended that the center be closed. This was not done then, since the capacity was badly needed. Since then, Mr. Buford has spent some time in Savannah, talking with officials in the Superintendent of Schools' office, without any success. Principal Moseley's response at this time was: "State Board of Education requirements at the present time limit our administering the tests to the Caucasian race. Therefore, we must reserve the right to receive only white students in any one room." This represents an apparent retreat by Mr. Moseley, since he had previously refused to allow any Negro candidates within the school. The center will be continued for the time being, while active efforts are continued to arrange for desegregated testing capacity in Savannah, and/or until a Negro candidate is discriminated against at the center.

ALABAMA

Montgomery

The center in Montgomery is at the State of Alabama Personnel Department. The supervisor, W. M. English, Deputy Personnel Director, responded to the letter by stating that all candidates are admitted and registered at the administrative building, where Negro candidates are tested; white candidates are put in a special room in this building, though overflow candidates are taken across the street to a school. We had been aware of these arrangements, and have thus far been unable to make alternative arrangements in Montgomery. Since there are Negro candidates at most administrations in Montgomery, it will probably be necessary to close this center under our new policy after the first administration which is investigated.

LOUISIANA

Shreveport

Fair Park High School in Shreveport was established as a new testing center this year. The response from that school indicated that: "Because of state laws concerning integration, Negro students will not be seated during testing sessions at this school. Negro students will be referred to Booker T. Washington, a local Negro high school." This has been the method of handling Negro candidates reporting to Byrd High School, our other center in Shreveport. We have been unable to change this arrangement, and have continued to

accept it as a matter of expediency. The fact that Fair Park High School responded, while Byrd did not, simply reflects the fact that the supervisor at Byrd High School knows that we are aware of the situation. Attempts continue to arrange for acceptable testing conditions in this vicinity.

Sincerely yours,

Ben F. Cameron, Jr.

Ben F. Cameron, Jr.
Regional Director

BFCJr:gb

October 24, 1962

Mr. Ben F. Cameron, Jr.
Regional Director
College Entrance Examination Board
Sewanee, Tennessee

Dear Ben:

I have read the minutes which you and George Hanford prepared and they seem to me to be wholly accurate. I think you all did a grand job of presentation.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD

Regional Office: Sewanee, Tennessee, 598-5668

October 16, 1962

To Members of the Committee on Examining Center Policy:

Attached are minutes of the first meeting of your committee in Atlanta on October 1. These were written by George Hanford, from notes taken by him during the meeting, and revised by me, in the light of my own notes and recollections.

We shall appreciate your reviewing these minutes carefully, and letting me know if there should be any revisions. The recommendations, possibly with a full set of minutes, will be submitted to the Trustees for action this December.

We have not attached to these minutes another set of the background material, with its appendices. If you need another set of this material to complete your records, please let us know.

Thank you once again for your excellent assistance in this meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Cameron Jr

Ben F. Cameron, Jr.
Regional Director

BFCJr:gb

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD
475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N.Y.

COMMITTEE ON EXAMINING CENTER POLICY
Minutes of Meeting, October 1, 1962

The first meeting of the Special Committee on Examining Center Policy was held at the Westminster Schools, Atlanta, Georgia, beginning at 9:45 a.m. on Monday, October 1, 1962. The following members of the committee were present:

Mr. Arthur Howe, Jr., Dean of Admissions and Student Appointments, Yale University, Chairman
Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
President William L. Pressley, Westminster Schools
President Stephen J. Wright, Fisk University

Also present were Mr. Ben F. Cameron, Jr., Director, Southern Regional Office, College Entrance Examination Board; Mr. George H. Hanford, Vice President and Treasurer, College Entrance Examination Board; and Mr. J. E. Terral, Executive Director, Administrative Services, Educational Testing Service.

Two members of the committee, Dean J. Alton Burdine, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, University of Texas, and Mr. Ralph McGill, Publisher, The Atlanta Constitution, were unable to attend.

I. Discussions were based on information presented in the confidential document which is appended as Appendix A to these minutes, "Background Material for the Committee on Examining Center Policy," and in Appendices I, II, III, IV, and V to that document. In the course of those discussions, a number of general points of agreement emerged, though not necessarily in chronological order, as follows:

The general situation with respect to desegregation in the South has been improving in recent years and may be expected to continue to improve in the years ahead, though local variations are recognized. The policy statement adopted by the Trustees in March, 1961, with respect to the desegregation of testing centers made sense in the light of then existing conditions.

Significant progress has been made in the past eighteen months under that statement of policy.

The existence of a statement of policy and the fact of progress under it suggest the applicability in this particular matter of the generalization that nothing will happen unless pressure is put and kept on.

The improvement in the general situation, the progress already made in the specific matter of desegregation of testing centers, and the desirability of assuring continued progress by maintaining pressure suggest that a stronger statement of policy is both possible and desirable at this time.

The promise of continued improvement in the general situation, and of further progress in the specific matter in response to a stronger statement of policy, suggest that complete desegregation of testing centers can be achieved in the foreseeable future.

The Board's responsibility is to test all candidates who present themselves, not to reform Southern Education. Because it would hurt the Board in meeting its responsibility if public announcement of policy in this matter were made in the interests of accelerating the improvement in the general situation, such announcement should be withheld until such time as a policy of complete desegregation of testing centers can be fully enforced.

Enforcement of policy has been shown to require financial sacrifice on the part of the Board and a sacrifice of convenience on the part of some candidates. Continued and probably greater sacrifices will be required to implement a stronger statement of policy.

The involvement of the Board's Southern Regional Office in the matter of arrangements for the administration of the Board's tests, for which the Educational Te sting Service normally has the full responsibility, remains desirable in the light of the exigencies of the current situation during this crucial, transition period.

II. Against the background of these judgments, the committee recommended the adoption of the following statements of policy and policy implementation by the Trustees to replace that adopted on March 15-16, 1961:

That the following precept be adopted as internal policy to guide Educational Testing Service and the Board staff in the establishment and continuation of College Board testing centers:

> It is the responsibility of the College Entrance Examination Board to provide for the testing of all candidates under standard, equitable conditions. Conditions cannot be considered "standard" or "equitable" if any discrimination against a candidate within a testing center is made on the basis of race, color, or national origin.

That the staff be directed to take whatever steps are necessary, including the following, in the implementation of this policy:

(a) Determine regularly the conditions under which all Negro candidates are being tested.

(b) Refuse to establish any new testing centers which are not operated in conformance with stated policy.

(c) Close any testing center at which it is established that a candidate has not been treated in accordance with stated policy, and where negotiations fail to produce the assurance of future conformity to stated policy.

(d) Seek to establish now additional centers which will be desegregated in areas where separate centers now exist for whites and Negroes, so that the separate centers for both races may be closed.

The committee also recommended that the statement in the Bulletin of Information for the Scholastic Aptitude Test, the Achievement Tests, and the Writing Sample which now starts "Special centers will be arranged upon request . . . ." be changed to read to the effect "Arrangements for the establishment of special centers will be attempted upon request for the convenience of candidates who would otherwise have to travel more than 75 miles to reach a regular center."

These specific recommendations grew out of a point-by-point review of the original statements of policy and implementation procedures adopted in March, 1961. For the purposes of these minutes, the words retained from the original wording appear in normal form, deletions therefrom in parentheses, and additions thereto with underlining.

III. It is the (first) responsibility of the College Entrance Examination Board (is) to provide for the testing of all candidates under standard, equitable conditions. (The Board will, however, make a definite and specific effort in all areas to assure that all testing centers will be equally accessible to all candidates without regard to race when this can be accomplished without definitely jeopardizing the Board's ability to test all candidates.) Conditions cannot be considered "standard" or "equitable" if any discrimination against a candidate within a testing center is made on the basis of race, color, or national origin.

The changes from the original to the proposed wording of the basic statement of policy were prompted by the following considerations:

Overriding, of course, was the committee's belief that a strong statement of policy is necessary and desirable in accordance with the considerations outlined in I above. The committee expressed the further belief that the policy could be effectively implemented through the procedures recommended in IV, V, VI, VII, and IX below.

The substitution of It is for (first) at the beginning of the statement was made to avoid the implications either that the Board has additional but less important obligations of some sort, or that there are subsequent steps, time-wise, for which the Board has responsibility.

The substitution of the proposed for the original second sentence reflected the committee's effort to strengthen the statement by removing any ambiguity in the phrase "equally accessible" and the temporizing and contradictory implications of the phrase "without definitely jeopardizing." The committee noted in the former regard that accessibility in the sense of distance traveled is not equal for all candidates under any circumstances, and that accessibility may be made even more unequal if less generally accessible, nonsegregated centers are established to replace segregated ones. In the latter regard, the committee felt that experience to date, and the promise of improvement noted earlier in the general situation, indicate that the policy can be implemented without unduly jeopardizing the Board's ability to test all candidates.

The phrase "within a testing center" in the revised wording was included to cover facilities necessary to the operation of a center, including rooms used for testing centers and washroom facilities. The committee noted that dining facilities are not a necessary adjunct to a testing center.

The committee explicitly excluded from the phrase "without regard to race, color, or national origin" any reference to religion on the grounds that the Board does discriminate against normal candidates in the matter of attendance at special Sunday centers established for those whose religious beliefs prevent testing on Saturday.

IV. Determine (as fully as practical) regularly the conditions under which all Negro candidates (were) are being tested (in 1959-60, and if data warrant it, the conditions under which they are being tested in the current year).

The committee found the statistical and other information provided by Mr. Cameron most helpful in its deliberations, and felt that a regular, continuing program in this regard would be essential to its continuing efforts. Concern was expressed over the many areas of uncertainty and the many qualified generalizations in the information, and the wish expressed that efforts be made to obtain more detailed data within reasonable financial limits.

V. Refuse to establish any new testing centers which (will not be open to candidates of all races unless careful investigation indicates that a center is needed, and that local conditions will definitely prevent the establishment of a desegregated center sufficiently close to provide for the testing of all candidates) are not operated in conformance with stated policy.

The fact that few new centers have had to be established under the terms of the qualification of the original wording, and the committee's wish to give increased meaning to the revised statement of policy, led to the revision in wording suggested above.

Discussion of this particular statement of procedure led to consideration of two related matters. First was the matter of closed centers. The thought here was that, if schools were able to contract--at a price--for a center restricted to its own students, the schools, and not the Board, would be responsible for any segregated testing. This possibility was explored and rejected on grounds of administrative complexity, which has led recently to the abandonment of all closed centers, as well as opposition to the concept of the purchase of immorality. Second was the Board's policy of establishing a special testing center for any student who would have to travel more than 75 miles to reach a regular testing center. The committee suggested the change in Bulletin of Information wording noted above from the flat assertion that the Board will establish, to the statement that the Board will attempt to establish, such special centers to cover the possibility that in some areas it may not be possible to establish a new center on a nonsegregated basis in accordance with the above stipulations within 75 miles of a particular candidate's home or place of school. /Although it was not specifically discussed by the committee, the staff infers from the discussion recorded, and from the specific statement of policy, that the Board's practice of allowing any member college which desires it to have a testing center would be subject to the same limitations./

VI. Close any testing center at which it is established that (investigation confirms that) a candidate has not been (inequitably) treated (because of his race) in accordance with stated policy, and where negotiations fail to produce (a satisfactory solution) the assurance of future conformity with stated policy.

The committee arrived at the proposed wording in the light of a rather complicated set of considerations.

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and one in the white high school. The committee expressed specific concern, however, about the perpetuation of this practice; it was careful to note that it expected the continuation of these practices to be, in fact, temporary. On the one hand, the probable adoption of an SAT requirement by a larger number of Negro colleges will produce increased numbers of Negro candidates, who will in turn force the issue at centers at which few, if any, Negroes are now tested. On the other, alternate test center sites will be being established as substitutes for present centers at which only segregated testing is feasible. As experience is gained in the establishment of such alternative centers, the committee expected that local school systems, finding their students inconvenienced by having to attend nonsegregated centers in other localities where nonsegregated testing is permitted in the public schools, or at such out-of-town sites as military installations, may well be willing to desegregate their public high school centers for both races.

Finally, as to the possibility of institutions shifting to another testing program in the face of the Board's action in this regard, the committee felt that the Southern community recognizes that any other testing program would, in a very few years, be operated under nonsegregated conditions in any event. Thus, any shifts could be expected to be made on educational and not integration-related considerations.

In summary, the committee adopted as its guiding precepts the immediate goal of providing opportunities for all candidates in desegregated centers by 1965; and the long-range goal of assuring that all centers will be operated on a nonsegregated basis (that is, all centers open to all).

VII. (Instruct supervisors that candidates who select or who are assigned by ETS to a particular center are, normally, to be accommodated in the same building. Separate, nearby buildings may be used when candidate numbers require more space, but, in this event, the assignment to buildings cannot be according to race.)

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VIII. (Proceed immediately to provide for only desegregated centers in all metropolitan areas where this can be accomplished; the definition of such areas should be determined in consultation with local educational leaders of both races.)

The committee agreed that this statement needed to be included originally but saw no need for its perpetuation.

IX. Seek to establish now additional centers which will be desegregated in areas where separate centers now exist for whites and Negroes, so that the separate centers for both races may be (gradually) closed.

This statement was approved as revised as explicit evidence of the committee's aims with respect to the dual center system in Georgia discussed under VI above. The word "gradually" was omitted as further evidence of the sense of urgency felt by the committee for the need to proceed as rapidly as possible.

X. (Keep progress made under close scrutiny, and report such progress regularly to the Trustees.)

The committee recommended the elimination of this provision on the grounds, first, that the initial part of the statement is covered under IV above (calling for regular, continuing determination of pertinent conditions) and, second, that the latter part of the statement is unnecessary in the light of the appointment and existence of the special committee.

XI. The committee also spent some time advising the staff on one matter of administrative detail relating to the wording of the pertinent paragraph in the letter sent regularly to testing center supervisors. Although no formal action was taken in this regard, it was the sense of the meeting that the paragraph might appropriately read:

"The test application does not in any way indicate the race of the candidate, who himself chooses a center from the list provided in the bulletin of information. We expect that you will operate the center on an entirely nonsegregated basis. If you cannot do this, please notify us."

XII. After agreeing to hold another meeting at approximately the same time of year in 1963, the committee adjourned its meeting at 3:45 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

George H. Hanford
Ben F. Cameron, Jr.

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD

Resolution Adopted by the Board of Trustees
Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana
December 13 - 14, 1962

1. **RESOLVED:** That the following precept be adopted as internal policy to guide Educational Testing Service and the Board staff in the establishment and continuation of College Board testing centers:

   It is the responsibility of the College Entrance Examination Board to provide for the testing of all candidates under standard, equitable conditions. Conditions cannot be considered "standard" or "equitable" if any discrimination against a candidate within a testing center is made on the basis of race, color, or national origin.

2. **RESOLVED:** That the staff be directed to take whatever steps are necessary, including the following, in the implementation of this policy:

   (a) Determine regularly the conditions under which all Negro candidates are being tested.

   (b) Refuse to establish any new testing centers which are not operated in conformance with stated policy.

   (c) Close any testing center at which it is established that a candidate has not been treated in accordance with stated policy, and where negotiations fail to produce the assurance of future conformity to stated policy.

   (d) Seek to establish now additional centers which will be desegregated in areas where separate centers now exist for whites and Negroes, so that the separate centers for both races may be closed.

SUMMARY
SAT Candidates from Schools
Designated as Negro High Schools in Southern Region
1961-62

	Aug.	Dec.	Jan.	Mar.	May	Total
Alabama	14	31	44	31	36	156
Florida	16	13	39	10	38	116
Georgia	344	190	247	446	552	1779
Louisiana	7	44	104	40	41	236
Mississippi	4	7	2	7	6	26
South Carolina	16	13	25	50	28	132
TOTAL	401	298	461	584	701	2445

TOTALS:	1959-60	1960-61
Alabama	46	
Florida	30	
Georgia	467	1247
Louisiana	32	
Mississippi	41	
South Carolina	35	
TOTAL	651	

Negro High Schools Sending Candidates to
CEEB Tests, 1961-62

Alabama	Number	Name	Aug.	Dec.	Jan.	Mar.	May	Total
Andalusia	010085	R. Bunche High	1	0	0	0	0	1
Anniston	010120	Cobb Ave. High	0	0	0	1	0	1
Ashford	010145	Ashford Colored High	0	1	0	1	0	2
Athens	010190	Trinity High	0	0	1	0	0	1
Atmore	010205	Escambia Tr.	0	0	0	1	0	1
Bessemer	010310	J. B. Abrams	0	0	0	1	1	2
Birmingham	010367	Immaculata	1	0	1	1	3	6
Birmingham	010390	Parker Annex	0	0	2	1	0	3
Birmingham	010395	Parker High	3	1	1	3	6	14
Birmingham	010420	Ullman High	0	1	1	3	5	10
Birmingham	010425	Wenonah High	1	0	1	0	0	2
Birmingham	010435	W. Olin Vo.	3	1	0	2	2	8
Boligee	010475	Greene Co. Tr.	0	0	0	0	1	1
Brewton	010500	So. Normal School	0	0	0	0	1	1
Clanton	010680	Chilton Co. Tr.	0	0	0	1	2	3
Demopolis	010885	U. S. Jones	0	1	0	0	1	2
Eutaw	011010	Eatman High	0	0	0	0	1	1
Fairfield	011050	Industrial High	0	0	0	1	0	1
Huntsville	011490	Wm. Council	0	1	10	0	0	11
Jacksonville	011525	Eastwood	0	0	0	1	0	1
Leighton	011620	Colbert Co. Tr. Sch.	0	0	3	0	0	3
Lisman	011660	Choctaw Co. Tr.	0	0	0	0	2	2
Luverne	011685	Crenshaw Tr.	0	0	0	0	1	1
Millers Ferry	011760	Wilcox Tr.	0	0	0	1	0	1
Mobile	011810	Central High	1	0	3	0	1	5
Mobile	011825	Most Pure Heart	0	0	8	5	0	13
Monroeville	011845	Union High	0	0	0	0	1	1
Montgomery	011870	Alabama State High	0	1	4	1	1	7
Montgomery	011875	B. Washington	0	0	1	1	0	2
Montgomery	011885	G. W. Carver	1	0	0	0	0	1
Montgomery	011905	St. Jude In.	0	1	0	2	1	4
Phenix City	012145	S. Girard	1	0	0	0	0	1
Plateau	012205	Mobile Tr. School	0	0	0	0	1	1
Prichard	012233	Blount High	0	0	2	0	0	2
Russellville	012350	Reedtown High	0	0	0	1	0	1
*Sylacauga	012565	E. Highland	0	0	0	0	1	1
Tuscaloosa	012680	Druid High	0	0	0	0	1	1
Tuskegee	012710	Tuskegee Inst. High	0	21	1	0	0	22
Westfield	012825	Birmingham Westfield	1	0	0	0	2	3
*Sayreton	012385	Hooper City High	1	2	3	1	0	7
*Selma	012435	R. B. Hudson High		0	2	2	1	5
			14	31	44	31	36	156

Negro High Schools Sending Candidates to
CEEB Tests, 1961-62

Florida	Number	Name	Aug.	Dec.	Jan.	Mar.	May	Total
Bristol	100160	Bethune High	1	0	0	0	0	1
Clearwater	100260	Pinellas	0	0	0	0	1	1
Cocoa	100285	Monroe High	0	1	3	1	1	6
Daytona Bch.	100350	Campbell	0	0	1	0	0	1
Delray Bch.	100405	Carver High	0	0	0	1	0	1
Dunnellon	100430	B. Washington	0	0	0	0	1	1
Fernandina Bch.	100465	Peck	0	0	0	0	1	1
Ft. Myers	100510	Dunbar High	2	1	1	0	1	5
Ft. Pierce	100525	Lincoln Park	0	0	0	0	1	1
Goulds	100565	Mays Jr Sr High	1	0	0	2	1	4
Hollywood	100677	Attucks High	0	0	1	0	0	1
Immokalee	100703	Bethune High	0	1	0	1	0	2
Jacksonville	100751	Douglas Anderson	3	0	0	0	0	3
Jacksonville	100756	Northwestern	2	0	0	0	0	2
* Jacksonville	100775	New Stanton	2	0	10	2	6	20
Key West	100840	Douglass High	0	1	1	0	0	2
Lake City	100885	Richardson	1	0	0	0	0	1
Lakeland	100895	Rochelle High	0	0	1	0	2	3
Marianna	101005	St. Paul High	0	1	0	0	0	1
Miami	101045	B. T. Washington High	0	1	1	0	1	3
Miami	101085	Northwestern Sr. High	1	0	0	1	3	5
Monticello	101175	Howard Academy	0	0	0	0	1	1
Orlando	101295	Jones High	1	2	6	0	1	10
Palatka	101325	Central Academy	0	0	1	0	1	2
Palmetto	101350	Lincoln Memorial	0	1	0	1	0	2
Port St. Joe	101445	Washington	0	0	0	0	2	2
* St. Petersburg	101510	Gibbs Sr. High	0	0	5	0	4	9
Sanford	101560	Crooms Academy	0	0	0	0	1	1
Sarasota	101570	Booker High	0	0	0	0	5	5
Tallahassee	101650	Fla. A & M Univ. High	0	1	2	1	1	5
Tallahassee	101670	Lincoln	0	0	1	0	0	1
Tampa	101725	Middleton Sr. High	0	0	2	0	1	3
* Wildwood	101858	J. R. E. Lee High	1	0	0	0	0	1
Winter Park	101900	Hungerford	1	0	0	0	0	1
* Jacksonville	100792	Stanton	0	0	0	0	2	2
* Riviera Bch.	101467	Lincoln	0	3	2	0	0	5
* Williston	101875	Williston Voc. High	0	0	1	0	0	1
			16	13	39	10	38	116

Negro High Schools Sending Candidates to
CEEB Tests, 1961-62

Georgia	Number	Name	Aug.	Dec.	Jan.	Mar.	May	Total
Adel	110015	Cook Co. Tr. High	1	0	0	0	0	1
Alamo	110028	Wheeler Co. Tr.	1	0	7	0	0	8
Albany	110045	Monroe High	15	1	1	7	18	42
Americus	110076	Sumter Colored	5	1	5	5	2	18
Ashburn	110105	Eureka High	1	0	0	0	0	1
Athens	110120	Industrial High School	7	3	20	5	12	47
Atlanta	110130	Booker Washington	7	8	11	23	2	51
Atlanta	110145	Carver Vo. High	1	2	2	0	0	5
Atlanta	110175	H. M. Turner High	6	10	4	6	6	32
Atlanta	110227	S. H. Archer High	3	1	0	1	0	5
Attapulgus	110267	Mt. Moriah	6	0	0	32	0	38
Augusta	110290	Immaculate Conception	2	0	9	3	0	14
Augusta	110295	L. Laney High	14	1	0	3	17	35
Avondale Est.	110320	Hamilton	1	1	1	3	0	6
Bainbridge	110340	Hutto High	4	0	0	0	9	13
Barnesville	110343	Booker High	0	0	0	3	3	6
Baxley	110360	Appling Co. Consol.	0	2	0	0	0	2
Blackshear	110375	Lee St. High	0	0	0	2	3	5
Blakely	110390	Washington High	3	0	0	3	17	23
Brunswick	110480	Risley High	5	20	5	2	9	41
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Buford	110500	Buford Colored High	1	0	0	0	0	1
Butler	110515	Eureka High	1	12	0	0	0	13
Cairo	110545	Washington Consol.	0	1	22	6	0	29
Calhoun	110570	Stephens High	0	0	9	0	2	11
Camilla	110575	Camilla Consol.	4	0	0	3	3	10
Canton	110588	R. J. Bunche Sch.	0	1	0	4	1	6
Carnesville	110600	Carnesville Trade High	2	1	0	0	0	3
Carrollton	110605	G. Carver	0	0	0	0	4	4
Cartersville	110620	Summer Hill High	3	0	0	14	9	26
Cedartown	110640	Cedar Hill	0	0	0	0	9	9
Claxton	110700	Evans Co. High	1	0	0	0	0	1
Cochran	110745	Cochran Colored High	1	0	1	0	0	2
Colbert	110781	Southside High	1	0	0	0	0	1
Colquitt	110810	Bethel High	0	1	0	1	0	2
Columbus	110835	Spencer High	26	5	4	29	26	90
Concord	110855	Pike Co. Consol.	0	0	0	0	3	3
Cordele	110868	A. S. Clarke High	0	0	0	7	2	9
Cordele	110882	Holsey Cobb	0	0	0	1	0	1
Covington	110908	Cousins High	4	0	3	0	2	9

Negro High Schools Sending Candidates to
CEEB Tests, 1961-62

Georgia	Number	Name	Aug.	Dec.	Jan.	Mar.	May	Total
Cuthbert	110945	Randolph Co. Tr.	1	0	0	6	4	11
Dalton	110980	Emery St. High	0	1	1	0	0	2
Darien	111020	Todd Grant High	1	1	3	11	2	18
Dawson	111025	Carver High	6	5	3	0	0	14
Decatur	111050	Trinity High	0	0	0	1	0	1
Donalsonville	111095	Sem. Co. Tr.	0	0	9	0	1	10
Douglas	111105	G. W. Carver High	0	0	0	0	18	18
Dublin	111123	Dr. B. D. Perry	0	0	5	0	0	5
Dublin	111132	M. Fleming High	1	0	0	0	2	3
Dublin	111135	Oconee High	0	0	0	23	0	23
Dudley	111147	Millville High	1	0	0	3	2	6
Eastman	111170	Peabody High	3	0	5	11	0	19
East Point	111180	S. Fulton	0	1	0	0	1	2
Eatonton	111185	Butler Baker High	1	2	0	1	3	7
Elberton	111205	Blackwell High	1	0	0	0	2	3
Ellaville	111220	J. H. Lewis	0	0	0	0	5	5
Fitzgerald	111285	Monitor High	3	3	1	8	1	16
Fitzgerald	111290	Queensland	3	0	0	0	1	4
Forest Park	111310	W. Fountain	1	0	0	0	0	1
Forsyth	111315	Hubbard Tr. Sch.	0	0	2	0	1	3
Ft. Gaines	111325	Speight High	0	1	0	0	1	2
Ft. Valley	111335	Hunt High	7	0	1	23	4	35
Gainesville	111380	Fair St. High	1	2	0	9	2	14
Georgetown	111430	Kaigler	2	0	0	0	0	2
Gibson	111437	Glascock Tr. Sch.	4	1	0	0	0	5
Gray	111430	M. Califf High	0	0	0	0	1	1
Greensboro	111490	F. Corry	0	1	0	0	5	6
Greenville	111500	Greenville Colored High	0	1	0	0	0	1
Griffin	111510	Fairmont High	0	1	0	0	17	18
Hahira	111535	Webb Miller High	1	0	0	0	0	1
Hamilton	111543	Carver High	0	0	0	0	6	6
Hartwell	111582	Hart Co. Tr.	0	1	0	4	1	6
Hawkinsville	111590	J. Bozeman	0	0	13	0	0	13
Hazlehurst	111593	Hazelhurst Colored High	3	0	0	0	0	3
Hogansville	111635	West End	0	1	0	0	0	1
Jackson	111670	Henderson High	0	1	8	0	1	10
Jefferson	111698	Bryan High	0	0	3	0	0	3
Jesup	111725	Wayne Co. Tr. Sch.	1	0	0	7	1	9
La Grange	111759	East Depot	0	0	1	1	11	13
La Grange	111761	E. W. Knight	0	0	0	0	10	10
Lawrenceville	111807	H. Renwick	1	0	0	0	0	1

Negro High Schools Sending Candidates to
CEEB Tests, 1961-62

Georgia	Number	Name	Aug.	Dec.	Jan.	Mar.	May	Total
Leesburg	111815	Lee Co. Tr.	6	3	0	0	3	12
Lincolnton	111828	Lincolnton Co. Tr. Sch.	2	0	0	0	0	2
Lithonia	111840	Bruce St. High	0	0	0	0	1	1
Louisville	111855	Jefferson Co. Tr.	0	0	0	0	7	7
Ludowici	111870	Walker High	2	0	0	0	0	2
Lumpkin	111890	High & Indus. School	0	0	0	0	10	10
Lyons	111917	Lyons Industrial High	0	0	0	8	0	8
Macon	111935	Ballard Hudson	6	0	2	1	15	24
Macon	111958	P. J. Appling High	7	0	0	3	13	23
Madison	111970	Pearl High	2	2	1	1	1	7
Manchester	111980	Meriwether	0	6	3	0	1	10
Marietta	111988	Lemon High	2	0	0	4	2	8
McDonough	112045	Henry Tr.	0	1	0	5	2	8
McIntosh	112047	Liberty High	2	0	8	7	13	30
McRae	112055	Central High	4	0	0	1	10	15
Metter	112075	Candler Tr.	0	0	0	0	6	6
Milledgeville	112102	J. Boddie	0	1	1	14	1	17
Millen	112112	B. Landrum High	1	1	1	0	0	3
Monroe	112135	Carver High	4	0	14	0	0	18
Montezuma	112150	D. F. Douglas	3	5	1	1	0	10
Monticello	112165	Jasper Tr.	0	0	0	0	4	4
Moultrie	112189	Wm. Bryant High	3	0	0	1	9	13
Mt. Vernon	112205	Montgomery Co. Negro	0	0	1	0	2	3
Nashville	112235	Nashville Colored High	4	0	0	0	0	4
Newnan	112245	Coweta Cent. High	3	1	1	8	2	15
Newton	112267	East Baker High	0	0	0	0	2	2
Ocilla	112320	Ocilla High & Indus. Sch.	1	7	0	0	1	9
Pearson	112367	Atkinson Tr.	1	0	0	0	1	2
Pelham	112368	Mitchell Tr. Sch.	2	4	0	8	5	19
Perry	112388	Houston Tr.	1	1	1	2	7	12
*Preston	112438	Ida S. Lowery	0	0	0	0	3	3
Reidsville	112482	Tattnall Indus.	6	0	0	0	1	7
Roberta	112542	Crawford Tr.	0	0	0	0	7	7
Rockmart	112565	Elm High Sch.	0	0	0	0	21	21
Rome	112595	Main High	11	4	8	6	3	32
Sandersville	112649	Elder High	3	0	0	0	0	3
Savannah	112670	Alfred E. Beach High	12	3	13	30	16	74
Savannah	112685	St. Pius X High	5	0	1	6	5	17
Savannah	112714	S. C. Johnson	6	1	5	9	15	36
Savannah	112715	Tompkins High	11	14	1	2	9	37
*Quitman	112450	Washington High	0	5	0	0	0	5

Negro High Schools Sending Candidates to
CEEB Tests, 1961-62

Georgia	Number	Name	Aug.	Dec.	Jan.	Mar.	May	Total
Shellman	112740	Shellman Vo.	1	0	1	0	0	2
Soperton	112775	Treutlen Tr.	1	0	0	0	0	1
Sparta	112780	Hancock Co. Tr.	1	0	0	1	3	5
Springfield	112793	Central	0	0	0	7	0	7
Statesboro	112820	James High	1	9	2	5	2	19
Summerville	112855	Carter	3	0	0	0	0	3
Swainsboro	112880	Emmanuel Co. High	0	2	0	2	9	13
Sylvania	112900	Central High	1	2	2	3	3	11
Sylvester	112905	J. Holley High	1	0	0	0	4	5
Talbotton	112915	Carter High	4	0	0	0	0	4
Thomaston	112962	Drake High	2	0	0	0	11	13
Thomasville	112975	Douglass	0	0	0	12	2	14
Thomasville	112978	Magnolia	0	9	1	1	8	19
Thomson	112990	McDuffie Tr.	1	2	0	1	2	6
Tifton	113010	Wilson High	10	0	0	0	0	10
Toccoa	113020	Whitman High	0	0	0	3	0	3
Valdosta	113092	Pinevale High	25	2	0	1	19	47
Vidalia	113100	Dickerson Tr.	1	2	0	0	2	5
Vienna	113115	High & Indus. School	0	0	0	0	3	3
Warrenton	113165	Warrenton Colored High	2	0	0	0	5	7
Washington	113180	Wilkes Tr.	0	0	0	0	2	2
Watkinsville	113188	Stroud	0	0	0	0	1	1
Waycross	113205	Center High	4	8	16	9	6	43
Waynesboro	113225	Waynesboro Ind. High	2	0	0	5	5	12
West Point	113236	Harrison	0	0	0	3	1	4
Woodbine	113290	Ralph Bunch	1	0	0	0	0	1
Wrightsville	113315	Dock Kemp	1	0	0	0	0	1
			340	189	243	441	548	1761
Atlanta	110160	David Howard	1	1	1	4	3	10
Atlanta	110190	L. J. Price	3	0	3	1	1	8
			344	190	247	446	552	1779

Negro High Schools Sending Candidates to
CEEB Tests, 1961-62

Louisiana	Number	Name	Aug.	Dec.	Jan.	Mar.	May	Total
Alexandria	190065	St. James	0	0	0	0	5	5
Baton Rouge	190230	St. Francis Xavier	0	0	0	0	1	1
Baton Rouge	190239	Scotlandville High	0	0	0	0	1	1
Carlisle	190425	Phoenix High	0	0	1	0	0	1
DeQuincy	190665	Grand Ave. High	1	0	0	0	0	1
Gloster	191030	Second Ward	0	0	0	1	0	1
Grambling	191055	Grambling Tr. High	1	0	1	1	1	4
Greensburg	191105	Helena High	0	1	1	0	0	2
Haynesville	191175	Woodson	0	0	0	0	1	1
Houma	191235	Lucy High	0	0	3	3	3	9
Lafayette	191422	Holy Rosary	0	8	4	0	1	13
Lake Charles	191480	Sacred Heart	0	0	6	0	0	6
Lake Charles	191500	Boston	0	0	0	0	1	1
Marksville	191710	Bethune High	0	1	0	0	0	1
New Orleans	192010	B. T. Washington	2	0	0	0	9	11
New Orleans	192027	G. W. Carver	0	0	1	1	2	4
New Orleans	192065	J. S. Clark Sr. High	0	0	0	0	2	2
New Orleans	192070	J. B. Landry High	0	0	0	3	0	3
New Orleans	192090	McDonogh 35	1	6	7	1	3	18
New Orleans	192145	St. Augustines High	1	28	2	8	1	40
New Orleans	192165	St. Marys Academy	0	0	5	14	2	21
New Orleans	192210	Xavier Univ. Prep.	0	0	72	5	8	85
Norco	192245	Bethune High	0	0	0	1	0	1
Reserve	192535	Lady of Grace High	1	0	0	0	0	1
Shreveport	192675	B. T. Washington	0	0	1	1	0	2
Thibodaux	192845	C. M. Washington High	0	0	0	1	0	1
			7	44	104	40	41	236

Negro High Schools Sending Candidates to
CEEB Tests, 1961-62

Mississippi	Number	Name	Aug.	Dec.	Jan.	Mar.	May	Total
*Bay St.Louis	250145	St. Rose De Lima High	0	0	0	0	1	1
Canton	250440	A. M. Rogers High	1	0	0	0	0	1
Cleveland	250575	E. Side High	0	0	0	1	0	1
Grenada	251022	C. Dotson High	0	0	0	0	1	1
Greenville	251025	Coleman High	0	4	0	0	0	4
Greenville	251040	Sacred Heart High	0	0	0	2	1	3
Gulfport	251100	Thirty Third Ave High	0	1	0	0	0	1
Hattiesburg	251185	Rowan High	0	0	0	1	0	1
Holly Springs	251290	St. Mary High	0	0	0	0	1	1
Indianola	251335	Gentry High	1	0	0	0	0	1
Jackson	251395	Holy Ghost School	0	0	0	1	0	1
Jackson	251405	Lanier High	0	0	2	2	0	4
Lexington	251615	Saints Jr. College High	1	0	0	0	0	1
McComb	251820	Burglund High	0	1	0	0	0	1
*Monticello	251978	McCullough High	1	0	0	0	0	1
West Point	253270	Colored High	0	1	0	0	0	1
*Booneville	250295	W. Anderson	0	0	0	0	1	1
*Natchez	252120	S. V. Thompson	0	0	0	0	1	1
			4	7	2	7	6	26

Negro High Schools Sending Candidates to
CEEB Tests, 1961-62

So. Carolina	Number	Name	Aug.	Dec.	Jan.	Mar.	May	Total
Abbeville	410010	J. S. Wright	0	1	0	1	1	3
Aiken	410020	Schofield High	0	1	2	2	1	6
Allendale	410030	Cox Tr.	0	0	0	0	1	1
Andrews	410060	Rosemary High	0	0	1	0	0	1
Bamberg	410095	R. Carroll	0	0	0	1	0	1
Barnwell	410100	Butler High	0	0	0	0	1	1
Bath	410117	Jefferson High	0	0	0	0	1	1
Bennettsville	410142	East Side	0	0	0	0	1	1
Bluffton	410210	Riley High	1	0	0	0	0	1
Camden	410295	Jackson High	0	1	0	0	1	2
Charleston	410375	Wilson High	0	1	0	0	0	1
Charleston	410380	Burke High	4	0	3	15	4	26
Charleston	410395	Immaculate Conception	1	0	1	9	1	12
*Charleston	410420	W. Meggett	0	0	2	1	0	3
Chester	410450	Finley Sr. High	0	0	0	0	2	2
Columbia	410500	B. T. Washington High	0	0	1	1	0	2
Columbia	410510	C. A. Johnson	2	0	0	5	0	7
Darlington	410625	Mayo High	1	0	0	0	0	1
Denmark	410640	Voorhees High	1	0	0	0	0	1
Eastover	410690	Webber High	0	0	0	0	1	1
Edgefield	410695	Edgefield Co. High	1	0	0	0	0	1
Fairforest	410745	Lincoln High	0	0	1	0	0	1
Gaffney	410805	Granard High	0	0	0	0	1	1
Great Falls	410860	Elizabeth Heights	1	0	1	0	0	2
Greeleyville	410875	Williamsburg Co. Tr.	1	0	0	0	0	1
Greenville	410905	Sterling High	0	0	1	2	1	4
Greenville	410922	Washington High	0	0	0	0	1	1
~~[illegible]~~	~~[illegible]~~	~~[illegible]~~	~~X~~	~~X~~	~~X~~	~~X~~	~~X~~	~~X~~
Harleyville	410985	Kennedy High	0	0	0	0	1	1
Kingstree	411200	Tomlinson	0	0	1	0	0	1
Lake View	411215	Columbus High	0	0	1	0	0	1
Laurens	411280	Sanders High	0	1	0	0	0	1
McClellanville	411395	Lincoln	0	0	0	1	0	1
Mullins	411460	Palmetto High	0	0	0	1	0	1
North	411515	Dover High	0	1	0	0	1	2
Norway	411545	Norfield High	1	0	0	0	0	1
Orangeburg	411555	Wilkinson Sr. High	0	0	2	5	0	7
Ridgeland	411670	Jasper High	0	0	0	0	1	1
St. George	411745	Williams Mem. High	0	0	0	0	1	1
*Charleston	410410	Murray Voc.	2	0	1	3	2	8

Negro High Schools Sending Candidates to
CEEB Tests, 1961-62

So. Carolina	Number	Name	Aug.	Dec.	Jan.	Mar.	May	Total
St. Matthews	411750	J. Ford High	0	0	1	0	1	2
Spartanburg	411840	Carver High	0	0	0	1	0	1
Summerville	411895	Alston High	0	0	0	0	1	1
Sumter	411905	Eastern High	0	0	1	0	0	1
Sumter	411925	Lincoln High	0	0	0	1	0	1
Taylors	411950	Lincoln High	0	4	0	0	0	4
New Zion	412000	Walker Gamble High	0	1	1	0	0	2
Walterboro	412040	Colleton High	0	0	0	0	1	1
Williamston	412120	Spearman High	0	0	1	0	0	1
Winnsboro	412145	Fairfield Co. Tr.	0	2	3	1	1	7
			16	13	25	50	28	132

The College Board today

1961-2

A description of the organization, services, and programs of the College Entrance Examination Board

College Entrance Examination Board

1962-63

Bulletin of Information

Scholastic Aptitude Test
Achievement Tests
Writing Sample

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD

Regional Office: Sewanee, Tennessee, Lyric 8-5668

BEN F. CAMERON, JR.
Regional Director

January 6, 1964

To Members of the Special Committee on Examining Center Policy

Gentlemen:

I appreciate your returning the cards in response to my earlier communication regarding a meeting of the committee on January 31, or on February 3 or 4.

The Trustees of the College Board on December 12 agreed to have an important special meeting during the first two weeks in February, and I have delayed communicating with you again until the date of this meeting was definitely set. It has now been set for February 4, which was the only one of the three dates suggested to you which was feasible for a majority of the committee.

I apologize for this delay, and for the necessity to reschedule our meeting which now arises. I hope, however, that you understand the circumstances.

We hope to report to the Trustees when they meet March 18-19 the results of the committee's deliberations. I am, therefore, asking you once more to designate possible dates.

Will you please use the enclosed postal card to indicate which dates during the first two weeks in March (March 2-6, and 9-13) it would not be possible for you to attend a one-day meeting in Atlanta.

Also, please indicate any preferred dates you might have in this two-week period.

Thank you for your patience.

Sincerely yours,

Ben F. Cameron, Jr.
-gb

BFCJr:gb

Dictated by Dr. Cameron, but transcribed and signed in his absence.

BP ✓
WB ✓ for info.

SW-file

mw 9-1980

Rec'd 1/5/65

File

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD
475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027, University 5-9500

BEN F. CAMERON, JR.
Vice President
Sewanee, Tennessee 37375
Telephone 598-5668

January 4, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie,

The Special Committee on Examining Center Policy still exists. Its inactivity has been due primarily to two things -- when I tried to ascertain dates on which a meeting would be possible last spring, I was completely unable to get enough people together. Beyond that, I have simply been overextended with my new responsibilities (and with continued responsibility for the Southern Regional Office until a new director came in in the fall), and with some consultative work with the Ford Foundation.

The work with the desegregation of testing centers has been going forward, however, primarily under Ben Gibson, who was formerly with the Atlanta public schools.

Before getting to your specific question, I would like to report to you that during the current testing year every College Board center will accept every candidate without discrimination. The slate is not quite as clean as we would like for it to be -- we have been able to attain our goal in Georgia only by agreeing to maintain dual centers (one in the white school, one in the Negro school) in about ten small towns in South Georgia, thereby maintaining de facto segregation. Negro candidates have been tested in the white school in several of these places, however, so that good faith has been proved (we have not tried to check on white candidates tested in Negro centers). We hope to correct the situation in most of these places this year, but it will probably be another year before we can do away with all such centers.

I hope that Ben Gibson can get the committee on testing center policy together late this winter, or in early spring, to consider the entire situation.

Actually, we have been able to go a good deal farther and faster than we thought would be possible when we met in October, 1962.

Now for your specific question, which really resolves itself into three components. One is philosophical, one is practical, and one has to do with the Westminster School.

Philosophically, I would be concerned about the Board's assuming a posture which would put it into a position of accrediting a school (or a college). This is not too clear-cut when we are talking about testing centers, but the same question relative to membership of colleges in the College Board was debated at some length several years ago. The decision of the Committee on Membership and the Trustees then was that it would be no more proper for the Board to require integration for membership than for it to require that a college offer courses in Greek or modern dance.

Of course, the situation with testing centers is not completely analogous to membership. It is, however, roughly parallel. It seems to me that we are completely at liberty to specify conditions for the operation of a testing center (heating, lighting, seating, restrooms, and so forth, as well as integration); when such specifications extend to the operation of the institution, rather than of just the testing center, we are really in a position of accrediting the school, as we, in fact, accredit the center.

This may be a bit of circuitous reasoning, and I would be happy to have the matter considered by the Committee, and have it make recommendations to the Trustees.

From a practical point of view, we would have difficulty in a number of areas in the South if we insisted that institutions where our testing centers are located be desegregated, as well as insisting that the centers themselves be desegregated. This difficulty probably would not be insurmountable.

I have talked with Bill Presley a number of times about the possible desegregation of the Westminster Schools (primarily in connection with our "Project Opportunity", which we are operating in cooperation with the Southern Association). Bill was a member of the group which set up plans for the project; these plans call for summer workshops for high school students at prep schools. Since the project is being operated without regard to race, and includes schools for Negroes, integrated schools, and some Southern mountain schools, it will be necessary that prep schools involved be integrated.

To Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar January 4, 1965

We were able initially to find only two schools with which we could work -- Berea School in Kentucky, and St. Stephen's School in Austin, Texas. Bill wanted very much to have Westminster Schools included, and felt that within a year or two he would be able to persuade his Board to permit integration. I suspect that the problem is more with donors than with his Board. I further suspect that an application from someone like Martin Luther King's son (assuming academic qualification) would produce immediate integration, rather than the fiasco they had at the Lovett School. Perhaps I am just engaged in wishful thinking, but I am convinced that Bill Presley is sincere in his desire to accomplish integration, and feel that he will be successful relatively soon.

It has not been my intention to dodge the difficult question you raise; rather, I have tried to point out just how difficult it is. I do think this would be an entirely legitimate subject for discussion by the Committee.

Happy New Year to you and all of your staff. We appreciate the wonderful work you are doing.

Sincerely yours,

Ben B.T.

Ben F. Cameron, Jr.

BFCJr:bt

cc: Mr. Ben W. Gibson, Jr.

Dictated by Mr. Cameron, but
transcribed and signed
in his absence.

December 31, 1964

Mr. Ben Cameron, Jr.
Regional Director
College Entrance Examination Board
Regional Office
Sewanee, Tennessee

Dear Ben:

I don't know what the status may now be of our Special Committee on Examining Center Policy. On the assumption it still exists, I would like to raise a speculative and tentative sort of question with you.

There have been two years of change and progress since our meeting in the Fall of 1962. These two years have brought a great many American institutions to accept higher standards of racial equity. I wonder if a step should not now be taken beyond those we recommended in 1962. To be both frank and specific, I am worried about Westminister School here in Atlanta, which continues to adhere to a racially exclusive admission policy.

We recognized in 1962 that the CEEB was not intended and should not attempt to reform the schools of the South; I would still agree with that. But I do seriously question whether now, in the light of all that has happened since 1962, CEEB should continue to utilize and benefit from the facilities of a segregated school.

I have not discussed this matter with Dr. Presley; I have discussed it with a member of his board.

All good wishes for the New Year,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
bcc: Mr. Stephen Wright

2/1/65

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD

Regional Office: Sewanee, Tennessee, Lyric 8-5668

JAMES L. BUFORD
Associate Director

January 29, 1965

did not attend

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We hope that you will find it possible to attend the Southern Regional Meeting in Atlanta on February 18 and 19. The agenda will show that open discussion of some of the areas of Board activities and planning is the primary purpose of this session. Your experience and opinions will be most helpful. Please return the enclosed card at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Jas L. Buford

JLB:es

Enclosures

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD
SIXTH ANNUAL SOUTHERN REGIONAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING
THE ATLANTA AMERICANA MOTOR HOTEL
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

February 18 and 19, 1965

AGENDA

Thursday, February 18, 1965

3:00 - 6:00 p.m.	Registration - Mezzanine
	Showing of new film, "No Limit to Learning" - Terrace Room
6:30 - 9:00 p.m.	Dinner - Convention Hall
	Introduction of Mr. Robert E. Stoltz, the recently appointed Director of the Southern Regional Office, by Mr. Ben F. Cameron, Jr., Vice President, College Entrance Examination Board
	Introduction of discussion leaders and guests
	Director's Report, Mr. Stoltz
9:00 - 10:00 p.m.	Informal reception for membership and guests Terrace Room (A)
	Meeting for discussion of Uniform Early Decision Plan Terrace Room (B)

Friday, February 19, 1965

7:30 - 8:30 a.m.	Breakfast for new members - Terrace Room
8:30 - 9:00 a.m.	Late registration, coffee - Mezzanine
9:00 - 12 noon	MORNING SESSION - Convention Hall Moderator, Mr. Robert E. Stoltz
	Discussion: The Relationship of the Board's Testing Programs to Curriculum Change, Mr. Harold Howe II, Director of the Learning Institute of North Carolina (LINC), and Chairman of the College Entrance Examination Board Committee on Examinations

Discussion: The Work of the Committees Concerned with the Tests of English, Mr. Philip Burnham, Chairman of the Department of English, St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire. Mr. Burnham is Chairman of the Board's Committee of Examiners for the English Composition Tests and a member of the Committee of Review for the Examinations in English

Discussion: A Summary of the Work of the Commission on English, Mr. Leslie F. Guster, Assistant Director of the Commission

12:15 - 1:15 p.m. Luncheon - Decatur Room

1:30 - 4:00 p.m. AFTERNOON SESSION - Convention Hall
Moderator, Mr. Robert E. Stoltz

Discussion: The Development of a Council on College Level Examinations, Mr. Ben F. Cameron, Jr., Vice President, College Entrance Examination Board

Discussion: The Puerto Rican Experiment, Mr. Adolfo Fortier, Executive Director for Latin American Activities, and Director of the Puerto Rican Office, College Entrance Examination Board

Discussion: The College Board's Role in Programs for the Culturally Deprived, Mr. Ben F. Cameron, Jr.

Announcements and Summary of the Sixth Annual Meeting, Mr. Robert E. Stoltz

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD

Regional Office: Sewanee Tennessee 598-5668

April 5, 1965

MEMORANDUM

To: Supervisors, College Entrance Examination Board Test Centers

We have been asked to make a survey of the availability of eating facilities in the institutions that serve as College Entrance Examination Board test centers.

The completion and early return of the enclosed questionnaire in the self-addressed, stamped envelope will be greatly appreciated.

Thanking you in advance, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Ben W. Gibson, Jr.

Ben W. Gibson, Jr.
Assistant Director

- - - -

April 13, 1965

Mr. Ben W. Gibson, Jr.
Regional Office
College Entrance Examination Board
Sewanee, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Gibson:

I received your message that our committee would meet in Atlanta on June 14. I am terribly afraid that I will not be able to make the meeting. My daughter's graduation (from Swarthmore) is on June 7. We, of course, are going up for the festivities and have decided also that this is the one and only chance of the summer for us to take a week's vacation. I feel quite out of sorts about this, because I had, as you probably know, some time ago written to Ben Cameron regarding a matter which I would like to bring up for discussion. I have been unable, however, to figure out any way that I can be there without scuttling entirely some complicated family plans. I shall, however, be greatly interested in getting a report of the meeting.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
bc: Dr. Stephen J. Wright

To Lindy

Date 4/9/65 Time

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

Mr. Ben Gibson

of Sewanee, Tenn

Phone College Ents. Exam. Bd.

TELEPHONED	✓	PLEASE CALL	
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU		URGENT	
	RETURNED YOUR CALL		

Message Wants you to hold June 14 open for Coll. Bd. Mtg. in Atl. at Hilton Inn (9:00 - Noon)

mmj

Operator

No. 2725 S Office Supply Co., Atlanta TR 2-1133

File

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD

Regional Office: Sewanee, Tennessee, Lyric 8-5668

BEN W. GIBSON, JR.
Assistant Director

Rec'd 4/14/65

April 13, 1965

File

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

A meeting of the Committee on Examining Center Policy will be held in Atlanta, Georgia, Monday, June 14, at the Hilton Inn, adjacent to the Atlanta Municipal Airport.

The meeting will begin at 9:00 A.M. and will conclude with lunch.

Rooms will be reserved at the Hilton Inn for those wishing to spend Sunday evening, June 13, in Atlanta.

A post card is enclosed for your convenience in informing me of the accommodations that I should arrange for you in Atlanta.

Arrangements for transportation are left to the desires of committee members. However, it is pointed out that flights from Atlanta to the east, west, and southwest are available during the early afternoon.

A travel expense voucher is included. Additional copies will be available at the meeting.

Sincerely,

Ben W. Gibson, Jr.

BWGJr:es

Enclosures: Return Post Card
Expense voucher

Dear Mr. Gibson:

☐ I shall be able to attend the meeting of the Committee on Examining Center Policy in Atlanta, Georgia, June 14.

☐ I shall not be able to attend the meeting of the Committee on Examining Center Policy in Atlanta, Georgia, June 14.

☐ Please make reservations for me at the Hilton Inn, Atlanta Airport, for Sunday evening, June 13.

Signed: _____

College Entrance Examination Board
Southern Regional Office
Sewanee, Tennessee

Please reimburse me for expenses incurred in connection with activities of the College Entrance Examination Board:

Name _____ Date(s) _____
(Please print or type)

Purpose of trip Meeting, Committee on Examining Center Policy, Atlanta, June 14, 1965

*Transportation from _____ to _____ $ _____

from _____ to _____ $ _____

Hotels (number of nights ____)---------- $ _____

Meals (number of meals ____)---------- $ _____

Cab and carfare---------- $ _____

Other (please specify) _____ $ _____

_____ $ _____

_____ $ _____

TOTAL---------- $ _____

less advance (if any)---------- $ _____

Amount to be reimbursed----- $ _____

_____
(Signature)

_____
(Address)

_____ _____
(Date)

*Automobile travel expenses are reimbursed at the rate of 10¢ per mile plus tolls up to the cost of first class air transportation for one-way distances greater than 150 miles.

PLEASE ATTACH ALL AVAILABLE RECEIPTS

Rec'd 4/20/65

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD

Regional Office: Sewanee, Tennessee, Lyric 8-5668

BEN W. GIBSON, JR.
Assistant Director

April 19, 1965

File

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We have had to change the meeting date of the Committee on Examining Center Policy.

The meeting of the Committee on Examining Center Policy will be held in Atlanta, Georgia, Thursday, June 17, at the Hilton Inn, adjacent to the Atlanta Municipal Airport, rather than on Monday, June 14.

The meeting will begin at 9:00 A.M. and will conclude with lunch.

Rooms will be reserved at the Hilton Inn for those wishing to spend Wednesday evening, June 16, in Atlanta.

A post card is enclosed for your convenience in informing me of the accommodations that I should arrange for you in Atlanta.

Arrangements for transportation are left to the desires of committee members.

Sincerely,

Ben W. Gibson, Jr.
mlh

BWGJr:mlh

Enclosure: Return Post Card.

Dictated by Mr. Gibson, but transcribed
and signed in his absence.

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD

Regional Office: Sewanee Tennessee 598-5668

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

June 9, 1965

For: Members, Special Committee on Examining Center Policy

Subject: Agenda and information for meeting, June 17, 1965, Atlanta, Georgia

Enclosed are the agenda and confidential information pertaining to the meeting of the Special Committee on Examining Center Policy, June 17, 1965, Atlanta, Georgia.

Ben W. Gibson, Jr.

Ben W. Gibson, Jr.
Assistant Director

BWGJr:ms

Enc.

file

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD

Regional Office: Sewanee, Tennessee, Lyric 8-5668

BEN W. GIBSON, JR.
Assistant Director

June 9, 1965

Rec'd 6/10/65

14 J - file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

As noted in Agenda item 4, the question of nonsegregation of institutions at which testing centers are located will be a part of the deliberations of the Committee on Examining Center Policy, June 17.

I shall make a brief and very general background statement about the problem and then the meeting will be turned over to you for a presentation and discussion of the issue.

Sincerely,

Ben W. Gibson, Jr.

BWGJr:ms
cc: Mr. Ben F. Cameron, Jr.

Enc.

AGENDA

Special Committee on Examining Center Policy
Atlanta, Georgia
June 17, 1965

1. Communications from the chairman
   - (1.1) Minutes of meeting, October 1, 1962
   - (1.2) Resolution adopted by the Board of Trustees, December 13-14, 1962

2. Communications from the CEEB staff
   - (2.1) Overview of progress since 1962, Mr. Ben F. Cameron, Jr., Vice President, CEEB*
   - (2.2) Negotiations for center compliance with Trustees' Center Policy, general description
   - (2.3) Generalized tabular summary of results of center negotiations, 1962-63, 1963-64, 1964-65, 1965-66
   - (2.4) Closed centers, narrative summary
   - (2.5) Military bases
   - (2.6) Racial composition of candidates, each center, five hard-core states, test administrations of December 1963, January 1964, and March 1964; December 1964, January 1965 and March 1965 (Data work sheets)
   - (2.7) Generalized annual summary, 1963-64 and 1964-65, of centers testing integrated groups
   - (2.8) Violations of Trustees' Center Policy, Reported or Suspected, 1964-65
   - (2.9) Survey of accessibility of midday eating facilities, CEEB candidates, questionnaire and statement.

/Mr. Robert E. Stoltz, Regional Director, and Mr. Ben W. Gibson, Jr., Assistant Director, Southern Regional Office, College Board, will attend the meeting./

3. Communications from ETS
   - (3.1) Discussion of nonsegregation policies for ETS testing programs, Mr. J. E. Terral, Assistant Vice President, ETS*
   - (3.2) Statements bearing on nonsegregation at centers addressed to candidates or to center supervisors, testing year, 1965-66

4. Question of nonsegregation of institutions at which testing centers are located
   - (4.1) Background information*
   - (4.2) The issue*
   - (4.3) De facto segregation in centers

5. Review of Trustees' Statement of Policy*
6. Future involvement of the Southern Regional Office in testing center negotiations*
7. Continuation of Special Committee on Examining Center Policy*
8. New Business*

* Oral presentations

Rec'd 7/16/65

SA
VP
PA
BP
MI - file

Mr. Dunbar

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD

July 14, 1965

To: Members of the Special Committee on Examining Center Policy and others attending the June 12 meeting

From: Ben F. Cameron, Jr., Sewanee, Tennessee

Attached are the minutes of the meeting on June 17, 1965. The Appendices are not included since these were sent to you as Agenda items prior to the meeting. The Appendices and Agenda items bear the same numbers.

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD
475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON EXAMINING CENTER POLICY
Minutes of Meeting, June 17, 1965

The second meeting of the Special Committee on Examining Center Policy was held at the Atlanta Airport Hilton Inn, Atlanta, Georgia, beginning at 9:00 A.M., Thursday, June 17, 1965. The following members were present:

Arthur Howe, Jr., President, American Field Service, Chairman
Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
William L. Pressly, President, The Westminster Schools
Stephen J. Wright, President, Fisk University

Representing the Staff, CEEB:

Ben F. Cameron, Jr., Vice President
Ben W. Gibson, Jr., Assistant Director, Southern Regional Office

Representing Educational Testing Service:

J. E. Terral, Assistant Vice President

Two members of the Committee, J. Alton Burdine, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, University of Texas, and Ralph McGill, Publisher, the Atlanta Constitution, were unable to attend.

Chairman Howe opened the meeting by explaining that its purpose was to review progress made by the College Board and ETS staffs in the desegregation of College Board testing centers, and the establishment of other non-segregated centers, since the first meeting of the Committee on October 1, 1962. The statement of policy recommended by the Committee was adopted by the Board's Trustees in December, 1962. Mr. Howe pointed out further that the Committee would be asked to consider the adequacy of the present statement of policy, to examine several specific items relative to the implementation of this policy, and to determine whether or not this Committee, established by the Trustees as an ad hoc body, continues to be needed.

The Committee approved the minutes of the meeting of October 1, 1962 (Appendix 1.1), with the following change in the final paragraph of Part III on page 4 (material in parentheses is deleted from the minutes; material underlined is added or substituted):

"The Committee explicitly excluded from the phrase 'without regard to race, color, or national origin' any reference to religion on the grounds

that the Board does (discriminate against normal candidates in the matter of attendance) limit its administrations at the special Sunday centers which are established (for those whose religious) to those members of religious groups whose beliefs prevent testing on Saturday."

In initiating communications from the staff, Mr. Cameron described the progress that has been made in obtaining sufficient capacity in testing centers within the five "hard-core" Southern states to assure testing, without discrimination, of all candidates for College Board examinations. He called particular attention to the splendid cooperation which had been obtained from most school and college authorities, so that, as far as is known, all centers in all Southern states now operate in compliance with the Trustees' statement of testing center policy.

In view of the progress that has been made during the last two years, in which complete desegregation of testing centers was obtained a year in advance of the goal set by the Committee in October, 1962 (complete desegregation in 1964-65, a year in advance of the goal of 1965-66), and of the current impact of the Federal Civil Rights Act, Mr. Cameron expressed the opinion that the staff of the Southern Regional Office of the College Board, which has been acting as the agent of Educational Testing Service in the establishment and maintenance of testing centers in the five Southern states where problems have existed, should be able to return to ETS responsibility for all negotiations for the establishment and continuation of testing centers in the South.

Mr. Howe noted that much of the anecdotal material appearing in the Appendices, and in the verbal accounts of negotiations for the desegregation of testing centers, is of historical and social significance, and expressed the hope that it might be preserved in a form appropriate to this significance. After some discussion, on motion duly seconded, the Committee adopted the following resolution:

RESOLVED: That the staff of the College Entrance Examination Board be asked to prepare, in appropriate form, and for submission to the Trustees, a full account of negotiations which have taken place for the desegregation of testing centers, with the provision that the staff and the Trustees should decide on the form, distribution, and timing of any publication which might result from this report.

Mr. Howe asked to be allowed to write an introduction to the resulting report; on motion made and passed, the Committee voted that he should do so.

President Wright called particular attention to the paragraph quoted below, appearing on page 2 of Appendix 2.2, noting that the content and spirit of the paragraph are worthy of a detailed exposition because of the possible signifi-

cance which the approaches and methods used in the negotiations might have for others involved in similar undertakings:

> "The strategy was to drop in on the school or college official unannounced, to bring up the subject as matter-of-factly as possible, and to help him talk through his problems. It was also agreed that the CEEB representatives would not be offended, no matter what was said about the CEEB, ETS, the Trustees, or other persons, including the immediate CEEB representatives. In fact, the CEEB representative was not to leave a school or college official who had been hostile or resentful until the official was in a good humor. It took a little better than two hours of listenin' and talkin' to get one official in a "good humor.'"

The Committee considered summary data attached as Appendices 2.2 to 2.9. It recommended that the Board and/or ETS staffs continue for the next year or two a study of the extent to which the actual desegregation of testing centers is proceeding, as reflected in Appendices 2.6 and 2.7. The Committee also asked that the word "apparently," used in some statements in these Appendices, be explained in any reports circulated. This refers to usage of the word in statements indicating that some white centers "apparently were not chosen by Negro candidates." The explanation should point out that neither the College Board nor ETS has any information regarding the race of a candidate, and must depend for data of this type on information produced from answer sheets which are machine-processed at Educational Testing Service. Each candidate is required to mark on the answer sheet a code number for the high school he attends. For the states in question, it is still possible to recognize <u>most</u> predominantly white and predominantly Negro schools from lists published in earlier years by the state departments of education (at present, most lists make no such distinction). This does not, however, allow positive determination of the race of the candidate for a variety of reasons: (1) Some candidates, both Negro and white, make errors in marking the code numbers for their high schools; (2) An increasing number of schools are desegregated, so that it is not always possible to know that a candidate attending a predominantly Negro school is Negro, or that a candidate from a predominantly white school is white; (3) Candidates registering after the regular closing date for a particular test administration may not have their registrations recorded on the computer tape from which lists are later compiled -- since an apparently larger proportion of Negro candidates register late than do white candidates, it is likely that a number of such candidates are missed when the computer-produced lists are prepared.

Mr. Terral, reporting for Educational Testing Service, outlined plans and procedures being adopted by Educational Testing Service to assure the operation of testing centers in a non-discriminatory fashion for all programs for which ETS is responsible, including the College Board program. Procedures which ETS has adopted include the following:

A. Publication in the bulletins of information prepared for candidates for the various programs of a statement that candidates may be expected to be tested without discrimination, and a suggestion that candidates check on luncheon facilities if luncheon is required (see below comments regarding problems related to lunch);

B. Publication of a statement in the Supervisor's Handbook, beginning with a new edition to be published in the summer of 1965, requiring that luncheon facilities controlled by the institution which are open to the generality of candidates must be open to all candidates, regardless of race;

C. Inclusion on the "three-part card," by means of which an individual agrees to the utilization of facilities for which he is responsible for the administration of tests, and accepts other responsibilities connected with the supervision of test administration, a statement immediately above the signature indicating that the center will be operated without discrimination.

The policy regarding the non-segregation of luncheon facilities, on which ETS and College Board staffs have agreed, was discussed with the Committee, which recognized the difficulties involved in adopting a clearly-stated, published policy which would apply equally to all programs. Most centers which have luncheon facilities open on testing dates (normally Saturday, when most secondary schools do not have luncheon facilities open) have agreed to allow all candidates for all tests to obtain luncheon if they so desire, regardless of race. In some instances this agreement may be made for non-CEEB programs administered by ETS because the number of candidates is small, whereas a College Board center in the same institution may simply have too many candidates to allow opening luncheon facilities to candidates who are not also students in that institution. This happens primarily in private boarding secondary schools, and in some colleges which have large testing centers but limited dining facilities. The Committee approved the policy recommended by the staff which may, on the surface, seem to contain inconsistencies.

In the course of later discussion, it was pointed out that the College Board and ETS policies regarding the non-segregation of testing centers are now identical; the fact that a particular institution might offer luncheon facilities to candidates for another ETS program where the number of candidates is small, and fail to offer such luncheon facilities to College Board candidates, where the number of candidates is large, was recognized by the Committee as an inevitable result of varying physical facilities, and not an inconsistency in policy.

Discussion turned next to the specific matter of the Board's establishing non-segregated testing centers in institutions which, in their regular operations,

continue to have segregated student bodies; and to the more general question of the Board's official position in matters other than the operation of testing centers toward institutions which continued to be segregated.

Mr. Cameron pointed out that the Committee on Membership and the Trustees have, in the past, discussed briefly the question of eligibility for Board membership of institutions which are segregated. Discussion of the question of membership for such institutions has usually been similar to discussions relative to the actual use made by member institutions of College Board test scores. Although Board staff, committees, and Trustees might well disapprove a particular institution's use of test scores just as they would disapprove the continuation of a policy of segregation, such matters dealing with internal institutional policy have thus far been thought to be beyond the scope of the Board's responsibilities. Requirement of particular internal modes of operation for Board membership would constitute accrediting activities on the part of the Board, and the Board's specific policy has been to avoid all accrediting functions.

Although the establishment of a testing center within an institution is not exactly analogous to membership, there are similarities. Mr. Cameron pointed out that the Board may impose any requirements it wishes for the operation of a testing center, and that any institution which does not feel that it can meet the requirements, or which, in the judgment of the Board or ETS staff is not adequately meeting the requirements, may choose not to have a testing center, or may have such a center removed or refused. It is the Board's responsibility to see that tests are administered in a standard and equitable fashion; the manner in which facilities used for testing centers might be utilized at other times would seem to be beyond the Board's area of responsibility.

In addition, it was pointed out that we had been able to achieve completely non-segregated testing in the academic year 1964-65 because of the excellent cooperation of many school and college authorities who had been willing to assume responsibility for operating non-segregated centers, or have been able to persuade their governing boards to sanction such operation, but which continue to be segregated in their own operation. Some of these have specifically refused to execute certificates of compliance with the Civil Rights Act.

Although it was acknowledged that rapid desegregation of school and college facilities, greatly accelerated by the Civil Rights Act, would make it possible for the Board to have testing centers only in desegregated institutions, and that this could be accomplished as a matter of internal policy, the Committee felt that such a procedure would be insufficient. It was pointed out that the College Board has an honorable public image, which it should preserve, and that the Board should always act in the public interest. The Committee felt that the Board, as an association operating in the public domain, has a moral responsibility to take a visible position with regard to continued segregation of any institution with which it deals.

Although the Committee recognized that its own responsibilities extend only to the operation of testing centers, it felt that this question is of sufficient importance to warrant a representation from the Committee to the Trustees. Beyond the moral responsibility involved, a practical consideration was suggested: the removal of a testing center, or College Board membership, from an institution which continues to be segregated would constitute the application of additional pressure at a time when other pressures are large, and might be sufficient to lead to a change in policy. Therefore, on motion duly made and seconded, the Committee adopted the following resolution:

RESOLVED: That the Committee on Examining Center Policy request the Trustees to review the matter of the College Entrance Examination Board's official relationships with any institution which remains segregated.

The Committee then turned its attention to the matter of dual testing centers (the operation of centers in predominantly white and predominantly Negro institutions in the same locality, resulting often in de facto segregation of the testing centers). Some of the discussion of dual testing centers which took place at the meeting of the Board's Trustees in December, 1964, was reviewed. It was pointed out that some of these centers (as in the state colleges for Negroes in North Carolina) have been established at the specific request of institutions which were just instituting requirements of College Board examinations for admission. Others (as in Atlanta) have been established simply because of the increasing need for testing center capacity, and increasing difficulty in obtaining such capacity. In still other cases, particularly in rural Southern Georgia, dual centers have existed, certainly in the minds of local people, to allow, and perhaps promote, de facto segregation. It was specifically noted that all centers, whether in predominantly Negro or predominantly white institutions, have agreed to test all candidates, and that most centers have tested candidates of the other race.

Progress during the past two years in reducing the number of dual centers in the last category was reviewed. The staff expressed the opinion that little more could be done at present, since in almost all areas where centers still exist in Negro and white institutions, neither center alone would have adequate capacity. The Committee accepted the College Board and ETS staff definition of a dual center as being one in a Negro or white institution where there is another center in the same town, or nearby, in an institution attended predominantly by the other race, and where one or the other of the centers would have adequate capacity to test all candidates now being accommodated in the two centers combined.

Particular current difficulties in determining whether or not two centers in a single town are needed were outlined. These difficulties stem primarily from the adoption within the last year, of a requirement of the Scholastic Aptitude

Test by many colleges which are members of the United Negro College Fund, and by the fact that most of these colleges urge or require that the test be taken in December, the administration where the largest capacity is needed. Because of this, it was felt that at least another year's experience will be needed before sufficient information is on hand to allow adequate, selective closing of some centers which now appear to fit the definition of dual centers.

The Committee recognized that considerable progress has been made in eliminating conditions which contributed to de facto segregation in testing centers. It requested the staffs of the College Board and Educational Testing Service to eliminate de facto segregation as rapidly as possible by closing one of a dual-center arrangement wherever both centers are not needed, and, in doing so, to close the center in the institution which tests the smaller number of candidates, regardless of the predominant race in its student body. The Committee agreed further that the elimination of de facto segregation need not mean the elimination of centers which have long cooperated with the College Board (examples of such centers were pointed out, as where a public school has tested, over a period of time, in a desegregated fashion, but has tested a comparatively small number of candidates; in some such cases, newly-opened centers in Negro colleges in the same town may be testing more candidates at some administrations).

The Committee next re-examined the statement of testing center policy adopted by the Trustees in December, 1962. It found the resolution which constitutes a statement of policy still to be a good one, and agreed that no changes should be made. The second resolution, dealing with the implementation of the statement of policy, was found to be no longer needed.

In recognizing the extent to which the work of desegregation of testing centers has proceeded, the Committee agreed that the staffs of the Southern Regional Office of the College Entrance Examination Board and of Educational Testing Service should work out details for phasing the Southern Regional Office out of direct involvement in testing center operations, but that the Southern Regional Office should continue to serve ETS in an advisory and monitoring role.

Finally, pointing out that each member of the Committee expresses his willingness to continue to serve the purposes of the Committee in any way needed, the following motion, duly made and seconded, was adopted:

RESOLVED: That, inasmuch as its purposes have been accomplished, the Special Committee on Examining Center Policy request the Trustees of the College Entrance Examination Board to discharge it.

There being no further business, the Committee adjourned at 11:56 A.M.

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file

July 16, 1965

Mr. Ben F. Cameron, Jr.
College Entrance Examination Board
Sewanee, Tennessee

Dear Ben:

You have done your usual admirable job of writing up the minutes of the June 12 meeting.

Let me take this occasion to tell you that I shall, in the next couple of months, be leaving SRC for New York, where I shall take office on October 1 as director of the Field Foundation. The address is 250 Park Avenue, and I hope that you will come to visit when you are in town.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Recd 7/23/65

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD
475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027, University 5-9500

BEN F. CAMERON, JR.
Vice President
Sewanee, Tennessee 37375
Telephone 598-5668

File

July 21, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie,

Thank you for your kind remarks about the minutes of our meeting. Most credit there, as for the tremendous amount of work in negotiating with testing centers, should go to Ben Gibson, who has really done a magnificent job.

We very much appreciate your excellent cooperation in working with this Committee, and the valuable suggestions you have made.

Your new position as Director of the Field Foundation is news to us. Congratulations and best wishes -- though we shall miss you in the South, we shall certainly keep in touch in one capacity or another.

Sincerely yours,

Ben

BFCJr:bt

Negotiations for Compliance with Trustees' Center Policy, 1961-65

In 1961 and '62 center supervisors in the five hard-core states were visited in an effort to determine the dimensions of the problem that implementation of the Trustees' Center Policy would impose upon center personnel and upon the testing program of the CEEB in this section of the country. From these face-to-face consultations it was clear that most supervisors (counselors or principals) had no personal or professional objections to testing racially mixed groups. It was also clear that the decision to operate or not to operate centers open to all candidates was a matter for local boards of education. It was clear that a request of superintendents to present this issue to their boards of education was the way to bring matters to a head.

The consultations with center supervisors yielded additional insights. They agreed with the CEEB that it was fundamentally unethical to turn Negroes away from white centers or to separate Negro candidates from white candidates within a center. From the supervisors who had been testing white and Negro candidates together it was learned that this phenomenon had been accomplished by the following procedure. Not one word about the possibility of such an occurrence had been mentioned prior to the event. Negro candidates were seated immediately, so that these candidates would show no uncertainty and to give the impression that the testing of Negroes was normal procedure. No supervisory personnel made any mention of the event after the test. Supervisors reported that when this procedure was followed, white candidates, full of anxiety over the test, paid no attention to the Negro candidates and, insofar as was known, never referred to the event at home. Trouble, if any, usually developed if officials, local police or politicians, found out about integrated testing.

Some counselors and principals, though without objections themselves to testing racially mixed groups, were of the opinion that their superintendents and board members would not sanction the Trustees' Center Policy. A survey of candidate loads in these acutely sensitive areas encouraged the CEEB to have, if possible, alternate sites for centers.

The idea of establishing centers on military bases had been considered since the fall of 1960. To seek advice on the proper procedure to follow, it was decided to "feel out" the situation by visiting a military installation in an acutely sensitive community. The Air University at Maxwell Air Force Base was chosen. It was at the edge of an acutely sensitive community, Montgomery, Alabama. The fact that civilian educators were on the staff of the Air University also commended this military installation to our "feeling out."

It was also decided to explore the idea of centers open to all candidates with religious leaders and college educators in this community. From a week of interviewing in Montgomery, Alabama, the CEEB learned that the approach most likely of success with military bases was to seek the help of officials in the Pentagon. It was

also learned that diocesan officials of the Catholic and Episcopal churches were willing to help with the center problem of the CEEB, not only with the problem of center facilities, but also with the problem of supervisory personnel at centers where teachers and counselors could not be obtained. In fact, in one community in Mississippi, when it appeared that all efforts to obtain civilian supervisors were doomed to failure, an Episcopal rector agreed to assume complete responsibility for furnishing the staff of a center that was to be located at a military base--a generous and, under the circumstances, a daring offer which eventually did not need to be acted upon.

With the knowledge that strategically located military bases were available and that religious leaders stood ready to offer assistance, the negotiations for centers open to all candidates were commenced with superintendents of local school systems and with the deans and presidents of colleges. The negotiations had a strategy, too, that had been pretty well threshed out.

The strategy was to drop in on the school or college official unannounced, to bring up the subject as matter-of-factly as possible, and to help him talk through his problems. It was also agreed that the CEEB representatives would not be offended, no matter what was said about the CEEB, ETS, the Trustees, or other persons, including the immediate CEEB representatives. In fact, the CEEB representative was not to leave a school or college official who had been hostile or resentful until the official was in a good humor. It took a little better than two hours of listenin' and talkin' to get one official in a "good humor."

Thus began a quiet crusade of persuasion. However, it was soon apparent that the quiet crusade was receiving support from the militant crusades of various civil rights organizations and the swelling volume of federal court school decisions in favor of Negro plaintiffs.

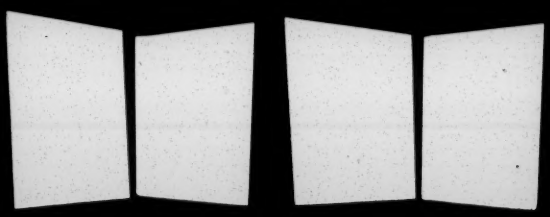
It can be seen from an examination of agenda documents (2.3 and 2.4) that most educators and boards of education or boards of trustees wanted "to do what is right," and that they seized the opportunity to operate test centers open to all as an occasion "to do what is right." Most asked for assurances that no publicity be given to their authorization of centers open to all. The assurance was pledged. Few of those in authority who made affirmative decisions did not assume grave risks, for boards of education are politically accountable; and so are most superintendents in one way or another.

Inferences have their influence on those engaged in a delicate operation when frequently the "message" is judged to be in the way a thing is said rather than in what is said, or in the unstated. More than once CEEB representatives were impressed by the faith that educators occasionally expressed in the ability of their students to be fair, though more often the educators seemed to entrust their future intuitively to their students.

One or two summed up their gamble in these words. "These teen-agers--they're a new breed."

ceeb

1964-65
Bulletin of Information
Admissions Testing Program



See College Entrance Exam. Bd.
Cr. ref
Desire for the Commissioner of Educ

March 23, 1966

Mr. Ben W. Gibson, Jr.
Assistant Director
College Entrance Examination Board
Sewanee, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Gibson:

Enclosed are three suggestions for your experimental project in leadership development. I trust the descriptions are adequate to allow you to determine whether or not these are the kinds of persons whom you want to consider.

The SRC staff suggested about eight people, of whom these three seem to me most appropriate. Of the three, I feel that Mrs. Reed is the most promising and has potentially the best future, but then Mrs. Reed is the only one of the three whom I know personally.

In checking out these candidates and considering what a year might do for them, I become even more convinced of the soundness of this program. Such a program developed on a

relatively large scale would have a profound impact on this region.

If you want additional information or something different please let us know.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

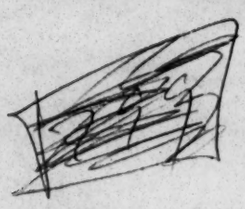
cc: Mr. Frank Bowles
Ford Foundation
New York, New York

Mr. Alan D. Ferguson
Ford Foundation
New York, New York

ALBERT GORDON

Mr. Gordon is one of the first Negro school teachers to join civil rights demonstrations in Wilcox County, Alabama. Mr. Gordon lost his job and now works in Wilcox County for SCLC. The staff person recommending him made the following observation:

> "Gordon is quiet and reserved, a good group leader, in that he allows others the opportunity to talk. A year's study would perhaps qualify him to run for school superintendent. Wilcox County is 78% Negro."



BERNICE REAGON

334 Chappel Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs.

Bernice Reagon is a Negro folk-singer, approximately 22 years old from southwest Georgia. She attended Georgia State in Albany, Georgia for three years, at which time she was expelled for participating in the civil rights movement. Then she started singing with the Freedom Singers for SNCC.

At present ~~Bernice~~ Mrs Reagan is working with the Community Cultural Conference, which she helped organize in October of '65. She is doing some individual performances, none are paying projects. She sings once a week at the Lovin' Spoonful, and at the public schools, and at Alto Prison.

~~Bernice~~ She wants to bring the rich cultural heritage of the Negroes back to them. ~~A part of what is a big educational project.~~

~~Bernice~~ Mrs Reagan wants to study again with Dr. James at Spellman College, and also do more studying in the field, learing various song forms.

Most of all she is extremely talented, and needs money to continue to study, ~~and enrich the local~~ Negro community with its ~~rich heritage~~.

orig + 3

DORIS REED

587 Rock Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. Reed is a young woman in her mid 20's who presently clips newspapers in the SRC Research Department. She first came to our attention because of her involvement as a volunteer in a self-help program in one of Atlanta's slum areas. She lives in this area, has a deep concern about the plight of the people in that community, and has an unusual talent in community organization. She would like to make this her life's work. Mrs. Reed has completed three years of study at Morris Brown College. Her lack of resources make it unlikely that she will ever get her degree without help such as that envisioned in the experimental program. A grant to cover the cost of study for this remaining year and a living allowance of at least $300 a month would make it possible for this young woman to complete her degree. This would also enable Mrs. Reed to continue her volunteer work in this slum area.

If on completion of her degree Mrs. Reed could then spend several months in Europe and Israel I believe that she would return to this community as a trained worker available to enter on a professional basis the field of community organization. We desperately need people who have the combination of her talents and concerns. Incidentally, when I asked the SRC staff to make recommendations for this program three persons independently suggested Doris Reed.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Fund for the Advancement of Education

REGARDING

Letter to Ben W. Gibson, College Entrance Examination Board, Sewanee, Tennessee

Enclosing Doris Reed's Proposal

DATE

5/10/66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

See College Entrance Examination Board
Sewanee, Tennessee

Rec'd 5/12/66

file: College Entrance Exam. Board
Cr. ref. Fund for the Advancement of Educ.

MS - file

May 11, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you very kindly for Mrs. Reed's proposal.

I have forwarded it to the Fund For The Advancement of Education today.

Sincerely yours,

Ben

Ben W. Gibson, Jr.

BWGJr:hs

SOUTH CAROLINA: Notes on closed centers

The following centers in white secondary schools closed, 1963-64, due to inability of centers to comply with Trustees' Center Policy: Beaufort, Camden, Clinton, Conway, Kingstree, Laurens, Newberry, and Winsboro.

Four of these centers have since reopened: Beaufort, Camden, Conway, and Newberry.

Four of these centers remain closed: Clinton, Kingstree, Laurens, and Winsboro.

For one year, 1963-64, the center in the Beaufort High School was operated at the Marine Recruit Depot, Parris Island. The center was returned to the high school in 1964-65.

The center in the South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, Negro, closed in 1963-64, due to inability to operate in compliance with the Trustees' Center Policy. However, the center reopened in 1964-65. The Scholastic Aptitude Test is now a requirement at South Carolina State College.

LOUISIANA: Notes on centers that closed

Lafayette: The center, in a public school building, closed, 1963-64, because of inability to comply with the Trustees' Center Policy. School authorities operated the center in the Army Reserve Training facility during 1963-64; and, when it became necessary to move the center from the Reserve Training facility in the spring of 1965, the school authorities operated the center in a 400 capacity facility in the municipal auditorium. The center is currently scheduled for operation, 1965-66, in the municipal auditorium, though, if the local system is permitted to comply with the Civil Rights Act, the center will be moved into the public school system.

Lake Charles: The center, in the public school administration building, closed, 1963-64, because of inability to comply with Trustees' Center Policy. School authorities moved the center into the local Army Reserve Training facility, 1963-64; and, when it became necessary to move the center from the Reserve Training facility in the spring of 1965, the public school authorities operated the center for two administrations in the Landry Memorial High School (parochial). However, in view of an impending federal court decision to desegregate Lake Charles schools, the school authorities were able to move the center back into a public high school in which it is scheduled to operate, 1965-66.

Monroe: The center, in a public high school, closed, 1963-64, because of inability to comply with Trustees' Center Policy. School authorities operated the center in the Army Reserve Training facility, 1963-64; and when it became necessary to move center from Reserve Training facility in the spring of 1965, the school operated the center in the National

Guard Armory. The center will continue in the National Guard Armory, 1965-66, unless the local school authorities are permitted to comply with the Civil Rights Act. If this latter possibility occurs, the center will be moved into Neville High School.

Efforts by the Southern Regional Office and by local public school authorities to locate the center in Northeast Louisiana State College, Monroe, which is desegregated, failed.

Natchitoches: A center was established in Natchitoches High School, 1963-64, and was listed for 1964-65. However, the "black-lash" became so powerful in the community during the presidential campaign that school authorities asked that the center be discontinued.

Efforts to get the center reopened for 1965-66 have failed and efforts to establish a center in Northwest Louisiana State College, Natchitoches, have failed.

However, if the Natchitoches public school system is permitted to comply with the Civil Rights Act, the center will be reestablished in the public white high school.

Shreveport: Two centers, each in a white high school, closed, 1963-64, because of inability to comply with Trustees' Center Policy. Public school officials would not permit public school employees to operate desegregated centers anywhere.

A center for this area was established at Barksdale AFB for 1963-64. The supervisor was recruited from the faculty of Centenary College, Shreveport. During the spring of 1964 it became possible to move the center from Barksdale AFB to Centenary College, where it operated, 1964-65, and where it will operate, 1965-66.

To accommodate increasing numbers of candidates, three additional

centers have been operated during 1964-65 in Shreveport, two in white parochial schools and one in a Negro parochial school.

Efforts to establish centers in white, public high schools will be repulsed until such time as the local board of education is permitted to comply with the provisions of the Civil Rights Act.

New Orleans: Steady increases in number of candidates have taxed annually testing centers in New Orleans. This past December (1964), with a capacity of 1,980, one thousand, nine hundred and eight candidates were tested.

Efforts to establish centers in New Orleans public school failed because, thus far, in complying with a federal court order, desegregation in New Orleans has been at the rate of a grade a year in elementary schools. However, whenever, high school grades are affected by court order, the superintendent promised aid in establishing test centers.

Since the need for centers is so pressing in the New Orleans area, centers of 500 capacity each have been established in Metairie and in Marrero, suburbs of New Orleans on the western side of the Mississippi River. Each is in a parochial school.

MISSISSIPPI: Notes on Centers That Closed

Clarksdale: Center in white high school closed, 1963-64, due to inability to comply with Trustees' Center Policy. Negro Catholic school offered as center, but facilities for testing too small. No center now in Clarksdale; need not pressing.

Columbus: Center in Mississippi State College for Women closed, 1963-64, due to inability to comply with Trustees' Center Policy. Center opened in Columbus AFB, 1963-64, operated, 1964-65, planned to continue at AFB, 1965-66.

In 1965-66 this will be only center at a military base in Mississippi, though in 1963-64 centers were operated at four military bases. Negotiations to reopen center at MSCW not fruitful. Negotiations to open center in a public high school in Columbus failed. No Catholic school available in Columbus.

Greenville: Center in white high school closed, 1963-64, due inability to comply with Trustees' Center Policy. Center in Negro Catholic high school requested closing due to fact that school became an elementary school, 1963-64.

Center established at Greenville AFB, 1963-64; and after some difficulty in securing a supervisor, negotiations with supervisor of the closed center in the white high school and with local school officials resulted in the previous supervisor's operating the new center at the Greenville AFB.

Greenville AFB closed by presidential economy move, 1964-65. Center established at St. Joseph's School, Catholic. Center to continue, 1965-66, at St. Joseph's School.

Greenwood: Centers in a white and in a Negro high school closed, 1963-64, due to inability to operate in compliance with Trustees' Center Policy.

Center opened in St. Francis, Catholic high school for Negroes, 1963-64, and has operated ever since as an integrated center without criticism from candidates or community.

Hattiesburg: Centers in a white and in a Negro high school closed, 1963-64, due to inability to comply with Trustees' Center Policy.

Efforts to negotiate reopening have failed.

However, new center, 1965-66, negotiated in Carey College.

Jackson: Centers in two white high schools closed, 1963-64, due to inability to comply with Trustees' Center Policy.

Center opened in Millsaps College, but was subverted before first candidate could be tested.

Two centers opened in military establishments, 1963-64, though after December test, 1963, one center only was needed. One center operated in Main Recruit Station, 1964-65.

New Catholic high school building in Jackson, St. Joseph High School, will be site of center in Jackson, 1965-66, making center in military base unnecessary.

Natchez: Center in white high school closed, 1963-64, due to inability to operate in compliance with Trustees' Center Policy. Not replaced or reopened.

Vicksburg: Center in white high school closed, 1963-64, due to inability to operate in compliance with Trustees' Center Policy.

Center in Negro parochial school operated in a desegregated manner, 1962-63, but asked to be relieved of center for 1963-64, if other desegregated facilities could be found.

Center established in All Saints' Episcopal School, 1963-64, and has been operated ever since.

* * *

It should be noted that the quest for integrated testing centers in Mississippi was supported by the Most Reverend R. O. Gerow, Bishop of the Natchez-Jackson Diocese of the Catholic Church, and by his superintendent, Rev. Joseph Koury, and by the Right Reverend John Allin, Bishop Coadjutor, Mississippi Diocese, Episcopal.

GEORGIA: NOTES ON CENTERS THAT CLOSED

Negotiations in Georgia for the operation of College Board Testing Centers in compliance with the Trustees' Center Policy had to be deferred during 1963 while intensive negotiations in behalf of this policy were being conducted in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Intensive negotiations were conducted in Georgia in the spring of 1964.

However, three centers that were in operation in Georgia during the year 1962-63 did not open for the year 1963-64. Part of the Decatur High School (W), Decatur, was destroyed by fire. Another part of the old building which housed this high school was also being demolished to make way for a completely new high school building. Hence, during the school year 1963-64 and also during the school year 1964-65, the center normally operated in the Decatur High School (W) was not operated. This center will reopen for the year 1965-66.

Centers in the Central High School (N), Newnan, and in Drake High School (N), Thomaston, were closed for the year 1963-64 because no candidates chose either of these centers during 1962-63. The center in Central High School (N), Newnan, was reopened during the year 1964-65 in view of a potential candidate demand; and it is being continued for the year 1965-66, to see if it is needed at all and, if it is needed, for how many administrations during the year.

The following centers that were open in 1963-64 were closed for the year 1964-65 by the local school superintendent who felt that the centers under his jurisdiction could not operate in compliance with the Trustees' Center Policy.

Barnesville: Booker High School (N). Not needed, 1965-66.

Canton: Cherokee High School (W), Bunche High School (N). A center was established in Reinhardt College, Waleska, which replaced two

GEORGIA: Notes on Centers that Closed

Canton centers. Canton centers not needed, 1965-66.

Donalsonville: Seminole County High School (W), Seminole County Training School (N). Negotiations to reopen center in Seminole County High School (W) for 1965-66 failed.

Edison: Edison High School (W). Not needed, 1965-66.

Elberton: Elbert County High School (W). Negotiated reopening, 1965-66.

Hartwell: Hart County Training School (N). Negotiations for a new center in Hart County High School (W) successful for 1965-66.

La Grange: East Depot Street High School (N), La Grange High School (W). New center established in La Grange College (W) for 1964-65 and will continue, 1965-66. Negotiations to reopen center in La Grange High School (W) unsuccessful.

Lyons: Lyons Industrial High School (N), Lyons High School (W). In view of belligerent attitude of superintendent and local board of education towards the desegregation of schools, no attempt to negotiate the reopening of the center in Lyons High School (W) has been made.

Manchester: Manchester High School (W), Meriwether Training School (N). Need for centers in this area not pressing.

Ocilla: Irwin County High School (W), Ocilla High and Industrial School (N). Need for centers in this area not pressing.

Thomaston: R. E. Lee Institute (W). Negotiations to reopen center successful, 1965-66.

Sylvania: Central High School (N), Screven County High School (W). Need for centers in this area not pressing.

Tifton: Tift County High School (W), Wilson High School (N). Need for centers in this area not pressing.

GEORGIA: Notes on Centers that Closed

Warner Robins: Warner Robins High School (W). Center was ordered closed by Houston County Board of Education. Center was not listed in 1964-65 center bulletin. However, threat of suit against Houston County School system induced local board to change mind about desegregation. Local board authorized a new center at Northside High School, Warner Robins, in September 1964. Hence a center was operated in Warner Robins, 1964-65 and will be continued, 1965-66.

The following nine centers in Negro high schools are being discontinued for the year 1965-66 because during the year 1964-65 they did not test sufficient candidates to warrant their continuation.

Calhoun: Stephens High School (N)

Camilla: Camilla Consolidated High School (N)

Cochran: Cochran Colored High School (N)

Covington: R. L. Cousins High School (N)

Dalton: Emory Street High School (N)

Jackson: Henderson High School (N)

Jesup: Wayne County Training School (N)

Pelham: Mitchell County Training School (N)

Rockmart: Elm Street High School (N)

ALABAMA: Notes on centers that closed

Andalusia High School, white, closed 1964-65, when integrated testing discovered there by white citizens, though integrated testing had been going on there for five or six years. Local school officials authorized integrated testing center in Woodson High School, Negro, during 1964-65. Woodson High School center continuing, which means that white students in this area of Alabama may take tests near home in Andalusia or drive 80 miles to Dothan center which is also integrated but in a white college, University of Alabama Center, Dothan.

Prior to 1959 all candidates in Birmingham were tested in one center, Phillips High School (W). In that year Bull Connor discovered this outrageous phenomenon, and a second center had to be established quickly in Birmingham in Parker High School (N). Two public school centers in Birmingham, Parker High School (N), and Phillips High School (W), closed, 1963-64, because city school officials were not able to permit compliance with Trustees' Center Policy.

Negotiations in 1964 to reopen center in Phillips (W) or in other white high schools in Birmingham blocked by superintendent, who is staunch segregationist. Centers in public schools in Birmingham not really needed, 1965-66.

John Carroll High School, Catholic, established an integrated center in Birmingham, 1963-64, and was only one operated that year. Miles College (N) and University of Alabama Center, Birmingham (W), established centers in 1964-65. Howard College (W) will have a center in 1965-66.

Total center capacity in Birmingham, 1965-66, is 1,700 against 600 in 1963-64, which was a rough year for candidates in excess of 600 in the

Birmingham area. Excess candidates had to be assigned to centers at inconvenient distances.

Dothan High School (W) had to close in 1964-65 due to fact that local Board would authorize testing Negro candidates in rooms separate from white candidates.

University of Alabama Center, Dothan, established integrated testing center 1964-65.

Eufaula High School (W) center closed during 1964-65. This area served by other Alabama centers and those in Columbus, Georgia.

Greensboro High School (W) center closed, 1963-64. This area served by other Alabama centers.

Huntsville High School (W) center closed, 1963-64, solely because superintendent and local Board could get no assurances from Alabama politicians that Huntsville School would be permitted to operate with a few Negro students that year. Center reopened, 1964-65.

Redstone Arsenal in Huntsville established a plush center in the Rocket Auditorium for 1963-64.

Marion Institute (W) center closed 1963-64. Thus far, negotiations to reopen fruitless. However, may be able to comply with Civil Rights Act's integration clause in order to continue receiving federal funds. Will know by September, 1965. If compliance clause is signed, center will be reopened, and this action will make center at Craig AFB, Selma, unnecessary.

The center in Montgomery was operated for several years in an integrated manner. For political reasons the center was located for about three years in the administrative offices of the local school system. The

white candidates were assigned to one building and the Negro candidates to another. The school officials were unable to comply with Trustees' Center Policy and had to close the center, 1963-64.

During 1963-64, Maxwell AFB gladly permitted the elaborate facilities of the Air University to be used as a center.

The University of Alabama Center, Montgomery, established and operated the center in 1964-65, enabling the CEEB to move out of the military facility in Montgomery.

Military Bases

Following the authorization, early in 1963, by the Department of Defense for commanders of certain military bases in the five hard-core states to make facilities for integrated testing available to the College Board in areas in which civilian facilities were not accessible to all candidates, visits were made to the following bases.

College Board representatives were cordially received by commanding officers who eagerly offered facilities and who assigned members of their staffs to cooperate with College Board representatives and with the civilian supervisors of the centers that were eventually established on seven bases.

College Board representatives discovered that the accessibility of facilities at military bases, in more than one instance, enabled school superintendents to convince local boards of education of the futility of seeking to evade the responsibility of the equitable testing of all candidates.

Military Bases:

Alabama

Brookley Air Force Base
Craig Air Force Base (A center, 1963-64, 1964-65, 1965-66.)
Fort McClellan
Fort Rucker
Maxwell Air Force Base [Air University] (A center 1963-64 only.)
Redstone Arsenal (A center, 1963-64 only.)

Georgia

Athens Supply Corps School
Fort Benning
Fort Gordon
Fort McPherson
Fort Stewart
Hunter Air Force Base
Moody Air Force Base
Robins Air Force Base
Turner Air Force Base

Louisiana

Barksdale Air Force Base (A center for 2 administrations only, 1963-64.)
Chennault Air Force Base
England Air Force Base

Mississippi

Columbus Air Force Base (A center 1963-64, 1964-65, 1965-66.)

Military Bases (continued)

Mississippi (continued)

Greenville Air Force Base (A center, 1963-64)
Keesler Air Force Base
Main Recruit Station, Jackson,(A center, 1963-64, 1964-65)
Naval Reserve Training Center, Jackson,(A center 1 administration only, 1963-64.)

South Carolina

Charleston Naval Base
Donaldson Air Force Base
Fort Jackson
Parris Island (Marine Recruit Depot) (A center, 1963-64.)
Shaw Air Force Base

It may be possible, depending on the details of the compliance with provisions of the Civil Rights Act as sanctioned by the Office of Education at Marion Institute, Marion, Alabama, and the Columbus, Mississippi, Public School System, to move the center from Craig Air Force Base, Selma, Alabama, and Columbus Air Force Base, Columbus, Mississippi into civilian facilities.

Racial Composition of Candidates
College Board Test Centers, Five Hard-Core States,
Three Administrations, 1963-64 and 1964-65

Although the candidate registration form does not identify candidates by race, electronic equipment at ETS correlates by code number (not in any way racially oriented) each high school, and the number of candidates from each high school, with the various test centers in which a school's students are tested. Each year, through 1963, State Departments of Education in the South printed directories which differentiated high schools by race. Hence, it is still possible to identify most high schools in the South by race. As the desegregation of schools in the South progresses, this kind of identification, even for purposes of superficial study, will become increasingly difficult.

Below is reported the number of centers respectively in white and Negro institutions in each of the five hard-core states. The number of centers in white institutions that tested Negro candidates along with white candidates during one or more of the three test administrations is recorded. The number of centers in Negro institutions that tested white candidates along with Negro candidates is recorded.

It should be borne in mind that candidates select centers. If "white centers" and "Negro centers" are available in a community, most white candidates select the former and most Negro candidates select the latter. However, an examination of the data sheets for this study reveals contrary actions on the part of individuals, actions which endow the study with significance.

In 1964-65 each center, regardless of the racial composition of the student body of the sponsoring institution, agreed to test candidates without racial discrimination. They kept their promise. (The centers in Georgia were not officially desegregated in 1963-64, though the centers in the remaining four hard-core states were.)

Five Hard-Core States Racial Composition of Candidates

The generalized results of a study of the racial composition of candidates tested in each center in each of the five hard-core states for the test administrations of December 7, 1963, January 11 and March 7, 1964, and for the administration December 5, 1964, January 9 and March 6, 1965, are reported below.

Alabama:
1963-64
12 centers in white institutions
8 centers tested Negro candidates
4 centers apparently were not chosen by Negro candidates
1 center in a Negro institution
1 center tested white candidates
69% of the centers tested racially mixed groups.

1964-65
15 centers in white institutions
14 centers tested Negro candidates
1 center, located in a parochial college, which has in the past tested Negro candidates, apparently had no Negro candidate choose it during the first three administrations.
4 centers in Negro institutions
3 centers tested white candidates
1 center did not have any white candidates choose it.
89% of the centers tested racially mixed groups.

Georgia:
1963-64
90 centers in white institutions
29 centers tested Negro candidates
61 centers apparently were not chosen by Negro candidates
47 centers in Negro institutions.
31 tested white candidates
16 centers were not chosen by white candidates
44% of the centers tested racially mixed groups.
1964-65
102 centers in white institutions
45 centers tested Negro candidates.
57 centers did not have white candidates choose them.
35 centers in Negro institutions
28 centers tested white candidates
7 centers were not chosen by white candidates.
53% of the centers tested racially mixed groups.

Five Hard-Core States Racial Composition of Candidates

Louisiana:
1963-64
16 centers in white institutions
13 centers tested Negro candidates
3 centers apparently were not chosen by Negro candidates.
2 centers in Negro institutions
2 centers tested white candidates
83% of the centers tested racially mixed groups.
1964-65
17 centers in white institutions
13 centers tested Negro candidates
4 centers were not chosen by Negro candidates.
3 centers in Negro institutions
3 centers tested white candidates.
80% of the centers tested racially mixed groups.

Mississippi:
1963-64
9 centers in white institutions
7 tested Negro candidates
2 apparently were not chosen by Negro candidates
2 centers in Negro institutions
2 centers tested white candidates
82% of the centers tested racially mixed groups.
1964-65
9 centers in white institutions
9 centers tested Negro candidates
2 centers in Negro institutions
2 centers tested white candidates.
100% of the centers tested racially mixed groups.

South Carolina:
1963-64
25 centers in white institutions
23 centers tested Negro candidates
2 centers apparently were not chosen by Negro candidates
0 centers in Negro institutions
92% of the centers tested racially mixed groups.
1964-65
28 centers in white institutions
28 tested Negro candidates
6 centers in Negro institutions
5 tested white candidates
1 center not chosen by white candidates.
97% of the centers tested racially mixed groups.

Violations of the Trustees' Center Policy, Reported or Suspected, 1964-65

The Southern Regional Office and Educational Testing Service have been alert to investigate reported violations or suspected violations of the Trustees' Center Policy. As a result, four investigations have been made. One only confirmed a violation of the Trustees' Center Policy. The condition in that center has been corrected.

I

Two Negro candidates complained by letter that during the preliminary period of seat assignment at a center in a high school in Arkansas, at the January 9, 1965 test, that they were asked to move to the rear of the room in which candidates were being registered and assigned seats. Eventually, they were taken to a separate room and tested there--away from the white candidates.

The complaint was confirmed by ETS. The supervisor of the center, with the concurrence of the superintendent of schools, has assured ETS that the center will be operated henceforth in complete compliance with the Trustees' Center Policy.

II

Prior to the March 6, 1965, test administration, ETS reported that candidates in a Negro high school in Alabama were selecting Negro centers distant from a center in a white high school that was only 15 miles away.

A telephone call to the counselor of the Negro high school called attention to the fact of the nearness of the center in the white high school.

The counselor reported that in the past, as a matter of courtesy, whenever one of her Negro students wanted to be tested in the white high school, that arrangements were made in advance between the two superintendents of the respective systems in which the schools are located. She said that in the past some of her students had been tested in the white high school, but that this year her superintendent had not been asked to call.

The counselor was told that such arrangements, even out of a spirit of courtesy, were not necessary; and that the center in the white high school had tested Negro students without incident.

The counselor reported subsequently that she had called the principal of the white high school; that she had been assured by him that as many of her Negro students as wanted to take the test were welcome at the center in his school; and that seven of her Negro students were tested in the white high school in a most cordial atmosphere on March 6, 1965.

III

A parent of a white candidate who took the January 9, 1965, examination in a center in a white high school in a Texas metropolis called Mr. John B. Carroll, chairman, Committee of Examiners in Aptitude Testing, to report that Negro candidates had been "herded off" into a separate room.

A thorough investigation of this reported instance of a violation of the Trustees' Center Policy was made by the Southwestern Regional Office with the results that the white candidate admitted that he had observed no such occurrence, had reported to his parents that he had heard someone say the Negroes had been tested separately, and that the parents apologized for a "false alarm."

It developed that Negro candidates were tested with white candidates in a room in the school; that more than one room was needed to test all the candidates in accordance with ETS space requirements between candidates; that the rumor-mongering white candidate merely happened to be in one of the rooms in which there were no Negro candidates--not through design, but just the way the assignment of candidates fell.

IV

After the March 6, 1965, test, ETS reported that 4 Negro candidates who had tickets of admission to a center in a white high school in a city in central Georgia had gone instead to the center in a Negro high school in the same city, forcing the supervisor of the latter center to borrow test books and answer sheets from the former center in order to test the Negro candidates.

The supervisor of the center in the Negro school was asked if he knew why the 4 candidates came to his center. He said that there were 6 candidates "who just showed up in his school yard before the test." He did not know why they chose his center.

ETS could produce the names and addresses of 4 candidates. Each was written a personal letter, simply asking why he or she had thought it necessary to be tested in center #----.

Two of these four candidates responded. One remarked that he came to the Georgia city over a distance of about 50 miles in a car of students who had tickets of admission to the center in the Negro school and therefore had just gone along with them. One said that she thought a mistake had been made in issuing her, a Negro, a ticket of admission to a center in a white school; and that she had gone to the center in the Negro school on her own volition.

AVAILABILITY OF LUNCHING FACILITIES AT INSTITUTIONS SPONSORING CEEB TESTING CENTERS AND THEIR STATUS REGARDING THEIR ACCESSIBILITY TO CEEB CANDIDATES

After the November, 1964, administration of the Graduate Record Examinations, an Educational Testing Service examination, two Negro candidates who took the examinations at a center in Louisiana, as a requirement for participation in a federal government program, complained to the federal agency that they had to travel about 3 miles to find a desegregated luncheon facility while some white candidates were permitted to eat in a facility on the college campus where the center was located. The college at the time had a white student body, though the test center for strictly ETS examinations and also the center for CEEB examinations tested Negro and white candidates together.

The complaint by the two Negro candidates led the staffs of ETS and the CEEB to consider the question of access of all candidates to lunching facilities operated by sponsoring institutions.

Most College Board centers in the five hard-core states are located in public high schools whose cafeterias are not open on Saturdays. At certain CEEB centers the eating facilities of the sponsoring institution are open at midday on testing Saturdays, but the large number of College Board candidates in relationship to the physical limitations of the eating facilities compels these institutions <u>not</u> to serve College Board candidates unless the candidates are enrolled students at the sponsoring institution.

For instance, members of the Southern Regional Office staff are familiar with the eating facilities at a boarding school. This school operates a center and does serve CEEB candidates in the middle of the day who are enrolled as cadets in the school, but simply for the latter reason. All other CEEB candidates must find eating facilities in the community. It is not a matter of racial discrimination.

A staff member investigated eating facilities at a college in Georgia which operates a GRE center and a CEEB center. The largest number of GRE candidates tested at a single administration was 30. The largest number of CEEB candidates tested was 407. This particular center in view of projected candidate loads has been asked to increase its capacity to 650, 1965-66.

This college can absorb with <u>some</u> difficulty 30 GRE candidates in its lunching facilities at noon, but it must decline service to all CEEB candidates who are not enrolled students simply because it cannot accommodate a large group of candidates. It is not a matter of racial discrimination.

LUNCH 2

Results of a survey regarding the availability of midday eating facilities at CEEB centers in the five hard-core states and the status of those open with regard to their accessibility to CEEB candidates will be available at the committee meeting.

A list of GRE centers in the five hard-core states, showing the largest number of candidates tested at a single testing date, 1964-65 will also be available.

If it is established through the investigation of a complaint by a candidate or a suspicion on the part of CEEB or ETS staff members that an institution sponsoring a center whose eating facilities are open for the midday meal on testing days is serving candidates, other than solely its own enrolled students, in a racially discriminating manner, efforts will be made to have the discrimination discontinued. If negotiations fail to eliminate this form of discrimination, the center will be discontinued.

Several institutions which indicated that they could serve CEEB candidates midday meals and which are located in communities in which officials and sections of the public have been resistant to all efforts to desegregate facilities were asked by telephone specifically if this service included Negro CEEB candidates.

In each instance the center supervisor assured the CEEB that the midday eating facilities would be open to CEEB candidates without regard to race.

BWGJr:mlh

STATEMENTS BEARING ON NONSEGREGATION AT CENTERS

The following statements that have bearing on nonsegregation at College Board testing centers will be included in publications published expressly for CEEB candidates or CEEB center supervisors. The publications are distributed for the CEEB by Educational Testing Service.

1) Bulletin of Information (candidates).

> "Luncheon facilities may not always be located conveniently near a test center or have the capacity to serve large groups in a limited time. Candidates may wish to provide their lunches, particularly if they are unfamiliar with the test center locale."

2) Bulletin of Information (candidates).

> "Testing facilities at every center are open to all properly registered candidates regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin."

3) Supervisor's acceptance card (center supervisors).

> "In accepting this appointment as supervisor, the undersigned will preserve the security of the test books and be responsible for conducting the center on an entirely nonsegregated basis."

4) Initial letter to supervisors (center supervisors).

> "We expect that you will operate the center on an entirely nonsegregated basis. . . . . This, of course, includes rest room, as well as testing room, facilities. If lunch room facilities at the center are open to candidates, they must also be nonsegregated."

5) Supervisor's Handbook (center supervisors).

> "You are responsible for insuring that all facilities at your center - testing rooms, rest rooms, and lunch rooms (if candidates have access to lunch rooms) - are nonsegregated. If there is no provision for lunch at the center, please direct candidates to convenient public places where they can eat in the time available."

GEORGIA, 1965-66, Centers in Negro High Schools and Colleges

Center Number	Location	Dec	Jan	Mar	May	July
Colleges:						
6F394,	Albany State College, Albany	.	.	.	.	.
6F389,	Atlanta University, Atlanta	.			.	
6F388,	Clark College, Atlanta		.	.		.
6F370,	Paine College, Augusta	.	.	.	.	.
6F293,	Ft. Valley State Col., Ft. Valley	.	.	.	.	.
6F144,	Savannah St. Col., Savannah	.	.	.	.	.
High Schools:						
6F392,	Sumter County H.S., Americus	.				
6F391,	Athens H. and Industrial S., Athens	.	.	.	.	.
6F359,	Turner H.S., Atlanta	.	.	.	.	
6F368,	Hamilton H.S., Avondale	.	.	.	.	
6F366,	Hutto H.S., Bainbridge	.				
6F353,	Risley H.S., Brunswick	.	.	.	.	
6F351,	Eureka H.S., Butler	.				
6F343,	Carver H.S., Carrollton	.				
6F330,	W. H. Spencer H.S., Columbus	.	.	.	.	.
6F315,	Carver High School, Douglas	.				
6F310,	Peabody H.S., Eastman	.	.	.		
6F283,	Butler H.S., Gainesville	.	.	.	.	
6F275,	Fairmont H.S., Griffin	.	.	.	.	
6F222,	B. Hudson H.S., Macon	.	.	.	.	.
6F216,	Lemon St. H.S., Marietta	.	.	.	.	

Center Number	Location	Dec	Jan	Mar	May	July
(High Schools, continued:)						
6F212,	Boddie H.S., Milledgeville	.	.	.	.	
6F210,	Bryant H.S., Moultrie	.				
6F202,	Central H.S., Newnan	.			.	
6F166,	Main H.S., Rome	.	.	.	.	.
6F145,	Beach H.S., Savannah	.	.	.	.	
6F134,	W. James H.S., Statesboro	.				
6F124,	Douglass H.S., Thomasville	.	.	.	.	
6F116,	Pinevale H.S., Valdosta	.	.	.	.	.
6F105,	Center H.S., Waycross	.	.	.	.	.

De Facto Segregation in Centers

Since 1957 the public colleges and universities and most of the private ones in Georgia have required among the credentials for admission College Board test scores. At that time in many communities in Georgia a center in a white institution and a center in a Negro institution were established in order to enable high school seniors to fulfill this admission requirement. These "dual centers" were an extension of the segregated pattern of "dual educational systems" in the state.

Although during 1964-65 all centers in Georgia, whether in white institutions or in Negro institutions, were open to all candidates, most Negro candidates chose "Negro centers," while most white candidates chose "white centers."

Testing in Georgia, especially in December, is complicated because about 45% of the total candidates tested in a year take the test in December (21,000 this past December). It has not been possible to arrange for one center with adequate capacity, satisfactory and convenient to all candidates, in several areas in Georgia. The fact that candidates choose centers must not be overlooked, a fact which also makes it impossible to predict candidate loads at a particular center. Moreover, to have centers only in white institutions could serve as the basis of charges of discrimination against Negro institutions as locations for centers.

The College Board, all along, has not been complacent about the arrangement of "dual centers." Adjustments in this "peculiar arrangement" have been going on since 1963. It must be pointed out that, generally speaking, adjustments mean the discontinuation of "Negro centers."

In 1963 two centers in Negro institutions were discontinued because they had no candidates. In 1964 ten centers in Negro schools were closed (along with twelve in white schools) because their local boards of education would not sanction integrated testing. Although some of the white centers have since been reopened, none of the Negro centers has.

As a result of few candidates during the years 1963-64 and 1964-65, nine centers in Negro institutions are not being reopened for the year 1965-66. [See agenda document (2.6)]

6321	Emory Street High School	Dalton, Georgia
6348	Stevens High School	Calhoun, Georgia
6326	R. L. Cousins School	Covington, Georgia
6249	Henderson High School	Jackson, Georgia
6333	Cochran Colored High School	Cochran, Georgia
6347	Camilla Consolidated High School	Camilla, Georgia
6181	Mitchell County Training School	Pelham, Georgia
6169	Elm Street School	Rockmart, Georgia
6247	Wayne County Training School	Jesup, Georgia

A study of candidate loads has been authorized for the twenty-four centers in Negro high schools that are being continued in Georgia, 1965-66. Several of these centers have had their number of test administrations reduced. It is likely that several of these centers will not test a sufficient number of candidates to justify their continuation in 1966-67. It is possible that some will be open for one or two administrations only.

The same kind of study will undoubtedly lead to the discontinuation of certain white centers or to a reduction in the number of their administrations.

A list of the centers in Negro institutions in Georgia for 1965-66 is appended.

In addition, a list of centers in Negro institutions in southern states that are not among the five hard-core states is appended. ETS has advised that each of these centers is essential to the testing of candidates in its surrounding area. Moreover, except for one, each could claim a center solely because the total number of candidates meets the candidate-distance-from-nearest-center ratio for establishing a center.

Listed below are the general regulations that guide ETS in establishing centers.

Distance to Nearest Center	Expected Number of Candidates on Any One Date
Under 10 miles	100 candidates
10-24 miles	75 "
24-49 miles	25 "
50-75 miles	15 "
Over 75 miles	1 candidate

A request for a center by a member college is usually acceded to.

The Southern Regional Office has requested ETS not to establish new centers in Negro high schools in the five hard-core state area until a study of center needs can be made after the July 14, 1965 and the first administrations in the 1965-66 series, December 4, 1965.

Centers in Negro institutions in South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi generally are needed. As a matter of information, an attempt was made to establish a center in white institutions in the area generally to the north of Charleston. We were offered "dual centers," which we declined. The principal of the Berkeley County Training School, Negro, Moncks Corner, South Carolina, offered a center open to all. A center was established there.

Centers In Negro Institutions in Southern States That Are Not Among the Five Hard-Core States

State	Center No.	Institution	City	Largest No. Tested at Single Administration
North Carolina	5493	N.C. College at Durham	Durham	142
	5487	State Teachers College	Elizabeth City	116
	5479	State Teachers College	Fayetteville	143
	5464	Agr. & Tech. College of N.C.	Greensboro	159
	5457	Henderson Institute	Henderson	123
	5322	Wilmington College	Wilmington	78
	5319	Winston-Salem State College	Winston-Salem	131
Tennessee	6044	Le Moyne College	Memphis	349
	6042	Manassas High School	Memphis	119
	6043	Melrose High School	Memphis	100
	6035	Fisk University	Nashville	13
Virginia	1759	Hampton Institute	Hampton	182
	1742	St. Paul's College	Lawrenceville	150
	1701	Norfolk Div. Va. State College	Norfolk	111
	1693	Virginia State College	Petersburg	106
	1691	St. Emma Military Academy	Powhatan	116
	1675 (new, 1965-66)	Armstrong High School	Richmond	*

*ETS reports that 194 students from Armstrong were tested, December 5, 1964, in various Richmond Centers; and that establishment of a center in this school is thoroughly needed to relieve congestion in several Richmond centers.

Report:

(If centers in Negro institutions exist in the remaining southern states of Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Oklahoma, and Texas, Educational Testing Service is unable to make such an identification.)

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Appendix II

REPORT ON SEGREGATION-DESEGREGATION AT ETS TESTING CENTERS IN THE SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES

GENERAL POLICY AND PROCEDURES

Educational Testing Service's primary purpose in establishing a testing center is to serve the needs of as many applicants as it can, as efficiently and conveniently as it can. Important concerns in our assessment of efficiency and convenience of a center are the availability of competent supervisors and proctors; location with respect to the majority of students who will select it; time and effort required of candidates to reach the center, taking into account particularly such things as public transportation facilities and accessibility by private automobile; and physical features such as capacity, lighting, availability of luncheon and rest-room facilities, relative freedom from noise or outside distraction, ease with which candidates can locate and recognize the center if they are unfamiliar with it, and general comfort. The supervisor in charge of a center is typically associated with the local school, school system, or college in administrative or academic work, frequently in guidance and testing, at his institution.

The application that the student files for the tests does not indicate in any way his race or color so that these obviously cannot be taken into account in assigning him to the center he has selected. Hence, we instruct the supervisor that he is to be prepared to make the necessary arrangements for testing under competent supervision and standard testing conditions every properly registered candidate who reports to the center. If, as rarely happens, a supervisor cannot act for us under these conditions, we ask his school administration for a ruling; and if this is adverse, we remove the center to the nearest location where we already have a center complying with our conditions, or we find the nearest acceptable new location where our conditions can be met. The transfer often consists of removing a center from a public secondary school and relocating it at a college or an independent school, institutions generally less affected by the segregation issue.

Various arrangements have been worked out by supervisors for testing candidates of all races at southern centers. Some test on a completely impartial basis (our own definition of "desegregation"). Some test all candidates in the same room but assign Negro candidates to a separate block of seats. Still others test Negro candidates in a separate room, while a fourth arrangement is to transport Negro candidates to another building, often a neighboring Negro high school. Wherever Negro candidates are to be tested in a separate room or a separate building, the supervisor will have been instructed to make standby arrangements for the necessary proctorial assistants.

It is important to note that usually, except in the case of direction or transportation of Negroes to another location entirely, by the supervisor's definition his center <u>is</u> desegregated if he tests both Negroes and whites there, regardless of any

specific separate arrangement within the center. Hence, the most usual reply to our simple question, "Is your center desegregated?" is an unconditional, "Yes." For this reason, we must usually get down to the exact testing situation to determine whether a center is really desegregated by our definition; and it is the probing necessary to get this explicit information that makes investigation at most centers in the Deep South a delicate matter.

In the past two years, ETS has set up a number of separate Negro and white centers in the South, mainly in Georgia as a result of the decision of its Board of Regents to require the SAT of all applicants to state controlled institutions. In 1959-60, of a total of 409 College Board centers in the 17 southern and border states, and the District of Columbia, 17 were at Negro institutions, 13 in Georgia, 2 in Mississippi, and 1 each in Alabama and Virginia. In 1960-61, 62 of the 525 College Board centers in the same areas were at Negro institutions, 48 in Georgia, 5 in North Carolina, and 3 each in Alabama, Mississippi, and Virginia. Forty-five of these were located at Negro public secondary schools. These centers are listed in the College Board bulletin of information for the particular testing program and selected by the candidate. Our experience is that in localities where there is a choice, Negro candidates almost invariably select the Negro centers, exceptions all having been, seemingly, "sponsored" candidates.

Whenever Negro candidates have complained about their treatment at a center, ETS has investigated to determine whether the Negro facilities were comparable to the white. When it appeared that the Negro facilities were inferior, the Negro candidates have been offered special administrations under the best conditions obtainable and the supervisor told to remedy the situation for future testings if he wanted the institution to remain a center.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

At the August 6, 1960, administration of the Law School Admission Test at Louisiana State University, a properly registered Negro candidate was admitted to the testing center and told that he must take the test in a room separate from the one to be used by the white candidates. He refused and left the center. ETS subsequently received a telegram of protest from the national headquarters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Malcolm Talbott, Chairman of the Law School Admission Test Policy Committee and ETS worked out the following course of action: Professor Clyde C. Ferguson, Jr., of Rutgers University School of Law drew up a memorandum setting forth the laws of a number of southern states with respect to segregation and the probable legal implications for testing. Using Professor Ferguson's report, ETS selected sixteen November LSAT college centers and made arrangements to communicate with their supervisors or an administrative officer at the institution to ascertain the local segregation-desegregation practice. The information was gathered by telephone, in personal conversations, or as in three cases, by visits to the centers at the November 12 administration. The results (see Table I, page 7) show that at

13 centers there is complete desegregation, by our definition, and at 3 centers partial desegregation.

At its January 1961 meeting the LSAT Policy Committee decided to defer distribution of a proposed questionnaire inquiring into the status of segregation-desegregation at all of its testing centers until ETS had reported the results of its present survey. At the same time, the Committee passed motions requiring that the initial letter to supervisors this summer specify that, for 1961-62, the center be established "with the understanding that it is to be operated on an entirely non-segregated basis"; that "ETS continue its investigation of LSAT centers, using the methods employed during the past fall"; and that "upon discovery that a center is segregated with respect to room, seating, rest-room, or meal facilities, ETS be empowered to negotiate in an attempt to achieve desegregation. In the event that the negotiations are unsuccessful, the center will be discontinued."

In considering the results of the LSAT testing center survey and decisions of the Policy Committee, one must keep in mind that conditions reported for this program may be generally quite different in certain localities from those of programs at the secondary school level. In testings at graduate and professional levels, the Negro candidate is still a rarity who is more frequently than not the only one of his race present. He himself, as well as the candidates of other races, is more mature and freer of parental influences. Further, token desegregation prevails at many colleges located in communities where complete segregation continues to be the rule in secondary schools, especially public ones.

In January 1961 an ETS representative visited the Southern Education Reporting Service (SERS) in Nashville, Tennessee, where he conferred with the Executive Director and members of his staff. SERS is an objective, fact-finding agency which reports on developments in education arising from the Supreme Court decision of May 1954. From this non-profit organization, which simply reports the facts as it finds them, ETS obtained up-to-date information on the status of school desegregation in the 17 southern and border states, and the District of Columbia. This information, compiled state by state, includes a statistical summary of white and Negro enrollment in both the public elementary and high schools, and in colleges; a listing of the biracial school districts which are desegregated or have begun desegregation; a statement on the status of desegregation in higher education; a listing of settled and pending litigation; and a detailed listing of legislation enacted within the state. ETS's study of this information and that from other sources has led to the conclusions summarized in Table II, page 8, concerning the probable reactions to an announced policy of required desegregation at all of our testing centers.

Since 1958, certain ETS staff members have been recording data concerning the segregation-desegregation issue. This information was obtained in the course of routine telephone conversations with 26 supervisors about their operational problems. Only 3 of the 26 centers will test Negro candidates on a completely

desegregated basis. Fifteen will test Negro candidates either in a separate room or in a separate building. Eight centers reported, "desegregation no problem" and "Negro candidates will be admitted", but the circumstances of the conversations made it unwise for ETS to inquire into more explicit details. A summary of these 26 telephone inquiries is given in Table III, page 12.

A special analysis of the College Board population tested in 1959-60 in the Atlanta metropolitan area identifies 103 of a total of 6994 candidates (1.5%) as Negroes. A similar analysis for the New Orleans metropolitan area identifies 15 of 2584 candidates (0.6%) as Negroes.

Since 1954, ETS has received nine complaints regarding segregation practices at centers used for College Board administrations. The states involved were Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia. Two Negroes refused to wait until arrangements could be made to transport them to another location; five objected because the tests were administered in a separate building; one was refused admittance to the center because the supervisor had not made the necessary arrangements for testing Negroes; and ETS's investigation of one complaint revealed that a Negro candidate's father had misunderstood our transfer of his son from a center filled to capacity to one nearby where there was room for him and where, incidentally, the boy was tested in a completely desegregated situation. Each complaint received our promptest attention, and our investigations and resultant actions apparently were completed to the satisfaction of the complainants since no further word has been received from any of them.

Early in February twelve telephone calls were made to southern secondary school people - superintendents of schools, directors of personnel, or guidance and testing directors - to learn the progress of desegregation in their areas. These people were well known by the ETS staff members making the calls and each was affiliated with a school system in an area in which ETS maintains College Board testing centers. Each, too, was generally well acquainted with ETS and its testing practices.

The specific points covered in these conversations were the arrangements made for testing one or two Negro candidates and for testing larger numbers (since many schools, even in segregated states, will test a single Negro without prejudice but will not test three or five); reaction to a hypothetical required desegregation of ETS testing centers; availability of good testing facilities in the area, apart from the public schools, for a desegregated center; the possibility of obtaining competent supervision at outside desegregated centers; and the general trend on segregation-desegregation in the area. The results of these telephone inquiries are summarized in Table IV, page 13.

SUMMARY

1. The present ETS policy governing the establishment and operation of its testing centers in the southern states as elsewhere is based upon efficiency and

convenience, and is dictated by ETS's primary responsibility as a service organization. Following this policy, ETS has tried, and continues to try, to test every candidate applying to it under the best obtainable standard conditions and the best obtainable supervision.

2. Only a very few of the Negro candidates tested under ETS-prescribed conditions have complained to us. In every case in which our investigation has revealed that a candidate has not been examined under standard conditions, we have arranged a special administration under the best conditions obtainable.

3. Considerable information on the status quo of segregation-desegregation on a state-by-state basis at the secondary school level has been furnished ETS by the Southern Education Reporting Service. This and other information gathered directly by observation, and in conversations of ETS staff with locally well-informed people, have led ETS to certain conclusions regarding the feasibility of requiring desegregated testing at all of its centers. (In considering general conclusions, one must remember that there is likely to be a wide difference in attitude between residents of relatively sophisticated urban areas and those of rural sections.)

   On the basis of present knowledge and experience, the southern states may be divided roughly into these four categories:

   A. Except for the 4 first-grade Negroes in New Orleans and the 2 Negroes admitted to the University of Georgia, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina maintain complete segregation in their public schools. ETS could definitely not successfully require desegregated testing at public institutions in these states.

   B. Florida and Virginia have only very limited desegregation in their public schools. ETS might successfully require desegregated testing at a relatively few of its public-institution centers in these states.

   C. Desegregation is essentially achieved or is making rapid progress in Arkansas, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and Texas. Although ETS could probably successfully require desegregated testing at almost all of its centers at public institutions in these states, its doing so would, in our opinion, retard rather than speed the total process. North Carolina may be just entering this category, and desegregation could probably be successfully required at a majority, but by no means all, of the public school testing centers there.

   D. West Virginia and the District of Columbia are completely desegregated for testing purposes.

4. Information gathered by telephone from secondary school administrative people in some of the southern states corroborates the findings set forth in 3 above. In Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and most of Florida, Negro

candidates at secondary schools are tested under segregated conditions, and the trend toward desegregation in the schools, and hence toward desegregated testing centers, is, at best, both slow and painful. When asked about the prospect of conducting completely desegregated testing centers in these states, the almost unanimous response of the local person is, "Impossible!" In most parts of Tennessee and Texas, and in several locations in Virginia, response to our inquiries has been encouraging.

5. Our recent practice (first adopted in Georgia at the request of its Regents) of establishing centers at both white and Negro institutions in many southern cities has worked out satisfactorily. Adopted throughout the South, it might virtually eliminate the problem except for deliberately created incidents; but it is relatively inefficient and expensive, and it would seem to be taking us in an undesirable direction.

JET/em
February 28, 1961

TABLE I

TELEPHONE INQUIRIES

OF SELECTED LAW SCHOOL ADMISSION TEST CENTERS

FOR NOVEMBER 1960

CENTER	SEGREGATION POLICY AT PRESENT
1. Florida State University Tallahassee, Florida	Complete desegregation
2. Stetson University St. Petersburg, Florida	Partial desegregation: Negroes tested in separate room
3. University of Florida Gainesville, Florida	Complete desegregation
4. University of Miami Coral Gables, Florida	Complete desegregation
5. Emory University Atlanta, Georgia	Complete desegregation
6. Louisiana State University Baton Rouge, Louisiana	Complete desegregation
7. Tulane University New Orleans, Louisiana	Complete desegregation
8. Duke University Durham, North Carolina	Complete desegregation
9. Wake Forest College Winston-Salem, North Carolina	Complete desegregation
10. University of South Carolina Columbia, South Carolina	Partial desegregation: Negroes tested in same room, but if whites complain, Negroes seated in separate room.
11. University of the South Sewanee, Tennessee	Complete desegregation
12. South Texas College of Law Houston, Texas	Partial desegregation: all candidates tested in same room, but Negroes may be assigned seats.
13. Washington and Lee University Lexington, Virginia	Complete desegregation
14. College of William and Mary Williamsburg, Virginia	Complete desegregation
15. University of New Mexico Albuquerque, New Mexico	Complete desegregation
16. University of Virginia Charlottesville, Virginia	Complete desegregation

TABLE II

COLLEGE BOARD TESTING AT PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS IN THE SOUTH

State	College Board Candidates 1959-60 Total	From Negro High Schools	Total Centers 1960-61	%age Total Center Capacity at Public Institutions	Status at Public Institutions	Conclusion
Ala.	2,438	46	15	90	Segregated at all levels. Governor Patterson has recently reaffirmed his determination to close any school or state-supported college before submitting to a court order to integrate.	ETS cannot successfully require desegregated testing at any of the public institutions now centers.
Ark.	1,202	47	15	80	Grade-a-year desegregation proceeding in several urban systems with 113 Negroes in schools with whites.	ETS can successfully require desegregated testing at most of the public institutions now centers.
Del.	2,614	---	3	---	Desegregated, except for problem areas in rural south portion.	ETS can successfully require desegregated testing at both public institutions now centers.
D.C.	4,927	---	10	---	Completely desegregated.	ETS can successfully require desegregated testing at all public institutions now centers.
Fla.	10,272	30	31	70	Four Dade county public schools legally desegregated, with 27 Negroes in school with whites.	ETS probably can successfully require desegregated testing at a very few public institutions now centers.
Ga.	18,901	389	120	75	Except for two Negroes admitted to the University of Georgia, completely segregated. Atlanta under federal court order to desegregate grades 11 and 12 in September 1961. In a recent admission that "some desegregation must be accepted", Governor Vandiver has retreated from his earlier position advocating closing all schools to prevent integration.	ETS cannot successfully require desegregated testing at any of the public institutions now centers.

State	College Board Candidates 1959-60 Total	From Negro High Schools	Total Centers 1960-61	%age Total Center Capacity at Public Institutions	Status at Public Institutions	Conclusion
Ky.	3,015	---	14	---	Essentially desegregated, with about one-third of all Negroes attending school in classes with whites. Eight senior state institutions and the University of Louisville desegregated.	ETS can successfully require desegregated testing at all public institutions now centers.
La.	3,295	47	12	70	Except for 4 Negroes in two New Orleans schools as a result of federal court order, segregated at all levels. Eight appeals to U.S. District Court orders to "desegregate with all deliberate speed" being considered by the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.	ETS cannot successfully require desegregated testing at any of the public institutions now centers. (All 5 New Orleans centers are located at private institutions and are desegregated for testing.)
Md.	12,596	---	24	---	Desegregation proceeding through voluntary local school board action, with 23 of 24 school districts nominally desegregated.	ETS can successfully require desegregated testing at all of the public institutions now centers.
Miss.	1,065	40	13	80	Segregated at all levels. Present belief is that a legal integration effort will soon be made and that all public schools will be closed.	ETS cannot successfully require desegregated testing at any of the public institutions now centers.
Mo.	6,333	---	23	---	200 of 214 school districts desegregated, with 35,000 Negroes in school with whites.	ETS can successfully require desegregated testing at all 16 of the public institutions now centers.

State	College Board Candidates 1959-60 Total	From Negro High Schools	Total Centers 1960-61	%age Total Center Capacity at Public Institutions	Status at Public Institutions	Conclusion
N.C.	12,158	165	60	95	Spotty desegregation, with eight larger systems (including Charlotte, Durham, Greensboro, Winston-Salem, and Chapel Hill) having token desegregated schools on the order of 3 or 4 Negroes to 300 or 400 whites in elementary and secondary schools. A total of 82 Negroes in school with whites.	ETS can probably successfully require desegregated testing at the majority of the public institutions now centers.
Okla.	1,958	---	11	---	Essentially desegregated, with about 30,000 of 40,000 Negroes in schools in desegregated districts, 10,000 in schools with whites.	ETS can successfully require desegregated testing at all of the public institutions now centers.
S.C.	3,617	22	29	88	Segregated at all levels, with no apparent disposition to move toward desegregation.	ETS cannot successfully require desegregated testing at any of the public institutions now centers.
Tenn.	5,208	34	16	62	Token desegregation, with continued resistance in southern and western sections. 342 Negroes in school with whites.	ETS can probably successfully require desegregated testing at all of the public institutions now centers.
Tex.	10,690	76	68	65	Except for extreme eastern part, desegregated, with 3500 Negroes in school with whites.	ETS can successfully require desegregated testing at most of the public institutions now centers.
Va.	18,383	173	52	70	Continued complexities and conflicts, with token desegregation the rule. 208 Negroes in school with whites.	ETS can successfully require desegregated testing at only a few of the public institutions now centers.

State	College Board Candidates 1959-60 Total	College Board Candidates 1959-60 From Negro High Schools	Total Centers 1960-61	%age Total Center Capacity at Public Institutions	Status at Public Institutions	Conclusion
W.Va.	2,132	---	9	---	All public school districts officially desegregated, with 14,000 Negroes in classes with whites. New Governor Barron pledged to work toward the elimination of "prejudice, discrimination, and disorder."	ETS can successfully require desegregation at all public institutions now centers.
Totals	120,804	1,069	525			

TABLE III

INFORMATION FROM INFORMAL TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS WITH CENTER SUPERVISORS

Complete Desegregation	Desegregation "No problem"	Test Negroes in Another Room	Test Negroes at Another Location
Atlanta, Georgia: Emory University	Huntsville, Alabama: Huntsville High School	Birmingham, Alabama: Birmingham Southern College	Birmingham, Alabama: Phillips High School
Wilmington, North Carolina: New Hanover High School	Canton, Georgia: Cherokee High School	Montgomery, Alabama: Montgomery County Board of Education	Albany, Georgia: Albany High School
Houston, Texas: Rice University	Columbus, Georgia: Columbus High School	Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia	Statesboro, Georgia: Georgia Teachers College
	Douglas, Georgia: South Georgia College	Brunswick, Georgia: Glynn Academy	Valdosta, Georgia: Valdosta State College
	Barbourville, Kentucky: Union College	Macon, Georgia: A.L. Miller High School	Shreveport, Louisiana: C.E. Byrd High School
	Monroe, Louisiana: Neville High School	Moultrie, Georgia: Moultrie Senior High School	Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina
	Windsor, North Carolina: Bertie County Board of Education	Greenville, South Carolina: Greenville High School	
	Charleston, South Carolina: The Citadel	Alexandria, Virginia: George Washington High School	
		Alexandria, Virginia: F. C. Hammond High School	

TABLE IV

A SUMMARY OF OPINIONS FROM TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS WITH SECONDARY SCHOOL ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL IN SEVERAL SOUTHERN STATES

	Birmingham, Alabama	Florence, Alabama	Pensacola, Florida	Atlanta, Georgia	Atlanta, Georgia	New Orleans, Louisiana	Shreveport, Louisiana	Jackson, Mississippi	Pascagoula, Mississippi	Memphis, Tennessee	Tyler, Texas	Norfolk, Virginia
1. Arrangements for the Testing of 1 or 2 Negroes												
a) Same as White										x	x	x
b) Separated in same room						x or						
c) Different room			x			x		x				
d) Different building	x	x	x or	x	x	x or	x		x			
2. Arrangements for the Testing of a Larger Number of Negroes												
a) Same as White										x	x	x
b) Separated in same room												
c) Different room								x				
c) Different building	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x			
3. Reaction to requiring desegregated centers in area												
a) Accept without question												
b) Accept with reservation						x or					x	
c) Impossible	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x			
4. Availability of good testing facilities for desegregated center in area												
a) None available					x							
b) Could obtain	x		x			x	x					
c) Could obtain with difficulty		x		x					x			
d) Poor facilities available								x			x	
5. Would present ETS supervisors continue to give tests at other, desegregated, centers												
a) Yes		x	x		x							
b) No	x								x			
c) Maybe								x				
d) Yes, but some or all of the white candidates would leave the center				x		x	x					
6. Are any trends evident in area												
a) Quite favorable											x	x
b) Some motion, but veryslow						x			x			
c) Very slow, faster in urban areas				x								
d) If issue is forced, schools won't be closed										x		
e) If issue is forced, schools will be closed								x				
f) Some softening in next 5 years			x		x							
g) Stalemate	x	x										

Policy Resolutions Approved by Trustees for Gradual Integration of Testing Centers

1. RESOLVED: That the following precept be adopted as internal policy to guide Educational Testing Service and the Board staff in the establishment and continuation of College Board testing centers:

It is the responsibility
The first responsibility of the College Entrance Examination Board is to provide for the testing of all candidates under standard, equitable conditions. The Board will, however, make a definite and specific effort in all areas to assure that all testing centers will be equally accessible to all candidates without regard to race when this can be accomplished without definitely jeopardizing the Board's ability to test all candidates.

2. RESOLVED: That the staff be directed to take whatever steps are necessary, including the following, in implementation of this policy:

regularly are being

(a) Determine as fully as practicable the conditions under which all Negro candidates were tested in 1959-60, and, if data warrant, the conditions under which they are being tested in the current year. Practicable

not conform

(b) Refuse to establish any new testing centers which will not be open to candidates of all races unless careful investigation indicates that a center is needed, and that local conditions will definitely prevent the establishment of a desegregated center sufficiently close to provide for the testing of all candidates.

It is established that

(c) Close any testing center at which investigation confirms that a candidate has been inequitably treated because of his race, and where negotiations fail to produce a satisfactory solution. inadvertently such established policy

the assurance full compliance

(d) Instruct supervisors that candidates who select or who are assigned by ETS to a particular center are, normally, to be accommodated in the same building. Separate, nearby buildings may be used when candidate numbers require more space but, in this event, the assignment of candidates to buildings cannot be according to race.

(e) Proceed immediately to provide for only desegregated centers in all metropolitan areas where this can be accomplished; the definition of such areas should be determined through consultation with local educational leaders of both races.

(f) Seek to establish now additional centers which will be desegregated in areas where separate centers now exist for whites and Negroes, so that the separate centers for both races may be ~~gradually~~ closed.

(g) Keep progress made under close scrutiny, and report such progress regularly to the Trustees.

	Centers 1962-63	Centers, 1963-64 Continued	Closed*	New	Centers, 1964-65 continued	Closed** Closed***	Reopened	New	Centers, 1965-66 continued	Closed**	Reopened	New
ALABAMA:												
Secondary Schools												
White	11	7	4*	1	5	3*	1	3	9	0	0	1
Negro	1	0	1*	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
Colleges												
White	3	2	1*	0	2	0	0	2	4	0	0	1
Negro	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	4	0	0	
Military Bases				3	1	2**	0	0	1	0	0	0
Operating centers in Alabama	WS 11 NS 1 WC 3 NC 1 16	WS 8 NS 0 WC 2 NC 1 MB 3 14			WS 9 NS 1 WC 4 NC 4 MB 1 19				WS 10 NS 1 WC 5 NC 4 MB 1 21			
GEORGIA:												
Secondary Schools												
White	69	68	1***	3	58	12*	0	13	72	0	3	3
Negro	43	41	2**	0	31	10*	1	1	33	9**	0	0
Colleges												
White	22	22	0	1	23	0	0	5	28	0	0	2
Negro	6	6	0	0	6	0	0	0	6	0	0	
Military Bases	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Operating Centers in Georgia	WS 69 NS 43 WC 22 NC 6 MB 0 140	WS 71 NS 41 WC 23 NC 6 MB 0 141			WS 72 NS 33 WC 28 NC 6 MB 0 139				WS 78 NS 24 WC 30 NC 6 MB 0 138			
Louisiana												
Secondary Schools												
White	14	6	5*	5+	11	1*	0	2	12	0	1	2
Negro	0	0	0		0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
Colleges												
White	4	4	0		4	0	0	1	5	0	0	0
Negro	1	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Military Bases				1	1	1**		0	0	0	0	0
Operating Centers in Louisiana	WS 11 NS 0 WC 4 NC 1 16	WS 11 NS 0 WC 4 NC 2 MB 1 18			WS 13 NS 1 WC 5 NC 2 MB 0 21				WS 14 NS 1 WC 5 NC 2 MB 0 22			

Huntsville N.S. closed 1yr., 1963-64; reopened, 1964-65.
Redstone Arsenal used as center for Huntsville N.S., during 1963-64.
Public school facility, Montgomery, closed, 1963-64.
Maxwell AFB used as center 1yr. in Montgomery, 1963-64.
Montgomery center in Univ. of Ala. Center, 1964-65 and is continuing.
Marion Institute, Marion near Selma, closed 1963-64.
Craig AFB took over Marion Institute center and due to conditions in that section of Alabama is continuing center. Only military base used in Ala. now.
Andalusia white citizens made school officials close center in white school when integrated testing discovered. Local school officials authorized integrated test center in Negro H.S.

1 white high school, Decatur High School, closed by fire and reconstruction, 1963-64; reopened, 1965-66.
1 of 2 Negro high school centers closed 1963-64, due to lacking candidates, reopened, 1964-65, due to increase in candidates, Central H.S., Newnan.
Unable to begin center negotiations in Georgia until spring of 1964 due to volume of negotiations in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina during 1963.
Twenty-four centers, continuing in Negro high schools in 1965-66 with drastically reduced number of administrations, will be evaluated after December, 1965, test to ascertain those that are definitely needed.

Three of the centers in white high schools that closed, 1963-64, arranged locations in local military reserve centers, which are not defined as military bases but are counted a white secondary schools since the white high school personnel went with the center. These three centers are counted as part of the 5+ new white secondary school centers, 1963-64.
One military base, Barksdale AFB, near Shreveport, was a center for two white public schools that closed in 1963-64 until the spring of 1964, when this center moved from Barksdale AFB to Centenary College, Shreveport.
One center in a white high school, Natchitoches, was closed due to the "block lash" of the presidential campaign. It has not been reopened to date.

Closed* Centers closed by school or college officials due to inability to operate centers in compliance with Trustees' Center policy.
Closed** Centers closed by CEEB as not needed.
Closed*** Fire destroyed building.

WS - White secondary school
NS - Negro secondary school
WC - White college
NC - Negro College

	Centers 1962-63	Centers, 1963-64 Continued	Closed* Closed**	New	Centers, 1964-65 Continued	Closed* Closed**	Reopened	New	Centers, 1965-66 Continued	Closed* Closed**	Reopened	New
Mississippi:												
Secondary Schools												
White	11	2	9	1	3	0	0	2	5	0	0	1
Negro	3	0	1**	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Colleges												
White	3	2	1*	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	1
Negro	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Military Bases	0	0	0	4	4	2**	0	2	1	1		0
Operating Centers in Mississippi	WS 11 NS 3 WC 3 NC 1 18		WS 3 NS 1 WC 2 NC 1 MB 4 11			WS 5 NS 1 WC 2 NC 1 MB 2 11				WS 6 NS 1 WC 3 NC 1 MB 1 12		
South Carolina:												
Secondary Schools												
White	26	18	8*	3	21	0	3	2	26	0	1	6
Negro	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	0	0	0
Colleges												
White	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	2			1
Negro	1	0	1*	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0
Military Bases	0	0	0	1	1	1**	0	0	0	0	0	0
Operating Centers in South Carolina	WS 26 NS 0 WC 2 NC 1 29		WS 21 NS 0 WC 2 NC 0 MB 1 24			WS 26 NS 4 WC 2 NC 2 MB 0 34				WS 33 NS 4 WC 3 NC 2 MB 0 42		

It is remarkable that a few centers (2.3) in white high schools and colleges continued to operate in an integrated manner throughout the various crises in Mississippi.

Although 4 military bases were pressed into service in 1963, centers in military installations gradually became unnecessary with the exception of the center at Columbus AFB.

Bishops in the Catholic and Episcopal churches aided in the establishing of centers.

Only 4 of the 8 white secondary school centers that closed in 1963 remain in that status: Centers in Clinton, Kingstree, Laurens, and Winsboro remain closed.

The center in South Carolina State College, Orangeburg (Negro), which closed in 1963 due to an inability to comply with the Trustees' Center Policy, reopened in 1964. The college now requires the SAT for admission.

The center in Benedict College, Columbia (Negro) had to be established to help meet candidate demand in this area in 1964-65, and will continue, along with two new centers in white high schools in this area, to meet anticipated candidate demand for 1965-66.

Three centers were established in Negro schools in Charleston, Florence, & Sumpter because capacity in available, white schools was exhausted in 1964. These centers tested respectively in Dec. 1964, 190, 230, and 196 candidates. The fourth center in a Negro high school, Moncks Corner, was established because no white centers in immediate area were available.

One military base, Parris Island, was used one year.

Closed* Centers closed by school or college officials due to inability to operate in compliance with Trustees' Center Policy.
Closed** Centers closed by CEEB as not needed.
WS - white secondary school
NS - Negro secondary school
WC - white college
NC - Negro college

(2.6)

Alabama		Dec. 1963			Jan. 1964			Mar. 1964			May 1964			July 1964			Dec. 1964		
No. Center	Capc.	W	N	T	W	N	T	W	N	T	W	N	T	W	N	T	W	N	T
~~897 Birmingham, Western H.S. (N)~~	150	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X									
~~895 Anniston H.S. (W)~~	150	76	19	95	X	X	X							X	X	X			
Birmingham (3)																			
890 John Carroll H.S. (W)	600	521	7	528	243	14	257	221	33	254									
GF899 Andalusia H.S. ~~894 Helos College (N)~~	~~100~~	28	0	28	8	0	8	9	0	9	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
GF894 Eufaula H.S. ~~889 Univ. of Alabama Center (W)~~	~~300~~	8	0	8	7	0	7	13	0	13				X	X	X			
881 Decatur Senior H.S. (W)	200	32	0	32	52	0	52	11	0	11				X	X	X			
Dothan (1) 879 Dothan H.S. ~~Univ. of Alabama Center (W)~~	200	134	2	136	30	0	30	34	0	34									
870 Florence St. College (W)	200	52	0	52	25	1	26	29	0	29				X	X	X			
Gadsden (1) 862 Civil Aviation Bldg. (W)	150	101	7	108	44	14	58	28	0	28									
858 Redstone Arsenal ~~Huntsville H.S. (W)~~	400	53	0	53	32	3	35	35	4	39				X	X	X			
Mobile (3) ~~845 Bishop Tooler H.S. (W)~~	750				X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X			
843 Murphy H.S. (W)	500	289	35	324	104	12	116	124	27	151									
~~844 Union Military School (W)~~	35				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
Montgomery (1) 840 Univ. of Ala. Center (W)	500																		
Selma (1) 810 Craig AFB (W)	175	28	0	28	11	7	18	56	3	59				X	X	X			
Cullman (1) 809 St. Bernard College (W)	150	50	0	50	10	0	10	12	0	12									
~~807 Talladega College (N)~~	150																		
Tuscaloosa (2) ~~806 Stillman College (N)~~	105																		
805 Tuscaloosa H.S. (W)	200	62	1	63	37	0	37	23	0	23				X	X	X			
804 Tuskegee Institute H.S. (N)	500	2	16	18	1	3	4	X	X	X				X	X	X			
	3,275	1360	68	1428	604	54	658	595	67	662									

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No.	Center	Capc.	Dec. 1963 W	Dec. 1963 N	Dec. 1963 T	Jan. 1964 W	Jan. 1964 N	Jan. 1964 T	Mar. 1964 W	Mar. 1964 N	Mar. 1964 T	May 1964 W	May 1964 N	May 1964 T	[illegible] W	[illegible] N	[illegible] T	[illegible] W	[illegible] N	[illegible] T
	Adel:																			
399	Cook Co. H.S. (W)	144	51	(0)	51	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Albany:																			
395	Albany H.S. (W)	500	384	(1)	385	118	(2)	120	132	0	132									
	Albany:																			
394	Albany State College (N)	200	[3]	20	23	[0]	20	20	[0]	55	55									
	Americus:																			
393	Ga. Southwestern College (W)	400	213	(1)	214	42	(1)	43	38	(0)	38				X	X	X			
	Americus: Jan. + Mar. deleted, 1966.																			
392	Sumter Co. H.S. (N)	100	[2]	23	25	[6]	23	29	[3]	28	31				X	X	X			
	Athens:																			
~~6347~~	~~Athens H.S. (W)~~	~~325~~													X	X	X			
	Athens:																			
391	Athens Night End. (W)	500	[7]	19	26	[2]	17	19	[5]	32	37									
	Athens:																			
390	Univ. of Georgia (W)	700	652	(1)	653	253	(1)	254	237	(0)	237									
	Atlanta:																			
389	Atlanta Univ. (N)	195	[20]	32	52	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X			
	Atlanta:																			
~~6388~~	~~Briarcliff H.S. (W)~~	~~500~~													X	X	X			
	Atlanta:																			
388	Clark College (N)	200	X	X	X	[6]	52	58	[12]	70	82	X	X	X						
	Atlanta:																			
386	Druid Hills H.S. (W)	300	200	(0)	200	124	(0)	124	158	(0)	158				X	X	X			
	Atlanta:																			
387	Emory Univ. (W)	500	367	(1)	368	90	(0)	90	81	(1)	82									
	Atlanta:																			
385	Ga. Tech. (W)	292	272	(0)	272	119	(0)	119	157	(2)	159				X	X	X			
	Atlanta:																			
381	Ga. State College (W)	300	177	(1)	178	36	(1)	37	62	(0)	62									
	Atlanta:																			
380	Grady H.S. (W)	300	281	(0)	281	76	(0)	76	86	(0)	86				X	X	X			
	Atlanta:																			
377	Lovett School (W)	200	169	(0)	169	72	(0)	72	102	(0)	102				X	X	X			
	Atlanta:																			
376	Marist School (W)	200	163	(0)	163	31	(0)	31	83	(0)	83				X	X	X			
	Subtotal	5,031	2,961	99	3,060	975	117	1,092	1,156	188	1,344									

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No.	Center	Capc.	Dec. 1963 W	Dec. 1963 N	Dec. 1963 T	Jan. 1964 W	Jan. 1964 N	Jan. 1964 T	Mar. 1964 W	Mar. 1964 N	Mar. 1964 T	May 1964 W	May 1964 N	May 1964 T	July 1964 W	July 1964 N	July 1964 T	Dec. 1965 W	Dec. 1965 N	Dec. 1965 T
6379	Atlanta: Murphy H.S. (W)	250	190	0	190	51	0	51	61	2	63				X	X	X			
6378	Atlanta: Northside H.S. (W)	600	252	0	252	121	0	121	413	0	413				X	X	X			
6384	Atlanta: Oglethorpe Univ. (W)	200	144	1	145	29	0	29	78	0	78									
~~6344~~	Atlanta: Roosevelt H.S. (W)	200													X	X	X			
6382	Atlanta: St. Pius X (W)	420	206	0	206	84	0	84	152	2	154				X	X	X			
6375	Atlanta: Southwest H.S. (W)	500	223	0	223	142	1	143	108	0	108				X	X	X			
~~6396~~	Atlanta: Sylvan Hills H.S. (W)	200													X	X	X			
6383	Atlanta: Westminster Schools (W)	700	483	0	483	307	0	307	406	0	406									
~~6359~~	Atlanta: Turner H.S. (N)	300													X	X	X			
6371	Augusta: Academy of Richmond Co. (W)	700	635	1	636	291	0	291	427	0	427									
~~6363~~	Augusta: Augusta College (W)	125				X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X			
6372	Augusta: G.R. Butler H.S. (W)	500	198	1	199	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X			
6370	Augusta: Paine College (N)	250	[1]	27	28	[1]	53	54	[2]	56	58									
6369	Avondale: Avondale H.S. (W)	325	292	3	295	87	0	87	174	0	174				X	X	X			
6368	Avondale: Hamilton H.S. (N)	100	[2]	15	17	[0] ~~0~~ X	5 ~~0~~ X	5 ~~0~~ X	[0]	10	10	X	X	X	X	X	X			
6367	Bainbridge: Bainbridge H.S. (W)	250	106	0	106	16	0	16	24	0	24				X	X	X			
6366	Bainbridge: Dec. only in 1965-66. Hutto H.S. (N)	50	[0]	0	0	[0]	11	11	X	X	X	~~0~~ X	~~0~~ X	~~0~~ X	X	X	X			
6365	Barnesville: Gordon Military College (W)	500	169	0	169	X	X	X	41	0	41				X	X	X			
6364	Barnesville: Booker H.S. (N)		[0]	0	0	X	X	X	[0]	6	6				X	X	X	X	X	X
	Subtotal	5,345	2,901	48	2,949	1,129	70	1,199	1,886	76	1,962									

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	Center	Capc.	Dec. 1963 W	Dec. 1963 N	Dec. 1963 T	Jan. 1964 W	Jan. 1964 N	Jan. 1964 T	Mar. 1964 W	Mar. 1964 N	Mar. 1964 T	May 1964 W	May 1964 N	May 1964 T	July 1964 W	July 1964 N	July 1964 T	Dec. 1964 W	Dec. 1964 N	Dec. 1964 T
	Blue Ridge:																			
~~356~~	~~W. Fannin H.S. (W)~~	~~100~~				X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X			
	Bremen:																			
362	Bremen H.S. (W)	400	62	(0)	62	44	(0)	44	X	X	X				X	X	X			
	Brunswick:																			
354	Glynn Academy (W)	300	187	(0)	187	75	(0)	75	118	(0)	118				X	X	X			
	Brunswick:																			
353	Risley H.S. (N)	150	[14]	1	15	[0]	5	5	[1]	27	28				X	X	X			
	Butler:																			
350	Butler H.S. (W)	90	27	(0)	27	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
	Butler:																			
351	Eureka H.S. (N)	70	[0]	10	10	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
	Calhoun:																			
349	Calhoun H.S. (W)	800	118	(0)	118	X	X	X	12	(0)	12	X	X	X	X	X	X			
	Calhoun: Center cancelled for 1965-66																			
348	Stephens H.S. (N)	150	[0]	0	0	X	X	X	[0]	13	13	X	X	X	X	X	X			
	Camilla: Center cancelled for 1965-66																			
347	Camilla Cons. H.S. (W)	75	[1]	0	1	[0] ~~OK~~ X	11 ~~OK~~	11 ~~OK~~	[1] ~~OK~~	2 ~~OK~~	3 ~~OK~~				X	X	X			
	Camilla:																			
346	Mitchell Co. High Sch. (W)	150	63	(0)	63	14 ~~OK~~ X	(0) ~~OK~~	14 ~~OK~~	30 ~~OK~~	(0) ~~OK~~	30 ~~OK~~				X	X	X			
345 on list 344 page	Carrollton: Dec. only 1965-66.																			
343	Carver H.S. (N)	400	[0]	9	9	X	X	X	[0]	5	5				X	X	X			
	Carrollton:																			
342	W. Georgia College (W)	300	186	(0)	186	X	X	X	76	(0)	76									
	Cartersville:																			
341	Cartersville H.S. (W)	300	137	(0)	137	X	X	X	39	(0)	39	X	X	X	X	X	X			
	Chamblee:																			
338	Chamblee H.S. (W)	200	120	(0)	120	40	(0)	40	53	(1)	54				X	X	X			
	Clayton																			
336	Rabun Co. H.S. (W)	200	53	(0)	53	8	(0)	8	10	(0)	10	X	X	X	X	X	X			
	Cleveland:																			
335	Truett-McConnell College (W)	150	73	(0)	73	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X			
	Cochran: Cancelled, 1965-66																			
333	Cochran Colored H.S. (N)	75	[0]	6	6	[0]	1	1	[0]	0	0									
	Cochran:																			
332	Middle Georgia College (W)	200	85	(0)	85	9	(0)	9	23	(0)	23									
	College Park																			
329	N. Clayton H.S. (W)	550	312	(0)	312	61	(0)	61	104	(0)	104				X	X	X			
	College Park:																			
328	Ga. Mil. Acad. (W)	300	269	(0)	269	202	(0)	202	164	(0)	164									
	Subtotal	4,860	1,707	26	1,733	453	17	470	631	48	679									

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No.	Center	Capc.	Dec. 1963 W	Dec. 1963 N	Dec. 1963 T	Jan. 1964 W	Jan. 1964 N	Jan. 1964 T	Mar. 1964 W	Mar. 1964 N	Mar. 1964 T	May 1964 W	May 1964 N	May 1964 T	July 1964 W	July 1964 N	July 1964 T	Sept. 1964 W	Sept. 1964 N	Sept. 1964 T	(2.16)
	Columbus:																				
6334	Baker N.S. (W)	200	207	0	207	48	0	48	91	0	91				X	X	X				
	Columbus:																				
6331	Columbus N.S. (W)	900	386	1	387	129	0	129	167	0	167										
	Columbus:																				
~~6334~~	~~Columbus College (W)~~	~~200~~																			
	Columbus:																				
~~6337~~	~~Pacelle N.S. (W)~~	~~200~~				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
	Columbus:																				
6330	Spencer N.S. (W)	300	0	4	4	0	4	4	3	60	63										
	Cordele:																				
6325	Crisp Co. H.S. (W)	300	93	0	93	X	X	X	61	0	61				X	X	X				
	Covington:																				
6327	Newton Co. H.S. (W)	300	151	0	151	71	0	71	X	X	X				X	X	X				
	Covington: Cancelled, 1965-66																				
6326	R.L. Cousins H.S. (N)	40	0	3	3	1	8	9	X	X	X				X	X	X				
	Dahlonega:																				
6323	North Ga. College (W)	200	47	0	47	9	0	9	7	1	8				X	X	X				
	Dalton:																				
6322	Dalton N.S. (W)	250	135	0	135	74	0	74	41	0	41				X	X	X				
	Dalton: Cancelled, 1965-66																				
6321	Emory St. H.S. (N)	27	1	0	1	0 X	8 0 X	8 0 X	0	3 0 X	3 0 X				X	X	X				
	Decatur:																				
6320	Gordon H.S. (W)	300	242	0	242	96	0	96	174	4	178				X	X	X				
6317 6316	Pulaski ~~Decatur~~: 6308 Edison (W)	100	44	0	44	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
~~6313~~	~~Southwest Dekalb N.S. (W)~~	~~200~~													X	X	X				
	Douglas: Dec., May, July 1965-66																				
6315	Carver H.S. (N)	85	X	X	X	0	6	6	1	1	2				X	X	X				
	Douglas:																				
6314	South Ga. College (W)	400	202	0	202	27	0	27	40	0	40										
	Dublin:																				
6312	Dublin N.S. (W)	500	138	0	138	X	X	X	29	0	29				X	X	X				
	Eastman:																				
6311	Dodge Co. H.S. (W)	200	75	0	75	17	0	17	38	0	38	X	X	X	X	X	X				
	Eastman:																				
6310	Peabody H.S. (N)	500	0	21	21	0	10	10	0	37	37	X	X	X	X	X	X				
6317	Donalsonville Seminole Co. H.S. (W)		39	0	39	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
6316	Seminole Co. Tr. Sch. (N) Additional	4,602	1700	96	1796	472	36	508	652	106	758	X	X	X	X	X	X				

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No.	Center	Capc.	Dec. 1963 W	Dec. 1963 N	Dec. 1963 T	Jan. 1964 W	Jan. 1964 N	Jan. 1964 T	Mar. 1964 W	Mar. 1964 N	Mar. 1964 T	May 1964 W	May 1964 N	May 1964 T	July 1964 W	July 1964 N	July 1964 T	Sept. W	Sept. N	Sept. T
~~6225~~	~~Fort Valley: Senior N.S. (W)~~	~~200~~				X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X			
6293	Ft. Valley: Ft. Valley St. Col. (N)	500	[1]	13	14	[0]	23	23	[1]	44	45									
6287	Franklin Springs: Emanuel College (W)	180	48	(0)	48	X	X	X	13	(0)	13	X	X	X						
6284	Gainesville: Brenau Academy (W)	120	101	(0)	101	73	(0)	73	61	(0)	61	X	X	X	X	X	X			
6283	Gainesville: E.E. Butler H.S. (N)	50	[0]	0	0	[0]	2	2	[0]	9	9				X	X	X			
6263	~~Gainesville: Hart Co. Jr. Sch. (N)~~	~~100~~							(0)	10	10									
~~6280~~	~~Gainesville N.S. (W)~~	~~150~~				X	X	X							X	X	X			
6281	Gainesville: N. Hall N.S. (W)	50	47	(0)	47	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X			
6282	Gainesville: Riverside Mil. Acad. (W)	150	136	(0)	136	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X			
6275	Griffin: Farrmont School (N)	100	[0]	8	8	[2]	10	12	[0]	5	5				X	X	X			
6274	Griffin: Griffin N.S. (W)	400	194	(0)	194	69	(0)	69	62	(0)	62				X	X	X			
6266	Hapeville: Gr. Bapt. Chi's Home (W)	35	29	(0)	29	X	X	X	32	(0)	32				X	X	X			
6249	Jackson; Cancelled for 1965-66. Henderson H.S. (N)	50	[1]	7	8	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
6248	Jackson: Jackson N.S. (W)	70	34	(0)	34	36	(0)	36	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
6246	Jesup: Wayne Co. N.S. (W)	200	98	(0)	98	29	(0)	29	25	1	26	X	X	X	X	X	X			
6247	Jesup: Cancelled for 1965-66 Wayne Co. Tr. Sch. (N)	20	0	0	0	X	X	X	[1]	7	8	X	X	X	X	X	X			
~~6237~~	~~LaGrange: LaGrange College (W)~~	~~350~~													X	X	X			
6223	Macon: (Women only) A.L. Miller Sr. H.S. (W)	225	304	(0)	304	84	(0)	84	257	(0)	257				X	X	X			
6222	Macon: B. Hudson H.S. (N)	200	[3]	6	9	[0]	6	6	[0]	59	59									
6221	Macon: Mercer Univ. (W)	700	405	(0)	405	150	(0)	150	204	(2)	206									
6239	E. Depot St. H.S. (N)		[3]	7	10	[0]	10	10	[0]	10	10				X	X	X			
6238	LaGrange N.S. (W)	150	235	(0)	235	112	(0)	112	120	(1)	121				X	X	X			
			1129	41	1180	555	51	606	776	148	924									

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No.	Center	Capc.	Dec. 1963 W	Dec. 1963 N	Dec. 1963 T	Jan. 1964 W	Jan. 1964 N	Jan. 1964 T	Mar. 1964 W	Mar. 1964 N	Mar. 1964 T	May 1964 W	May 1964 N	May 1964 T	July 1964 W	July 1964 N	July 1964 T	[illegible] W	[illegible] N	[illegible] T
	Macon: (Men Only)																			
~~6219~~	~~Lanier Sr. H.S. (W)~~	~~780~~													X	X	X			
	Macon:																			
6220	Wesleyan Coll. (W)	120	21	0	21	2	0	2	6	0	6				X	X	X			
	Marietta:																			
6216	Lemon St. School (N)	75	4	7	11	1	9	10	0	5	5				X	X	X			
	Marietta																			
6215	Marietta H.S. (W)	950	433	0	433	188	0	188	263	0	263				X	X	X			
	McRae:																			
6214	Telfair Co. H.S. (W)	200	37	0	37	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
	Milledgeville:																			
6213	Baldwin H.S. (W)	500	279	0	279	50	0	50	76	9	85				X	X	X			
	Milledgeville:																			
6212	Boddie H.S. (N)	400	4	2	6	0	30	30	1	19	20				X	X	X			
	Milledgeville:																			
~~6207~~	~~Woman's Coll. of Ga. (W)~~	~~250~~													X	X	X			
	Moultrie:																			
6211	Moultrie Sr. H.S. (W)	200	113	0	113	44	0	44	19	0	19				X	X	X			
	Moultrie: Dec. only, 1965-66.																			
6210	Bryant H.S. (N)	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5				X	X	X			
	Mount Berry:																			
6209	Berry College (W)	75	1	0	1	X	X	X	0	0	0	X	X	X	X	X	X			
	Mount Vernon																			
6208	Brewton-Parker Coll. (W)	100	33	0	33	X	X	X	9	0	9	X	X	X	X	X	X			
	Newnan:																			
~~6202~~	~~Central H.S. (N)~~	~~75~~				X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X			
	Newnan:																			
6201	Newnan H.S. (W)	200	130	2	132	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X			
	Pelham: Cancelled for 1965-66																			
6181	Mitchell Co. Tr. Sch. (N)	200	0	0	0	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X			
	Pelham:																			
6180	Pelham H.S. (W)	300	32	0	32	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X			
	Rockmart: Cancelled																			
6169	Elm St. H.S. (N)	60	2	1	3	X	X	X	0	30	30	X	X	X	X	X	X			
	Rome:																			
6166	Main H.S. (N)	200	1	18	19	0	17	17	0	18	18									
	Rome:																			
6165	East Rome H.S. (W)	800	460	1	461	144	0	144	161	0	161				X	X	X			
	Rome:																			
6164	Shorter College (W)	150	60	0	60	16	0	16	7	0	7	X	X	X						
	Sub-total	4,555	1,610	31	1,641	445	56	501	542	86	628									

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(2.6)

No.	Center	Capc.	Dec. 1963 W	Dec. 1963 N	Dec. 1963 T	Jan. 1964 W	Jan. 1964 N	Jan. 1964 T	Mar. 1964 W	Mar. 1964 N	Mar. 1964 T	May 1964 W	May 1964 N	May 1964 T	July 1964 W	July 1964 N	July 1964 T	Dec. 1965 W	Dec. 1965 N	Dec. 1965 T
	Sandersville:																			
6145	Washington Co. H.S. (W)	90	47	0	47	51	0	51	X	X	X				X	X	X			
	Savannah:																			
6145	Beach H.S. (N)	300	[2]	32	34	[1]	52	53	[0]	55	55				X	X	X			
	Savannah:																			
6144	Savannah St. Coll. (N)	75	[0]	8	8	[0]	7	7	[1]	13	14									
	Savannah:																			
6143	Savannah H.S. (W)	600	386	0	386	138	0	138	108	0	108									
	Savannah:																			
6142	Groves H.S. (W)	150	142	0	142	32	0	32	37	0	37				X	X	X			
	Savannah:																			
6141	Armstrong Coll. (W)	180	5	0	5	7	1	8	10	0	10				X	X	X			
	Savannah:																			
6140	Jenkins H.S. (W)	250	150	0	150	95	0	95	82	0	82				X	X	X			
	Savannah:																			
6139	Benedictine Mil. Sch. (W)	100	30	0	30	26	0	26	26	0	26				X	X	X			
	Savannah:																			
6136	St. Vincent's Acad. (W)	400	42	1	43	4	0	4	20	0	20				X	X	X			
	Smyrna:																			
6138	Campbell H.S. (W)	900	204	0	204	73	0	73	67	0	67				X	X	X			
	Statesboro:																			
6135	Ga. Sou. Coll. (W)	500	251	0	251	25	0	25	84	0	84									
	Statesboro Jec. only in 1965-66																			
6134	James H.S. (N)	200	[1]	2	3	[0]	0	0	[0]	10	10									
	Thomasville:																			
6125	Thomasville H.S. (W)	600	205	0	205	14	0	14	174	1	175				X	X	X			
	Thomasville:																			
6124	Douglass H.S. (N)	70	[0]	13	13	[10]	18	28	[0]	20	20				X	X	X			
	Tifton:																			
6123	A. Baldwin Coll. (W)	900	23	0	23	12	0	12	46	0	46				X	X	X			
	Toccoa:																			
6119	Toccoa H.S. (W)	250	219	1	220	X	X	X	121	0	121	X	X	X	X	X	X			
	Toccoa Falls: Not open?																			
6118	Toccoa Falls H.S. (W)	400	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X			
	Valdosta:																			
6116	Pinevale H.S. (N)	250	[0]	9	9	[0]	3	3	[3]	21	24									
	Valdosta:																			
6115	Valdosta St. Coll. (W)	250	242	0	242	39	0	39	59	4	63									
	Valdosta:																			
~~6114~~	Valdosta H.S. (W)	~~150~~													X	X	X			
	Subtotal	6065	1949	66	2015	527	81	608	838	124	962									

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No.	Center	Capc.	Dec. 1963 W	Dec. 1963 N	Dec. 1963 T	Jan. 1964 W	Jan. 1964 N	Jan. 1964 T	Mar. 1964 W	Mar. 1964 N	Mar. 1964 T	May 1964 W	May 1964 N	May 1964 T	July 1964 W	July 1964 N	July 1964 T	Dec. 1965 W	Dec. 1965 N	Dec. 1965 T
	Waleska																			
6105	Reinhardt College (W)	250																		
6101	Warner Robins: Warner Robins N.S. (W)	500	165	(0)	165	50	(0)	50	44	(0)	44				X	X	X			
6105	Waycross: Center N.S. (N)	150	[1]	32	33	[2]	3	5	[4]	19	23									
6104	Waycross: Waycross N.S. (W)	500	285	(0)	285	60	(0)	60	116	(1)	117									
6103	Waycross: Ware Co. N.S. (W)	100				X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X			
6102	Woodbine: Camden Co. N.S. (W)	100	37	(0)	37	23	(0)	23	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
6100	Young Harris: Young Harris Coll. (W)	150	100	(0)	100	9	(0)	9	19	(0)	19									
6345	Cherokee N.S. (W)	100	130	(0)	130	34	(0)	34	69	(0)	69				X	X	X			
6344	Buncombe N.S. (N)	100	X	X	X	X	X	X	[0]	4	4									
6233	Lyons N.S. (W)	150	129	(0)	129	32	(0)	32	69	(0)	69	X	X	X	X	X	X			
6232	Lyons Indus. N.S. (N)	50	[0]	37	37	[0]	9	9	[0]	23	23	X	X	X	X	X	X			
6218	Manchester N.S. (W)	100	72	(0)	72	20	(0)	20	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
6217	Meriwether Co. Jr. School (N)	50	X	X	X	[1]	16	17	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
6193	Irwin Co. N.S. (W)	200	112	(2)	114	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
6192	Ocilla Ind. & Ind. Sch. (N)	50	[0]	6	6	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
6129	Central N.S. (N)	50	[1]	4	5	[0]	3	3	[0]	10	10				X	X	X			
6128	Screven Co. N.S. (W)	150	71	(0)	71	10	(0)	10	35	(0)	35				X	X	X			
6122	Tift Co. N.S. (W)	200	98	(0)	98	34	(0)	34	X	X	X									
6121	Wilson N.S. (N)	100	X	X	X	[0]	7	7	[1]	17	18									
	Subtotal	2700	1,201	81	1,282	275	38	313	357	74	431									
	Total	36,308	15,728	428	16,156	4,831	466	5,297	6,838	850	7,688									

Louisiana

(2.6)

No.	Center	Capc.	Dec. 1963 W	Dec. 1963 N	Dec. 1963 T	Jan. 1964 W	Jan. 1964 N	Jan. 1964 T	Mar. 1964 W	Mar. 1964 N	Mar. 1964 T	May 1964 W	May 1964 N	May 1964 T	July 1964 W	July 1964 N	July 1964 T	Dec. 1964 W	Dec. 1964 N	Dec. 1964 T
7849	Alexandria: Bolton N.S. (W)	200	69	1	70	35	0	35	43	0	43				X	X	X			
7841	Baton Rouge: Baton Rouge High School (W)	500	166	3	169	89	8	97	81	0	81									
7865	Covington: St. Paul's N.S. (W)	300	44	1	45	36	0	36	37	0	37				X	X	X			
7861	Grambling: Grambling College (N)	50	0	0	0	[0]	10	10	[1]	0	1				X	X	X			
7815	Lafayette: Municipal Auditorium (W)	400	64	4	68	56	1	57	72	2	74				X	X	X			
7813	Lake Charles: Lake Charles N.S. (W)	100	29	0	29	22	1	23	20	0	20				X	X	X			
7804	Monroe: National Guard Armory (W)	100	55	0	55	44	0	44	38	0	38									
7795	New Orleans: De La Salle N.S. (W)	300	235	0	235	144	4	148	104	0	104				X	X	X			
7790	New Orleans: Jesuit High School (W)	600	248	11	259	100	22	122	115	0	115				X	X	X			
7789	New Orleans: LSU at New Orleans (W)	200	218	26	244	133	17	150	177	2	179				X	X	X			
7793	New Orleans: Loyola Univ. (W)	140	124	1	125	113	1	114	187	5	192				X	X	X			
7794	New Orleans: Newman School (W)	300	289	1	290	191	0	191	236	0	236									
7792	New Orleans: St. Marys Dominican College (W)	75	84	0	84	19	4	23	33	0	33				X	X	X			
7791	New Orleans: Tulane University (W)	200	153	2	155	154	2	156	4	0	4				X	X	X			
7788	New Orleans: Xavier University (N)	155	[3]	85	88	[4]	98	102	[13]	46	59									
7775	Shreveport: Centenary College (W)	200	138	0	138	74	8	82	84	2	86									
7773	Shreveport: Jesuit H.S. (W)	75				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
7779	Shreveport: Notre Dame H.S. (N)	150				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
7774	Shreveport: St. Vincent's Academy (W)	150				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
7770	Thibodaux: Thibodaux College (W)	180	54	0	54	50	0	50	29	0	29				X	X	X			
7799	Natchitoches N.S.		0	0	0	28	0	28	0	0	0	X	X	X	X	X	X			
		4,000	1973	135	2108	1,292	176	1,468	1,274	57	1,331									

Mississippi (2.6)

No.	Center	Capc.	Dec. 1963 W	Dec. 1963 N	Dec. 1963 T	Jan. 1964 W	Jan. 1964 N	Jan. 1964 T	Mar. 1964 W	Mar. 1964 N	Mar. 1964 T	May 1964 W	May 1964 N	May 1964 T	[illegible] 4 W	[illegible] 4 N	[illegible] 4 T	[illegible] 4 W	[illegible] 4 N	[illegible] 4 T
~~6945~~	~~Biloxi, Sacred Heart Girls (W)~~	~~100~~													X	X	X			
6990	Columbus, Columbus AFB (W)	110	32	0	32	1	0	1	26	1	27				X	X	X			
6999	Greenville, ~~St. Joseph's~~ AFB (W)	100	44	0	44	9	6	15	32	3	35				X	X	X			
6994	Greenwood, St. Francis H.S. (W)	60	22	7	29	30	0	30	0	0	0									
6972	Gulfport, Gulfport H.S. (W)	200	107	0	107	44	0	44	52	2	54									
6955	Jackson: U.S. Army Recruiting Station (W)	200	121	1	122	61	4	65	45	3	48				X	X	X			
6949	McComb, McComb H.S. (W)	100	9	0	9	X	X	X	6	0	6				X	X	X			
6948	Meridian, Meridian Sr. H.S. (W)	250	43	0	43	12	1	13	20	5	25									
6936	Oxford, Univ. of Miss. (W)	95	36	2	38	24	1	25	35	1	36									
6916	Tugaloo, Tugaloo College (W)	90	1	3	4	X	X	X	0	0	0				X	X	X			
6911	Vicksburg, All Saints' Episcopal Sch. (W)	100	43	5	48	56	7	63	17	5	22				X	X	X			
6960	Navy Res. Tr. Centers		1	0	1	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
		1,305	459	18	477	237	19	256	233	20	253									

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No.	Center	Capac.	Dec. 1963 W	Dec. 1963 N	Dec. 1963 T	Jan. 1964 W	Jan. 1964 N	Jan. 1964 T	Mar. 1964 W	Mar. 1964 N	Mar. 1964 T	May 1964 W	May 1964 N	May 1964 T	July 1964 W	July 1964 N	July 1964 T	Dec. 1964 W	Dec. 1964 N	Dec. 1964 T
5695	Aiken, Senior H.S. (W)	900	325	6	331	176	8	184	184	9	193				X	X	X			
5696	[illegible] H.S. Hanna H.S. (W)	600	250	0	250	81	0	81	276	1	277				X	X	X			
5697	Beaufort, Parris Is. ~~High School~~ H (W)	400	43	1	44	29	0	29	106	9	115									
5688	Bennettsville H.S. (W)	200	108	0	108	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X			
5690	Charleston: Bishop Ingland H.S. (W)	400	200	4	204	66	5	71	135	25	160				X	X	X			
5695	Charleston: Burke High School (N)	250				X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X			
5681	Charleston: College of Charleston (W)	350	257	5	262	238	1	239	284	7	291									
5677	Charleston: High School of Charleston (W)	300	133	3	136	36	0	36	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
5682	Charleston: Rivers High School (W)	450	264	0	264	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
5684	Clemson: Clemson University (W)	300	191	1	192	94	11	105	212	1	213									
5676	Columbia: Benedict College (N)	300																		
5677	Columbia: Dickey H.S. (W)	750	649	25	674	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
5678	Columbia: Hand Jr. H.S. (N)	750	396	9	405	114	10	124	157	9	166		X	X	X	X	X			
5675	Conway: Conway H.S. (W)	400				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X						
5657	Florence: McClenaghan H.S. (W)	700	670	4	674	371	7	378	380	12	392									
5656	Florence: Poynor Jr. H.S. (W)	300													X	X	X			
5655	Florence: Wilson Sr. H.S. (N)	350										X	X	X	X	X	X			
5619	Greenville, Greenville Senior H.S. (W)	200	103	0	103	42	0	42	114	6	114				X	X	X			
5643	Greenville, Senior High School (W)	600	50	1	51	332	7	339	363	21	384									
	Sub-total	6900	3639	59	3698	1579	49	1628	2211	94	2305									

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(2.6)

No.	Center	Capc.	Dec. 1964 W	Dec. 1964 N	Dec. 1964 T	Jan. ~~1965~~ 64 W	Jan. ~~1965~~ 64 N	Jan. ~~1965~~ 64 T	Mar. ~~1965~~ 64 W	Mar. ~~1965~~ 64 N	Mar. ~~1965~~ 64 T	May ~~1965~~ 64 W	May ~~1965~~ 64 N	May ~~1965~~ 64 T	July ~~1965~~ 64 W	July ~~1965~~ 64 N	July ~~1965~~ 64 T	Dec. ~~1965~~ 65 W	Dec. ~~1965~~ 65 N	Dec. ~~1965~~ 65 T
	Greenville:																			
5615	Wade Hampton N.S. (W)	300	138	0	138	39	0	39	50	6	56				X	X	X			
	Greenwood:																			
5612	School Dist. 50 Office (W)	150	144	0	144	45	1	46	63	8	71									
5611	Greer Senior N.S. (W)	200	57	0	57	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X			
5630	Lancaster Sr. H.S. (W)	250	128	1	129	X	X	X	X	X	X									
	Moncks Corner:																			
5624	Berkeley Co. Tr. Sch. (N)	600				X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X			
	Mount Pleasant:																			
5621	Moultrie N.S. (W)	200	68	0	68	41	0	41	27	1	28									
	Newberry:											Did not open until May and July.								
5618	Senior H.S. (W)	275	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X									
	Orangeburg:																			
5608	Senior High School (W)	500	192	0	192	122	0	122	69	21	90				X	X	X			
	Orangeburg:	475													X	X	X			
5607	South Carolina State College (N)																			
	Rockhill:																			
5597	Winthrop Training School (W)	500	260	0	260	146	0	146	177	0	177									
	Simpsonville:														X	X	X			
5594	Hillcrest N.S. (W)	450																		
	Spartanburg:																			
5592	Naval Reserve Tr. Center (W)	750	471	0	471	259	2	261	338	27	365									
	Sumter:					X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
5585	Lincoln H.S. (N)	330																		
5584	Sumter, High School (W)	500	248	4	252	96	3	99	36	3	39				X	X	X			
	Walterboro:																			
5565	Junior High School (W)	400	101	0	101	22	1	23	70	0	70				X	X	X			
	Subtotal	10,225	1807	59	1812	790	7	777	830	66	896									
	Total	10,925	5446	64	5510	2349	56	2405	3041	160	3201									

(2.6)

Alabama		Dec. 1964			Jan. 1965			Mar. 1965			Mar. ~~Apr.~~ 1965 Revised			July 1965			Dec. 1965			
No. Center	Capc.	W	N	T	W	N	T	W	N	T	W	N	T	W	N	T	W	N	T	
6897 Anniston, Woodson N.S. (N)	150	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	not open in time for Mar. adm.									
6898 Anniston N.S. (W)	150	76	19	95	X	X	X	omitted			not able to open in time for March.			X	X	X				
Birmingham (3)																				
6890 John Carroll N.S. (W)	600 ✓	483	45	528	258	34	292	246	15	261	250	15	265							X
6894 Miles College (N)	100 ✓	21	108	129	24	88	112	30	86	116	30	86	116							ok
6889 U. of Alabama Center (W)	300 ✓	167	38	205	✓18	3	21	omitted			18	50	68	X	X	X				new
6881 Decatur Senior N.S. (W)	200 ✓	49	0	49	18	0	18	11	7	18	11	7	18	X	X	X				ok
Dothan (1)																				
6878 Univ. of Alabama Center (W)	200 ✓	96	9	105	36	5	41	omitted			26	10	36							new
6870 Florence St. College (W)	200 ✓	63	1	64	40	28	68	32	11	43	32	11	43	X	X	X				ok
Gadsden (1)																				
6862 Civil Aviation Bldg. (W)	150 ✓	49	0	49	37	18	55	28	3	31	28	3	31							ok
6850 Huntsville N.S. (W)	400 ✓	219	6	226	✓73	6	79	34	21	55	34	21	55	X	X	X				ok
Mobile (3)																				
6845 Bishop Toolen N.S. (W)	750 ✓	67	20	87	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
6843 Murphy N.S. (W)	500 ✓	179	51	230	107	69	176	134	70	204	134	70	204					ok		+ 5 error in 6843 in Dec.
6844 Univ. Military School (W)	35 ✓	32	1	33	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
Montgomery (1)																				
6840 Univ. of Ala. Center (W)	500 ✓	323	17	340	142	51	193	133	80	213	133	80	213							ok
Selma (1)																				
6810 Craig AFB (W)	175	89	16	105	51	28	79	42	15	57	42	15	57	X	X	X				ok
Cullman (1)																				
6809 St. Bernard College (W)	150	24	0	24	12	0	12	15	0	15	15	0	15							ok
6807 Talladega College (N)	150	1	0	1	0	1	1	omitted			6	71	77							new
Tuscaloosa (2)																				
6806 Stillman College (N)	105	0	68	68	0	75	75	0	42	42	0	42	42					ok		Ala. -63 error in Jan.
6805 Tuscaloosa N.S. (W)	200	47	1	48	23	0	23	20	1	21	20	1	21	X	X	X				Correct: 6889
6804 Tuskegee Institute N.S. (N)	500	1	44	45	42	1	43	X	X	supplements shift	1	49	50	X	X	X		ok		6878 6804
Total	5,515	1,986	444	2,430	881	407	1288	725	351	1,076	780	531	1,311							

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No.	Center	Capc.	Dec. 1964 W	Dec. 1964 N	Dec. 1964 T	Jan. 1965 W	Jan. 1965 N	Jan. 1965 T	Mar. 1965 W	Mar. 1965 N	Mar. 1965 T	March ~~May~~ 1965 Revised W	March ~~May~~ 1965 Revised N	March ~~May~~ 1965 Revised T	July 1965 W	July 1965 N	July 1965 T	Dec. 1965 W	Dec. 1965 N	Dec. 1965 T	(2.6)
	Adel:																				
6399	Cook Co. H.S. (W)	144	38	0	38	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
	Albany:																				
6395	Albany H.S. (W)	500	445	1	446	170	0	170	omitted			125	0	125							new
	Albany:																				
6394	Albany State College (N)	200	9	24	33	5	58	63	2	81	83	4	79	83							X
	Americus:																				
6393	Ga. Southwestern College (W)	400	287	0	287	52	0	52	90	2	92	90	2	92	X	X	X				OK
	Americus: Jan. + Mar. deleted, 1966.																				
6392	Sumter Co. H.S. (N)	100	0	52	52	2	22	24	4	17	21	4	17	21	X	X	X				OK
	Athens:																				
6397	Athens H.S. (W)	325	281	0	281	154	0	154	169	0	169	169	0	169	X	X	X				OK
	Athens:																				
6391	Athens Hight End. (W)	500	2	125	127	1	35	36	1	44	45	1	44	45							OK
	Athens:																				
6390	Univ. of Georgia (W)	700	624	1	625	131	2	133	261	0	261	261	0	261							OK
	Atlanta:																				
6389	Atlanta Univ. (N)	195	107	75	182	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
	Atlanta:																				
6358	Briarcliff H.S. (W)	500	414	0	414	108	0	108	184	0	184	184	0	184	X	X	X				
	Atlanta:																				
6388	Clark College (N)	200	X	X	X	17	88	105	17	80	97	18	79	97							X
	Atlanta:																				
6386	Druid Hills H.S. (W)	300	311	0	311	190	0	190	225	0	225	225	0	225	X	X	X				OK
	Atlanta:																				
6387	Emory Univ. (W)	500	230	0	230	59	3	62	51	0	51	51	0	51							OK
	Atlanta:																				
6385	Ga. Tech. (W)	292	283	1	284	98	1	99	100	1	101	105	1	106	X	X	X				X
	Atlanta:																				
6381	Ga. State College (W)	300	121	1	122	34	2	36	39	2	41	39	2	41							OK
	Atlanta:																				
6380	Grady H.S. (W)	300	243	40	283	84	0	84	98	0	98	90	8	98	X	X	X				X
	Atlanta:																				
6377	Lorett School (W)	200	94	0	94	71	0	71	95	0	95	95	0	95	X	X	X				OK
	Atlanta:																				
6376	Marist School (W)	200	109	0	109	54	0	54	104	0	104	104	0	104	X	X	X				OK
	Subtotal	5,856	3,598	320	3,918	1230 ~~1060~~	211	1441 ~~1271~~	1,440	227	1,667	1,565	232	1,797							

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No.	Center	Capc.	Dec. 1964 W	Dec. 1964 N	Dec. 1964 T	Jan. 1965 W	Jan. 1965 N	Jan. 1965 T	Mar. 1965 W	Mar. 1965 N	Mar. 1965 T	March ~~May~~ 1965 Revised W	March ~~May~~ 1965 Revised N	March ~~May~~ 1965 Revised T	July 1965 W	July 1965 N	July 1965 T	Dec. 1965 W	Dec. 1965 N	Dec. 1965 T	
6379	Atlanta: Murphy H.S. (W)	250	120	17	137	40	13	53	41	6	47	41	6	47	X	X	X				OK
6378	Atlanta: Northside H.S. (W)	600	422	2	424	201	1	202	371	0	371	371	0	371	X	X	X				OK
6384	Atlanta: Oglethorpe Univ. (W)	200	122	0	122	37	0	37	46	0	46	46	0	46							OK
6374	Atlanta: Roosevelt H.S. (W)	200	37	0	37	52	0	52	23	0	23	23	0	23	X	X	X				OK
6382	Atlanta: St. Pius X (W)	420	328	0	328	93	1	94	153	0	153	153	0	153	X	X	X				OK
6375	Atlanta: Southwest H.S. (W)	500	419	4	423	121	0	121	87	0	87	87	0	87	X	X	X				OK
6396	Atlanta: Sylvan Hills H.S. (W)	200	190	1	191	66	0	66	95	0	95	95	0	95	X	X	X				OK
6383	Atlanta: Westminster Schools (W)	700	556	0	556	358	0	358	429	0	429	429	0	429						OK	missing
6359	Atlanta: Turner H.S. (N)	300	34	228	262	22	82	104	8	59	67	8	59	67	X	X	X				6365 OK
6371	Augusta: Academy of Richmond Co. (W)	700	684	2	686	306	2	308	461	1	462	461	1	462							6368 OK
6363	Augusta: Augusta College (W)	125	60	0	60	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
6372	Augusta: G.P. Butler H.S. (W)	500	112	24	136	X	X	X	omitted			260	0	260	X	X	X				
6370	Augusta: Paine College (N)	250	2	154	156	0	53	53	1	121	122	1	121	122							OK
6369	Avondale: Avondale H.S. (W)	325	257	1	258	195	0	195	212	1	213	212	1	213	X	X	X				OK
6368	Avondale: Hamilton H.S. (N)	100	3	51	54	X	X	X	omitted			0	16	16	X	X	X				new
6367	Bainbridge: Bainbridge H.S. (W)	250	245	0	245	18	0	18	53	15	68	53	15	68	X	X	X				OK
6366	Bainbridge: Dec. only in 1965-66. Hutto H.S. (N)	50	2	13	15	0	22	22	0	2	2	0	2	2	X	X	X				OK
6365	Barnesville: Gordon Military College (W)	500	226	0	226	X	X	X	omitted			38	0	38	X	X	X				new
	Subtotal	6,170	3,819	497	4,316	1,509	174	1,683	1,980	205	2,185	2,278	221	2,499							

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No.	Center	Capc.	Dec. 1964 W	Dec. 1964 N	Dec. 1964 T	Jan. 1965 W	Jan. 1965 N	Jan. 1965 T	Mar. 1965 W	Mar. 1965 N	Mar. 1965 T	March ~~May~~ 1965 Revised W	March ~~May~~ 1965 Revised N	March ~~May~~ 1965 Revised T	July 1965 W	July 1965 N	July 1965 T	Dec. 1965 W	Dec. 1965 N	Dec. 1965 T	
	Blue Ridge:																				
6356	W. Fannin H.S. (W)	100	44	(0)	44	X	X	X	X	X	X	not open			X	X	X				
	Bremen:																				
6362	Bremen H.S. (W)	400	91	(0)	91	75	(2)	77	X	X	X	not open			X	X	X				
	Brunswick:																				
6354	Glynn Academy (W)	300	249	[1]	250	44	(0)	44	138	(0)	138	138	(0)	138	X	X	X				OK
	Brunswick:																				
6353	Risley H.S. (N)	150	[1]	34	35	[0]	16	16	[0]	17	17	[0]	17	17	X	X	X				OK
	Butler:																				
6350	Butler H.S. (W)	90	53	(0)	53	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
	Butler:																				
6351	Eureka H.S. (N)	70	[1]	29	30	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
	Calhoun:																				
6349	Calhoun H.S. (W)	800	89	(0)	89	X	X	X	omitted			48	(0)	48	X	X	X				new
	Calhoun: Center cancelled for 1965-66																				
6348	Stephens H.S. (N)	150	[1]	0	1	X	X	X	omitted			[0]	18	18	X	X	X				new
	Camilla: Center cancelled for 1965-66																				
6347	Camilla Cons. H.S. (N)	75	Supervisor III			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
	Camilla:																				missing
6346	Mitchell Co. High Sch. (W)	150	99	(0)	99	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				6332
	Carrollton: Dec. only 1965-66.																				Jan, Mar
6343	Carver H.S. (N)	400	[1]	6	7	X	X	X	[1]	18	19	[1]	18	19	X	X	X				OK
	Carrollton:																				
6342	W. Georgia College (W)	300	190	(0)	190	X	X	X	omitted			80	(0)	80							6341 New
	Cartersville:																				
6341	Cartersville H.S. (W)	300	117	(0)	117	X	X	X	omitted			125	(0)	125	X	X	X				6342 new
	Chamblee:																				
6338	Chamblee H.S. (W)	200	155	(0)	155	58	(0)	58	64	(1)	65	64	(1)	65	X	X	X				6348 OK
	Clayton																				
6336	Raburn Co. H.S. (W)	200	52	(0)	52	30	(0)	30	22	(0)	22	22	0	22	X	X	X				6349 OK
	Cleveland:																				
6335	Truett-McConnell College (W)	150	49	(0)	49	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
	Cochran: Cancelled, 1965-66																				
6333	Cochran Colored H.S. (N)	75	[0]	15	15	0	0	0	omitted			[0]	6	6							new
	Cochran:																				
6332	Middle Georgia College (W)	200	137	(0)	137	21	(0)	21	33	(0)	33	33	(0)	33							OK
	College Park																				
6329	N. Clayton H.S. (W)	550	343	(0)	343	48	(0)	48	86	(0)	86	86	(0)	86	X	X	X				OK
	College Park:																				
6328	Ga. Mil. Acad. (W)	300	302	(0)	302	279	(1)	280	156	(0)	156	156	(0)	156							OK

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No.	Center	Capc.	Dec. 1964 W	Dec. 1964 N	Dec. 1964 T	Jan. 1965 W	Jan. 1965 N	Jan. 1965 T	Mar. 1965 W	Mar. 1965 N	Mar. 1965 T	March May 1965 Revised W	March May 1965 Revised N	March May 1965 Revised T	July 1965 W	July 1965 N	July 1965 T	Dec. 1965 W	Dec. 1965 N	Dec. 1965 T	(2.6)
6334	Columbus: Baker N.S. (W)	200	220	0	220	84	0	84	166	0	166	167	0	167	X	X	X				X
6331	Columbus: Columbus N.S. (W)	900	418	0	418	185	0	185	174	1	175	174	1	175							OK
6339	Columbus: Columbus College (W)	200	92	0	92	50	0	50	110	0	110	110	0	110							OK
6337	Columbus: Pacelli N.S. (W)	200	53	0	53	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
6330	Columbus: Spencer N.S. (N)	300	4	156	160	0	27	27	8	112	120	8	112	120							? OK
6325	Cordele: Crisp Co. H.S. (W)	300	130	21	151	X	X	X	59	13	72	59	13	72	X	X	X				OK
6327	Covington: Newton Co. H.S. (W)	300	187	0	187	60	0	60	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
6326	Covington: Cancelled, 1965-66 R.L. Cousins N.S. (N)	40	0	6	6	0	7	7	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
6323	Dahlonega: North Ga. College (W)	200	80	0	80	20	0	20	34	0	34	34	0	34	X	X	X				OK
6322	Dalton: Dalton N.S. (W)	250	176	0	176	66	0	66	43	0	43	43	0	43	X	X	X				OK
6321	Dalton: Cancelled, 1965-66 Emory St. N.S. (N)	27	0	3	3	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
6320	Decatur: Gordon N.S. (W)	300	294	0	294	77	0	77	138	0	138	138	0	138	X	X	X				OK
6313	Decatur: Southwest DeKalb N.S. (W)	200	175	0	175	64	0	64	104	0	104	104	0	104	X	X	X				OK
6315	Douglas: Dec., May, July 1965-66 Carver H.S. (N)	85	1	29	30	3	28	31	1	8	9	1	8	9							OK
6314	Douglas: South Ga. College (W)	400	292	1	293	39	0	39	70	0	70	70	0	70							OK
6312	Dublin: Dublin N.S. (W)	500	186	0	186	X	X	X	62	0	62	62	0	62	X	X	X				OK
6311	Eastman: Dodge Co. N.S. (W)	200	103	0	103	39	1	40	39	1	40	42	1	43	X	X	X				X
6310	Eastman: Peabody N.S. (N)	500	0	47	47	0	21	21	1	43	44	1	43	44	X	X	X				OK
	Subtotal	5,102	2,411	263	2,674	687	84	771	1,009	178	1,187	1,013	178	1,191							

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No.	Center	Capc.	Dec. 1964 W	Dec. 1964 N	Dec. 1964 T	Jan. 1965 W	Jan. 1965 N	Jan. 1965 T	Mar. 1965 W	Mar. 1965 N	Mar. 1965 T	~~May~~ March 1965 Revised W	~~May~~ March 1965 Revised N	~~May~~ March 1965 Revised T	July 1965 W	July 1965 N	July 1965 T	Dec. 1965 W	Dec. 1965 N	Dec. 1965 T	(2.6)
	Forest Park:																				
6295	Senior H.S. (W)	200	180	(1)	181	X	X	X	X	X	X	not open			X	X	X				
	Ft. Valley:																				
6293	Ft. Valley St. Col. (N)	500	[1]	7	8	[2]	35	37	[1]	25	26	[1]	25	26							on
	Franklin Springs:																				
6287	Emanuel College (W)	180	86	(0)	86	X	X	X	omitted			26	(0)	26							new
	Gainesville:																				
6284	Brenau Academy (W)	120	114	(0)	114	169	(0)	169	48	(0)	48	48	(0)	48	X	X	X				on
	Gainesville:																				
6283	E.E. Butler H.S. (N)	50	[0]	10	10	[1]	13	14	(0)	18	18	[0]	18	18	X	X	X				on
	Gainesville:																				
6280	Gainesville N.S. (W)	150	146	(0)	146	X	X	X	omitted			61	(0)	61	X	X	X				new
	Gainesville:																				
6281	N. Hall N.S. (W)	50	48	(0)	48	X	X	X	X	X	X	not open			X	X	X				
	Gainesville:																				
6282	Riverside Mil. Acad. (W)	150	146	(0)	146	X	X	X	X	X	X	not open			X	X	X				
	Griffin:																				
6275	Farmont School (N)	100	[0]	46	46	[0]	4	4	[0]	9	9	[0]	9	9	X	X	X				
	Griffin																				
6274	Griffin N.S. (W)	400	257	(0)	257	96	(0)	96	125	(0)	125	124	(1)	125	X	X	X				Henry Co. Tr. Sch. (N) 3/6/65
	Hapeville:																				
6266	Ga. Bapt. Chil's Home (W)	35	36	(0)	36	X	X	X	25	(0)	25	25	(0)	25	X	X	X				6290 on
	Jackson; Cancelled for 1965-66.																				
6249	Henderson H.S. (N)	50	[0]	7	7	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				6287
	Jackson:																				
6248	Jackson N.S. (W)	70	43	(0)	43	7	(0)	7	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
	Jesup:																				
6246	Wayne Co. N.S. (W)	200	127	(0)	127	37	(0)	37	44	(0)	44	44	(0)	44	X	X	X				
	Jesup: Cancelled for 1965-66																				
6247	Wayne Co. Tr. Sch. (N)	20	0	0	0	X	X	X	omitted			[0]	9	9	X	X	X				new
	LaGrange																				
6237	LaGrange College (W)	350	288	(38)	326	138	(12)	150	133	(16)	149	133	(16)	149	X	X	X				on
	Macon: (Women only)																				
6223	A.L. Miller Sr. H.S. (W)	225	222	(1)	223	61	(0)	61	157	(0)	157	157	(0)	157	X	X	X				on
	Macon:																				
6222	B. Hudson N.S. (N)	200	[5]	70	75	[21]	51	53	[1]	73	74	[1]	73	74							on
	Macon:																				
6221	Mercer Univ. (W)	700	494	(1)	495	151	(0)	151	293	(0)	293	294	(0)	294							X
	Subtotal	3,750	2,193	181	2,374	664	115	779	827	141	968	914	151	1,065							

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No.	Center	Capc.	Dec. 1964 W	Dec. 1964 N	Dec. 1964 T	Jan. 1965 W	Jan. 1965 N	Jan. 1965 T	Mar. 1965 W	Mar. 1965 N	Mar. 1965 T	~~May~~ 1965 Revised W	~~May~~ 1965 Revised N	~~May~~ 1965 Revised T	July 1965 W	July 1965 N	July 1965 T	Dec. 1965 W	Dec. 1965 N	Dec. 1965 T	(216)
	Macon: (Men only)																				
6219	Lanier Sr. H.S. (W)	780	234	(0)	234	45	(0)	45	120	(0)	120	120	(0)	120	X	X	X				ok
	Macon:																				
6220	Wesleyan Coll. (W)	120	36	(0)	36	3	(0)	3	10	(0)	10	10	(0)	10	X	X	X				
	Marietta:																				
6216	Lemon St. School (N)	75	[3]	23	26	[0]	4	4	[0]	5	5	[0]	5	5	X	X	X				ok
	Marietta																				
6215	Marietta H.S. (W)	950	520	(0)	520	166	(0)	166	328	(0)	328	328	(0)	328	X	X	X				ok
	McRae:																				
6214	Telfair Co. H.S. (W)	200	63	(17)	80	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
	Milledgeville:																				
6213	Baldwin H.S. (W)	500	306	(0)	306	53	(0)	53	147	(3)	150	147	(3)	150	X	X	X				ok
	Milledgeville:																				
6212	Boddie H.S. (N)	400	[0]	45	45	[0]	31	31	[0]	51	51	[0]	51	51	X	X	X				merged ok
	Milledgeville:																				
6207	Woman's Coll. of Ga. (W)	250	1	(0)	1	1	(0)	1	3	(0)	3	3	(0)	3	X	X	X				6169 ok
	Moultrie:																				
6211	Moultrie Sr. H.S. (W)	200	179	(0)	179	34	(0)	34	26	(0)	26	26	(0)	26	X	X	X				6208 ok
	Moultrie: Dec. only, 1965-66.																				
6210	Bryant H.S. (N)	25	[1]	1	2	[0]	12	12	[0]	1	1	[0]	1	1	X	X	X				ok
	Mount Berry:																				
6209	Berry College (W)	75	50	(0)	50	X	X	X	19	(0)	19	19	(0)	19	X	X	X				ok
	Mount Vernon																				
6208	Brewton-Parker Coll. (W)	100	94	(0)	94	X	X	X	omitted			75	(0)	75	X	X	X				new
	Newnan:																				
6202	Central H.S. (N)	75	[0]	33	33	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
	Newnan:																				
6201	Newnan H.S. (W)	200	182	(0)	182	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
	Pelham: Cancelled for 1965-66																				
6181	Mitchell Co. Jr. Sch. (N)	200	0	0	0	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
	Pelham:																				
6180	Pelham H.S. (W)	300	48	(1)	49	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
	Rockmart: Cancelled																				
6169	Elm St. H.S. (N)	60	(0)	1	1	X	X	X	omitted			[1]	8	9	X	X	X				new
	Rome:																				
6166	Main H.S. (N)	200	[1]	55	56	(0)	70	70	[1]	9	10	[1]	9	10							ok
	Rome:																				
6165	East Rome H.S. (W)	800	546	(0)	546	149	(0)	149	189	(0)	189	189	(0)	189	X	X	X				ok
	Rome:																				
6164	Shorter College (W)	150	67	(0)	67	14	(0)	14	18	(0)	18	14	(4)	18							
	Subtotal	5,660	2,331	176	2,507	465	117	582	861	69	930	933	81	1,014							X

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No.	Center	Capc.	Dec. 1964 W	Dec. 1964 N	Dec. 1964 T	Jan. 1965 W	Jan. 1965 N	Jan. 1965 T	Mar. 1965 W	Mar. 1965 N	Mar. 1965 T	March ~~Apr.~~ 1965 Revised W	March ~~Apr.~~ 1965 Revised N	March ~~Apr.~~ 1965 Revised T	July 1965 W	July 1965 N	July 1965 T	Dec. 1965 W	Dec. 1965 N	Dec. 1965 T	
	Sandersville:																				
6148	Washington Co H.S. (W)	90	75	(0)	75	42	(0)	42	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
	Savannah:																				
6145	Beach H.S. (N)	300	[2]	152	154	[2]	41	43	[1]	85	86	1	85	86	X	X	X				OK
	Savannah																				
6144	Savannah St. Coll. (N)	75	[0]	11	11	[1]	22	23	[3]	12	15	3	12	15							OK
	Savannah:																				
6143	Savannah H.S. (W)	600	331	(1)	332	132	(0)	132	226	(1)	227	226	1	227							OK
	Savannah:																				
6142	Groves H.S. (W)	150	132	(2)	134	29	(0)	29	48	(0)	48	48	0	48	X	X	X				OK
	Savannah;																				
6141	Armstrong Coll. (W)	180	9	(2)	11	7	(1)	8	20	(0)	20	20	0	20	X	X	X				OK
	Savannah:																				
6140	Jenkins H.S. (W)	250	247	(0)	247	122	(1)	123	110	(0)	110	110	0	110	X	X	X				OK
	Savannah:																				
6139	Benedictine Mil. Sch. (W)	100	27	(0)	27	45	(0)	45	35	(0)	35	35	0	35	X	X	X				OK
	Savannah:																				
6136	St. Vincent's Acad. (W)	400	62	(0)	62	42	(0)	42	56	(0)	56	56	0	56	X	X	X				missing OK
	Smyrna:																				
6138	Campbell H.S. (W)	900	264	(0)	264	79	[1]	80	83	(0)	83	83	0	83	X	X	X				6119 OK
	Statesboro:																				
6135	Ga. Sou. Coll. (W)	500	394	(0)	394	115	(0)	115	123	(1)	124	123	1	124							OK
	Statesboro Dec. only in 1965-66																				
6134	James H.S. (N)	200	[1]	3	4	[0]	2	2	[1]	53	54	1	43	44							X
	Thomasville:																				
6125	Thomasville H.S. (W)	600	231	(1)	232	34	(0)	34	178	(0)	178	178	0	178	X	X	X				OK
	Thomasville:																				
6124	Douglass H.S. (N)	70	[0]	56	56	[0]	20	20	[0]	17	17	0	17	17	X	X	X				OK
	Tifton:																				
6123	A. Baldwin Coll. (W)	900	199	(11)	210	44	(9)	53	48	(16)	64	48	16	64	X	X	X				OK
	Toccoa:																				
6119	Toccoa H.S. (W)	250	216	(0)	216	X	X	X	omitted			167	3	170		X	X				new
	Toccoa Falls:																				
6118	Toccoa Falls H.S. (W)	100	32	(0)	32	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
	Valdosta:																				
6116	Pinevale H.S. (N)	250	[8]	10	18	[0]	33	33	[1]	31	32	[1]	31	33							OK
	Valdosta:																				
6115	Valdosta St. Coll. (W)	250	237	(0)	237	53	(0)	53	106	(1)	107	106	(1)	107							OK
	Valdosta:											not open:		mar.							
6114	Valdosta H.S. (W)	150	138	(0)	138	X	X	X	X	X	X	1,206	210	1,416	X	X	X				
	subtotal	6,315	2,605	249	2854	747	130	877	1039	217	1,256										

Georgia, p. 8.

No.	Center	Capc.	Dec. 1964 W	Dec. 1964 N	Dec. 1964 T	Jan. 1965 W	Jan. 1965 N	Jan. 1965 T	Mar. 1965 W	Mar. 1965 N	Mar. 1965 T	March May 1965 Revised W	March May 1965 Revised N	March May 1965 Revised T	July 1965 W	July 1965 N	July 1965 T	Dec. 1965 W	Dec. 1965 N	Dec. 1965 T	
6108	Waleska Reinhardt College (W)	250	102	0	102	20	0	20	67	1	68	67	1	68							on
6107	Warner Robins: Northside H.S. (W)	500	132	1	133	56	0	56	omitted			70	2	72							new
6105	Waycross: Center H.S. (N)	150	1	28	29	1	19	20	2	28	30	2	28	30							on
6104	Waycross: Waycross H.S. (W)	500	237	1	238	46	0	46	98	1	99	98	1	99							on
6103	Waycross: Ware Co. H.S. (W)	100	61	0	61	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				—
6102	Woodbine Camden Co. H.S. (W)	100	46	0	46	34	0	34	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
6100	Young Harris: Young Harris Coll. (W)	150	67	0	67	15	0	15	40	0	40	40	0	40							on
	Subtotal	1,750	646	30	676	172 ~~116~~	19 ~~19~~	191 ~~135~~	207	30	237	277	32	309							
	Total	39,563	19,577	1,801	21,378	6029 ~~5,803~~ Error -226	869	6898 ~~6,672~~	7,863	1,103	8,966	8,939	1,165	10,104							

Louisiana

No.	Center	Capc.	Dec. 1964 W	Dec. 1964 N	Dec. 1964 T	Jan. 1965 W	Jan. 1965 N	Jan. 1965 T	Mar. 1965 W	Mar. 1965 N	Mar. 1965 T	March ~~May~~ 1965 Revised W	March ~~May~~ 1965 Revised N	March ~~May~~ 1965 Revised T	July 1965 W	July 1965 N	July 1965 T	Dec. 1965 W	Dec. 1965 N	Dec. 1965 T	(2.6)
7879	Alexandria: Bolton H.S. (W)	200	84	0	84	32	0	32	38	7	45	38	7	45	X	X	X				
7871	Baton Rouge: Baton Rouge High School (W)	500	271	8	279	112	5	117	42	5	47	65	7	72							Large increase of men. Return 1st time. Not fr. split entrance
7865	Covington: St. Paul's H.S. (W)	300	119	0	119	24	0	24	omitted			147	0	147	X	X	X				new
7861	Grambling: Grambling College (N)	50	0	10	10	0	9	9	[1]	19	20	[1]	19	20							OK
7815	Lafayette: Municipal Auditorium (W)	400	86	0	86	53	8	61	18 42	4 6	22 48	64	10	74						2?	OK 7815 to 7865 Lake Charles
7814	Lake Charles: Lake Charles H.S. (W)	100	77	1	78	45	0	45	2	0	2	2	0	2	X	X	X				OK
7804	Monroe: National Guard Armory (W)	100	57	0	57	44	24	68	35	12	47	35	12	47							OK
7795	New Orleans: De LaSalle H.S. (W)	300	287	6	293	84	0	84	46	1	47?	222	1	223?	X	X	X				Marked discrepance. Split entrance. a character of H.
7790	New Orleans: Jesuit High School (W)	600	459	18	477	126	47	173	99	1	100	99	1	100	X	X	X				OK
7789	New Orleans: LSU at New Orleans (W)	200	172	25	197	154	51	205	157	8	165	157	8	165	X	X	X				[illegible] OK
7793	New Orleans: Loyola Univ. (W)	140	130	2	132	88	14	102	136	3	139	136	3	139	X	X	X				OK ~~7771~~
7794	New Orleans: Newman School (W)	300	299	0	299	217	0	217	163	0	163	163	0	163							OK 7865
7792	New Orleans: St. Marys Dominican College (W)	75	70	0	70	15	0	15	45	3	48	45	3	48	X	X	X				OK
7791	New Orleans: Tulane University (W)	200	182	7	189	90	1	91	BWS under X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X				
7788	New Orleans: Xavier University (N)	155	37	94	131	8	163	171	35	74	109	35	74	109							
7778	Shreveport: Centenary College (W)	200	143	1	144	129	0	129	132	17	149	132	17	149							OK
7773	Shreveport: Jesuit H.S. (W)	75	34	0	34	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
7779	Shreveport: Notre Dame H.S. (W)	150	1	25	26	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
7774	Shreveport: St. Vincent's Academy (W)	150	22	0	22	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
7770	Thibodaux: Thibodaux College (W)	180	53	5	58	27	2	29	47	1	48	47	1	48	X	X	X				OK
	Total	~~4,375~~	2,583	202	2,785	~~1,224~~ 1,248	~~324~~ 324	1,548 1,572	1,038	161	1,199	1,388	163	1,551							-24 Enrim Jan.

Mississippi			Dec. 1964			Jan. 1965			Mar. 1965			May 1965 Revised			July 1965			Dec. 1965			
No.	Center	Cape.	W	N	T	W	N	T	W	N	T	W	N	T	W	N	T	W	N	T	
6995	Biloxi, Sacred Heart Girls (W)	100	54	1	55	16	0	16	40	11	51	40	11	51	X	X	X				OK
6990	Columbus, Columbus AFB (W)	110	53	1	54	17	3	20	23	6	29	23	6	29	X	X	X				OK
6979	Greenville, St. Joseph's (W)	100	86	3	89	46	6	52	40	50	90	40	50	90	X	X	X				OK
6974	Greenwood, St. Francis H.S. (N)	60	4	8	12	4	3	7	2	16	18	2	16	18							OK
6992	Gulfport, Gulfport H.S. (W)	200	75	0	75	35	3	38	46	20	66	46	20	66							OK
6958	Jackson: U.S. Army Recruiting Station (N)	200	173	11	184	93	42	135	49	47	96	49	47	96	X	X	X				OK
6949	McComb, McComb H.S. (W)	100	30	0	30	X	X	X	omitted			10	10	20	X	X	X				N from Carver in Collins, Miss.
6948	Meridian, Meridian Sr. H.S. (W)	250	46	2	48	20	22	42	16	6	22	16	6	22							Miss see OK
6936	Oxford, Univ. of Miss. (W)	95	71	3	74	27	5	32	35	7	42	35	7	42							OK 6949
6916	Tugaloo, Tugaloo College (N)	90	1	19	20	X	X	X	omitted			7	14	21	X	X	X				new
6911	Vicksburg, All Saints Episcopal (W) Sch.	100	74	0	74	44	0	44	17	10	27	17	10	27	X	X	X				OK
	Total	1405	667	48	715	302	84	386	268	173	441	285	197	482							

South Carolina, p. 1

School	Capc.	Dec. 1964 W	Dec. 1964 N	Dec. 1964 T	Jan. 1965 W	Jan. 1965 N	Jan. 1965 T	Mar. 1965 W	Mar. 1965 N	Mar. 1965 T	May 1965 Revised W	May 1965 Revised N	May 1965 Revised T	July 1965 W	July 1965 N	July 1965 T	Dec. 1965 W	Dec. 1965 N	Dec. 1965 T
Aiken: Senior H.S. (N)	900	408	32	440	203	31	234	272	27	299	272	27	299						
Anderson: Rec. Handan H.S. (W)	600	383	37	420	91	17	108	342	50	392	342	50	392	X	X	X			
Beaufort: High School (W)	400	122	9	131	60	25	85	128	20	148	128	20	148						
Bennettsville H.S. (W)	200	101	1	102	X	X	X	X	X	X	1	0	1*	X	X	X			
Charleston: Burke High School (N)	250	20	162	182	X	X	X	omitted			3	57	60	X	X	X			
Charleston: College of Charleston (W)	350	342	21	363	393	7	400	346	3	349	345	4	349						
Charleston: High School of Charleston (W)	300	162	1	163	72	10	82	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
Charleston: Rivers High School (W)	450	216	23	239	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
Clemson: University (W)	300	248	24	272	145	0	145	208	3	211	208	3	211						
Columbia: Benedict College (N)	300	1	167	168	1	0	1	X	X	X	X	X	X						
Columbia: Drew H.S. (W)	750	764	4	768	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
Columbia: Hand Jr. H.S. (W)	750	603	3	606	427	99	526	667	92*	759	658	101*	759						
Conway: County H.S. (W)	400	238	51	289	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X						
Florence: McCollough H.S. (W)	700	678	2	680	318	27	345	464	24	488	464	24	488						
Florence: Poynor Jr. H.S. (W)	300	102	0	102	4	0	4	16	0	16	16	0	16	X	X	X			
Florence: Wilson Sr. H.S. (N)	350	1	221	222	1	48	49	6	77	83	77	6	83	X	X	X			
Gaffney: Senior H.S. (W)	200	117	27	144	52	0	52	111	0	111	111	0	111	X	X	X			
Greenville: Hughes High School (W)	600	594	14	608	239	60	299	244	64	308	244	64	308						
Total	9,500	7,790	541	8,291	3,138	325	3,513	3,925	379	4,304	3,997	374	4,363						
Total		7,704	520	8,224															

*Wrongly identified school, first count.

	Cap.	Dec. 1964 W	Dec. 1964 N	Dec. 1964 T	Jan. 1965 W	Jan. 1965 N	Jan. 1965 T	Mar. 1965 W	Mar. 1965 N	Mar. 1965 T	Apr. 1965 Revised W	Apr. 1965 Revised N	Apr. 1965 Revised T	July 1965 W	July 1965 N	July 1965 T	Dec. 1965 W	Dec. 1965 N	Dec. 1965 T	
Greenville:																				
Hughes Junior H.S. (W)	300	277	(9)	286	202	(9)	211	116	(7)	123	116	(7)	123	X	X	X				
Greenwood:																				
Dist. 50 office (W)	150	127	[38]	165	110	(6)	116	138	(30)	168	138	(30)	168							
Greer Senior H.S. (W)	200	167	(26)	193	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
Lancaster Jr. H.S. (W)	250	185	(10)	195	X	X	X	omitted			40	(46)	86							
Manning Corner:																				
Berkeley Co. Tr. Sch. (W)	600	[36]	18	54	X	X	X	omitted			14	(13)	27	X	X	X				
Mount Pleasant:																				
Moultrie H.S. (W)	200	90	(0)	90	54	(5)	59	41	(2)	43	41	(2)	43							
Newberry:																				
Senior H.S. (W)	275	229	(39)	268	32	(20)	52	55	(5)	60	55	(5)	60							
Orangeburg:																				
Senior High School (W)	500	234	(84)	318	134	(5)	139	102	(32)	134	102	(32)	134	X	X	X				
Orangeburg:	475																			
South Carolina State College (W)		[6]	19	25	[0]	149	149	omitted			[2]	165	167	X	X	X				
Rock Hill:																				
Winthrop Training School (W)	500	378	(24)	402	166	(32)	198	166	(25)	191	166	(25)	191							
Simpsonville:																				
Hillcrest H.S. (W)	450	206	(26)	232	30	(12)	42	40	(12)	52	40	(12)	52	X	X	X				
Spartanburg:																				
Naval Reserve Tr. Center (W)	750	665	(90)	755	286	(26)	312	493	(53)	546	519	(70)	589							
Sumter:																				
Lincoln H.S. (W)	330	[0]	119	119	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
Sumter High School (W)	500	347	(0)	347	153	(38)	191	omitted			146	(24)	170	X	X	X				
Sumter High School (W)	400	154	(4)	158	49	(5)	54	omitted			139	(3)	142	X	X	X				
Subtotal	2980	3101	506	3607	1216	375 ~~158~~	1583 ~~1374~~	1151	166	1317	1518	434	1952							
Total	14,280	6991	1017	8008	3354	~~532~~	~~3889~~	4076	544	4620	4507	808	5315							
Percent	14,280	85%	13%	48%	3354	622	4036													

10 high schools added in annual listing in Feb.

(2.6) Candidates	December, 1963			December, 1964			January, 1964			January, 1965			March, 1964			March, 1965		
	W	N	T	W	N	T	W	N	T	W	N	T	W	N	T	W	N	T
Alabama	1360	68	1428	1,986	444	2,430	604	54	658	881	407	1,288	595	67	662	780	531	1,311
Georgia	15,728	428	16,156	19,577	1,801	21,378	4,831	466	5,297	6,029	869	6,898	6,838	850	7,688	8,939	1,165	10,104
Louisiana	1,973	135	2,108	2,583	202	2,785	1,292	176	1,468	1,248	324	1,572	1,274	57	1,331	1,388	163	1,551
Mississippi	459	18	477	667	48	715	237	19	256	302	84	386	233	20	253	285	197	482
South Carolina	5,446	64	5,510	8,505	1,326	9,831	2,349	56	2,405	3,354	682	4,036	3,041	160	3,201	4,507	808	5,315
Totals	24,966	713	25,679	33,318	3,821	37,139	9,313	771	10,084	11,814	2,366	14,180	11,981	1,154	13,135	15,799	2,864	18,763

Total number of candidates by race in the five hard-core states, three comparable testing administrations, 1963-64 and 1964-65

INTERRACIAL CONSULTATION OF DISCIPLE MINISTERS
ON THE SOUTHERN CHURCH AND RACE RELATIONS

The College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky
July 20-24, 1959

PROGRAM

Lewis Smythe, Presiding

Monday, July 20th

6:30 P.M.	Dinner - Blessing by Emmett Dickson
	Introductions by Charles Dietze
7:30	General Meeting
	Devotional - O.B. Garner
	Welcome and Introduction of Speaker - Riley Montgomery
	Address - "Background of Racial Life in the South" - James McBride Dabbs
	Benediction - Blair Hunt
9:00	Fellowship and Question Period

Tuesday, July 21st

8:00 A.M.	Breakfast - Blessing by Charles Dietze
9:00	General Meeting
	Devotional - Donald Anderson
	Greetings and Introduction of Speaker - Emmett Dickson
	Address - "All God's Children Got Wings" - Blair T. Hunt
	Benediction - J. Taylor Stanley
10:30	Coffee Hour
11:00	General Meeting
	Discussion and Organization of Workshops
12:30 P.M.	Lunch - Blessing by Howard Dentler
2:00	Workshops
3:30	Coffee Hour
4:00	Workshops
6:00	Dinner - Blessing by G.W. Roland
7:30	General Meeting
	Devotional - John H. Marion
	Theme: "Appraisal of the Racial Situation in the South at Present" - Addresses by Blair T. Hunt and James McBride Dabbs.
	Benediction - Robert Dady
9:00	Fellowship and Question Period

Wednesday, July 22nd

8:00 A.M.	Breakfast - Blessing by Eugene Patterson
9:00	General Meeting
	Devotional - W. Judson King

9:15		Reports of Workshops
10:30		Coffee Hour
11:00		Workshops
12:30	P.M.	Lunch - Blessing by Claude Walker
2:00		Workshops
3:30		Coffee Hour
4:00		Sharing Hour - "Racial Situation and My Place in It" - Tom Harris, Cecil Brown, H.R. Terrell, Eugene Patterson
6:00		Dinner - Blessing by G.A. Evans
7:30		General Meeting
		Devotional - Clifton C. McCoy
		Address - John H. Marion, "Positive and Negative Factors in the Racial Situation in the South".
		Benediction - Howard Dentler
9:00		Fellowship and Question Period

Thursday, July 23rd

8:00	A.M.	Breakfast - Blessing by T. Elias Harris
9:00		General Meeting
		Devotional - Edward Adams
9:15		Reports of Workshops
		Report of Message Committee - Charles Bayer
10:30		Coffee Hour
11:00		Workshops
12:30	P.M.	Lunch - Blessing by G.B. Netterville
2:00		Workshops
3:00		Coffee Hour
3:30		Sharing Hour - "Racial Situation and My Place in It"- Tom Jones, Anthony Gordon, N.J. Dickerson, Raymond Oliver
4:30		Report of Message Committee - Charles Bayer
6:00		Dinner - Blessing by Arthur Buhler
7:30		General Meeting
		Devotional - C.L. Whitfield
		Address - Emmett Dickson, "Life in an Integrated Society."
		Benediction - Alvin Amos
9:00		Fellowship and Question Period

Friday, July 24th

8:00	A.M.	Breakfast - Blessing by Cecil Brown
9:00		General Meeting
		Devotional - G.W. Roland
9:30		Final Reports of Workshops
10:30		Coffee Hour and Pictures
11:00		Final Report of Message Committee - Charles Bayer
12:15	P.M.	Lunch - Blessing by G.B. Netterville
		Courtesy Committee Report - by Arthur Buhler
1:00		Closing Devotion - Riley B. Montgomery
1:45		Benediction - Blair T. Hunt
		Consultation Adjourned

Speakers

Dr. James McBride Dabbs, President of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

Reverend Blair T. Hunt, Minister of Mississippi Boulevard Christian Church, Memphis, Tennessee.

Reverend Emmett J. Dickson, Executive Secretary, National Christian Missionary Convention, Disciples of Christ, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Dr. John H. Marion, Staff Representative, Regional Office, Department of Social Education and Action, United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Nashville, Tennessee

Committees

Local Preparatory Committee

Lewis Smythe, Chairman
Riley Montgomery
Myron T. Hopper
Charles Dietze
O.B. Garner
Donald Anderson

Steering Committee

Lewis Smythe, Chairman
James Dabbs
Blair Hunt
Emmett Dickson
John Marion
Donald Anderson

Worship Committee

G.W. Roland, Chairman
G.A. Evans
Alvin Amos
Clifton McCoy

Message Committee

Charles Bayer, Chairman
Judson King
Claude Walker
John Marion
Glendale Burton
Claude MacDonald

Courtesy Committee

Arthur Buhler, Chairman
C.L. Whitfield

Travel Pool Committee

Raymond Oliver, Chairman
Edward Adams

Song Leader

G.W. Roland

Pianist

G.A. Evans

Ruling Elder

Eugene Patterson

General Secretary

G.B. Netterville

Director

Lewis Smythe

Workshops

Workshop I.

"The Role of Churches in the South in Social Change and in the Improvement of Intergroup Relations?"

J. Kenneth Baird - Leader
Thomas W. Jones - Secretary
Emmett J. Dickson - Resource Person
John H. Marion - Resource Person
Riley B. Montgomery
Charles E. Dietze
Claude Walker
Samuel F. Freeman
C.L. Whitfield
T. Elias Harris
J. Taylor Stanley
Alvin B. Amos
Glendale Burton
Raymond E. Oliver
Clifton C. McCoy
Claude R. MacDonald
N.F. Dickerson

Workshop II.

"How Can Ministers in The South Improve Intergroup Relations?"

W. Judson King - Leader
Robert Dady - Secretary
James McBride Dabbs - Resource Person
Charles H. Bayer
Cecil Brown
James Lollis
O.B. Garner
Anthony Gordon
G.A. Evans

Workshop III.

"The Role of Ministers in The South in Social Change"

Howard Dentler - Leader
Edward Adams - Secretary
Blair T. Hunt - Resource Person
Lewis Smythe
G.B. Netterville
Donald Anderson
G.W. Roland
Eugene Patterson
H.R. Terrell
Arthur Buhler

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Lexington, Kentucky

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Baltimore, Maryland

#J.F. Whitfield
2931 11th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

#We regret that four Consultants were prevented from coming at the last minute: Poston and J.F. Whitfield because of illness and the Keyes because of the accidental death of Wilbert Keyes' son.

INTERRACIAL CONSULTATION OF DISCIPLE MINISTERS ON THE SOUTHERN CHURCH AND RACE RELATIONS

The College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky
July 20-24

WORKSHOP REPORTS

Introduction

The three Workshop Reports differ from the "Message from the Consultation" in that each Workshop was given full internal autonomy. Therefore, while the Message was adopted by the whole Consultation, each Workshop Report is entirely the responsibility of that Workshop group. This means that different points of view on the same issue may occur in the Workshop Reports.

Workshop I. The Role of the Churches in the South in Social Change and in Improving Intergroup Relations.

The group faced the social change in which the church finds itself today. It pointed out areas in which high tension relative to the current racial situation may be seen. Some of these tension areas which were listed are: urbanization, housing, use of leisure time, education, transportation and communication, political life, professional relationships, and public facilities, as well as the whole area of religion and church life.

In the midst of this social change, two alternatives are open to the church. It can deny that it has any role at all to play. It will then concern itself with the "immortal souls" of men and take no cognizance of their mortal situations. It will stand aloof of any responsibility in the social realm and let legal and civic forces set the policies and control their implementation.

On the other hand, the church may recognize that it does have a role to play. In humility it will confess that it has ofttimes done those things which God would not have it do, and left undone those things He would have it do. The church, thus penitent, will seek to discover where God's Spirit would now lead it.

The church will make careful study of its local current situation in intergroup relations. It will not evade the issue, but will bring to the attention of its people the areas of social change about it.

Having studied the current picture, the church will attempt to understand the forces at play in it. It will look for the power

structures involved on both sides. In seeking to understand the situation it will look for motives, purposes, interests, personalities, and results being obtained. Only when fully informed, can it best determine what steps to take next.

The church will feel under obligation to its Lord to make moral pronouncements relative to problem situations. Thus it will attempt to awaken the consciences of its people. In so doing, it should be more willing to lose members, if need be, than to lose its integrity. The workshop group hastened to indicate, though, that in making its moral pronouncements, the church will usually find it more effective for them to be made in the context of small groups or between individuals. People are more likely to accept them if given an opportunity to "talk back"--a privilege not usually available if the pronouncements are made from the pulpit. Yet, the pulpit can be a potent force in laying groundwork, in reminding church members of basic Christian principles, and in reporting the positive things happening in the area of race relations.

The church may occasionally find itself in a time of specific crisis (e.g. Montgomery, Alabama protest situation.). It may then defend the rights of all Christians, give leadership to the cause, and uphold its sister churches who are leading out.

Throughout the above paragraphs, the church has been referred to as if it were an entity which could act on its own volition. What the workshop group has meant by the church has, of course, been the people making up the local church congregation. It will probably often be the case that the total congregation will not be in the forefront of dramatic social action. On the contrary, in many circumstances, a sizable number of its members will be prone not to take needed action. It will then remain for the church to make its impact through the lives of small groups of its individual members.

This impact of the small group was demonstrated repeatedly through the Old Testament in the concept of the remnant--called out for a mighty purpose. Indeed, the remnant was finally climaxed in one man--Jesus--who through his life revealed the God of all men and the active concern brothers must have for brothers.

The remnant group of dedicated individuals in the church today continue this Spirit of Jesus. They may find it necessary--and even desirable--to act upon their concern for their brothers through community activities and groups other than the congregation. But regardless of the channel through which these people take social action, if it is done because of the Christian Gospel, then it is Christ's church at work.

Our conclusion is this: the church does have a role to play---and it must recognize this role and respond to it. The time is always right for some forward step in bettering intergroup relations. Ideally, every member of a congregation would be active in this response. If all will not take the needed step, then a few must take it, or even one move out alone. To fail to take any step is to deny

Christ, and to forfeit the right to be called a church of Jesus Christ instead of merely a social club.

Workshop II. The Role of the Minister in Intergroup Relations

Our purpose was to discover what the minister can do as he works in groups in society to better the present relationships between Negroes and whites. The workshop group came to the following conclusions on this subject.

A. The Minister's Understanding of his Role as a Pastor.

The first thing the minister needs to do is to become theologically oriented. He needs to discover the theological implications of the racial situation, what God's message is regarding race relationships, and the Biblical basis. The basic theological tenet in the realm of race relations is respect for the personality of every man, a belief in the infinite worth of the individual as revealed in the life and ministry of Jesus. This respect must show itself in every man's daily life involved as he is in worldly institutions; for instance, to force a Negro, because he is a Negro, to sit in a certain position in the bus is to damage his infinitely valuable personality.

In working toward this goal of better race relations the minister must be prepared to face sacrifice and suffering. This does not mean that one seeks suffering per se. He is to accept suffering if it comes. All of our suffering - that which comes from sickness of the heart because of the evils of our segregated society and that which comes from specific injustices in the community--may be one way in which God works for our redemption of mankind.

Secondly, the minister must weld himself to the congregation through his concern for his people. A minister must be a pastor; he must show a real concern for the welfare of his people. He must listen to God's word regarding the race situation and be prudent about it without being a coward. He must treat both sides of the issue with Christian love.

B. Some Areas where the Minister can Start Within the Church to Better Relationships between Negroes and Whites

(1) The minister can convince his key laymen of the Christian position through personal contacts.

(2) The minister can preach the love of God and love of man.

(a) He needs to preach repentance of faithlessness in regard to people who are afraid of what's going to happen in the future. He needs to preach repentance to people who are filled with pride, who because of pride want to control tomorrow and who refuse to leave tomorrow in God's hands.

(b) Through preaching and education the minister should

make clear that nothing must be allowed to break the communion and fellowship of the local church. A break-up in the local community on account of disagreement is an indication of lack of faith and of a Christian spirit. There is no valid excuse in the Christian community for turning a cold shoulder to any man who seeks to be a part of the fellowship, either because of immorality or because of wrong beliefs.

(3) The minister can educate his people that he is not only a minister but a private citizen. He needs to help his people understand the fact that he reserves the right to speak and act as an individual, as a man who acts in the world concerned with community welfare. The minister needs to define his role to the congregation--that his first job is to be pastor of the flock and to be a representative of the church in the community, but secondly, he has an obligation as a man to work in the community and to serve as a citizen in his country.

(4) The minister can work in the area of Christian missions. For instance, during the six months' study on Africa this topic can help Christians develop better relationships in our own home towns.

(5) The minister can work in the area of community service to lead certain key laymen to have some personal contact with Christians of the other race and with needy non-Christians as well.

(6) The minister can get to know ministers of the other race better. This is possible for ministers even in the area of the deep South. In many cases, if the Negro minister takes the initative in making the contact, he makes it easier for the white minister. But the member of a "privileged" group always carries the greater responsibility to make overtures of friendship and Christian fellowship.

(7) The minister can work in the ecumenical field. He can emphasize the oneness and unity of God's Church. He can work toward inter-denominational cooperation - locally, nationally, and abroad.

C. <u>The Minister's Work Beyond the Church</u>

(1) The minister needs to ask--what can I do best? What am I best fitted to do? The minister cannot do everything. He needs to survey such groups as the P.T.A.'S, labor organizations, service clubs, and political parties to discover what he can do. Then he should give himself where he can make his best contribution.

(2) How can the Minister best work in these areas beyond the church? In many instances he can best work behind the scenes, influencing laymen to take the lead in the groups and take direct action in the world. In his contacts, for instance, in service groups he should try to motivate lay people who may not even be members of his church to take the lead in the racial problem. However, there are times when the white minister, as well as the Negro minister should take the lead.

D. A Contrast of the Roles of Negro and White Ministers.

(1) The first point of contrast is that the Negro minister, because of his position among his people, may take the open lead more often than the white minister. The difficulty the Negro minister faces when he confronts his people with integration is that the response is often fear--fear due to the possibility of reprisal--fear also due to the probable slow disintegration of the Negro power structure, both economic and ecclesiastical. So he should stand as a prophet, primarily proclaiming the message of mercy which alone can overcome fear and anger. In contrast to this, the difficulty the white minister faces when he confronts his people with integration is often hostility. So he should stand as a prophet, primarily proclaiming the message of judgment.

(2) The Negro minister's job is complicated by the fact that he not only faces economic and ecclesiastical vested interests in the Negro group. He also faces a Negro power structure that gains its power from the white power structure and is therefore subservient to the white power structure. In contrast to this the white minister faces directly the white power structure.

(3) The Negro minister in general can exert more leadership among the Negro people than the white minister can among the white people. Therefore, the Negro minister has a greater responsibility to exercise leadership than does the white minister. However, the white minister's leadership is among the people who hold the dominant position in American society. This fact somewhat balances the leadership potential just attributed to the Negro minister.

E. Conclusion

In facing all these duties, we must not forget that God is working even now in our society. His grace is visible to perceptive eyes in strange and unexpected ways, even in the tensions of southern society, and we should respond to His grace.

Workshop III. The Role of the Minister in Social Change and Racial Justice.

The minister needs to help the congregation he serves to distinguish (1) when he is proclaiming the gospel and (2) when he speaks and acts for social justice. Usually, in his efforts for social change in the community he is not doing it in the name of his particular church but rather he is speaking and acting as an individual Christian leader. Therefore, after defining the proclamation of the gospel, we will outline what our workshop thinks it is right for the minister to do in the community as an individual Christian leader.

A. Proclaim the Gospel

We consider the Gospel to be God's act of redeeming love in Jesus. Therefore, local churches are composed of those who are being saved by and being reconciled to God through our Lord Jesus Christ. This means that the ideal church is composed of all who have fully accepted Jesus as Christ. Therefore, any form of racial discrimination or segregation is a sin for them. This responsibility to live up to the life of love for all at all times, as exemplified by Jesus Christ, falls all the more heavily upon the minister because of his position of Christian leadership in the community.

B. Live the Gospel Everywhere.

Acknowledging the fact that the minister's efforts in the field of racial justice are but a part of his local ministry, we believe that he can best give his time and effort to areas where actual achievements can be made. Unfortunately, we are led to believe that schools, eating establishments, recreational facilities, and housing can be desegrated and integrated before churches will accept it. Therefore, the following suggestions point more toward the minister's role in the local community in this effort rather than toward changes in the local church.

In trying to live the Gospel everywhere the minister must always strive:

(1) To be friendly and respectful in all personal relations with members of other races.

(2) To associate socially with members of other races.

(3) To work for justice in any civic club or community organization to which the minister may belong.

(4) To join organizations working for social justice with Christian methods, such as The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Southern Regional Council, Congress of Racial Equality, Urban League, Boy Scouts, Southern Conference Educational Fund, and State Councils on Human Relations.

(5) To promote sustained interracial contacts and fellowship among ministers and church leaders.

(6) To fellowship especially with Disciple colleagues of other races.

(7) To promote youth participation in interracial activities, such as The United Christian Youth Movement, work camps, etc.

(8) To influence state and national legislation, indirectly and directly.

(9) To use writing and speaking opportunities to develop better understanding between races.

(10) To help church members experience face-to-face contacts with leaders of other races as individuals representative of interests that cross racial lines.

(11) To keep himself and his congregation informed of problems and progress of social changes and of racial justice.

(12) To facilitate members of all races working together on community projects.

INTERRACIAL CONSULTATION OF DISCIPLE MINISTERS
ON THE SOUTHERN CHURCH AND RACE RELATIONS

Lexington, Kentucky
July 20-24, 1959

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH RACIAL JUSTICE

Books

1. Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story by Martin Luther King, Jr., Harper, 1958.
2. What's Right With Race Relations by Harriet Harmon Dexter, Harper, 1958.
3. The Bible and Race by T.B. Maston, Broadman Press, 1959.
4. Segregation and Desegregation: a Christian Approach by T.B. Maston, Macmillan, 1959.
5. Bigger Than Little Rock by Robert R. Brown, Seabury Press, 1958.
6. The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective by Kyle Haselden, Harper, 1959.
7. The Southern Heritage by James McBride Dabbs, Knoff, 1958.
8. The Southern Temper by William Peters, Doubleday, 1959.
9. Epitaph for Dixie by Harry S. Ashmore, W.W. Norton, 1958.
10. A Manual of Intergroup Relations by John P. Dean and Alex Rosen. Foreword by Charles S. Johnson. The University of Chicago Press, 1955. ("Practical principles and techniques for everyone concerned with reducing racial and religious discrimination" based on findings of the Cornell University Intergroup Relations Study.)

Other Literature

1. New York Times, July 5, 6, 7, and 8, 1959. A series of four articles on churches and race relations in the South, including Atlanta, Birmingham, and New Orleans.

(Continued on reverse side of this paper.)

2. The Petal Paper

Petal, Mississippi
$5.00 per year

3. The Carolina Israelite

Post Office Box 2505
Charlotte, North Carolina
$3.00 per year

4. New South

63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
$2.00 per year

5. Social Action Newsletter

222 South Downey Avenue
Indianapolis 7, Indiana
$1.00 per year

6. Interracial Review

20 Vessey Street
New York 7, New York
$1.00 per year

7. Interracial News Service

297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York
$2.00 for two years
(Bi-monthly)

8. Community

4233 Indiana
Chicago 15, Illinois
$1.00 per year

9. The City Church

Department of Urban Church
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York
$2.00 per year

Organizations Publishing Materials on Race Relations

Church and Race

1. Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
National Council of Churches
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

2. Department of Social Welfare
The United Christian Missionary Society
222 South Downey Avenue
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

3. The Board of Social Missions
The United Lutheran Church
231 Madison Avenue
New York 16, New York

4. Council for Social Action
The United Church of Christ
289 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

5. Department of Social Education and Action
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

6. Board of Social and Economic Relations
The Methodist Church
740 Rush Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

7. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

8. The National Conference of Christians and Jews
45 West 57th Street
New York 19, New York

9. Department of Christian Friendliness
American Baptist Home Mission Societies
164 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

10. Division of Christian Relations
Presbyterian Church In The United States
341-B Ponce De Leon Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

11. The Christian Life Commission
The Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue, N.
Nashville 3, Tennessee

General

1. The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

2. American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

3. Department of Race Relations
American Missionary Assoc.
Fisk University Offices
Nashville 8, Tennessee

4. Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

5. Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vessey Street
New York 7, New York

6. National Assoc. for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West Fortieth Street
New York 1, New York

7. National Urban League
14 East Forty-eight Street
New York 17, New York

8. Congress of Racial Equality
513 West 166th Street
New York 32, New York

9. Community Relations Service
   386 Fourth Avenue
   New York 16, New York

10. Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
    822 Perdido Street
    New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Housing

1. Committee on Civil Rights in Manhattan, Inc.
   386 Fourth Avenue
   New York 16, New York

2. American Council to Improve Our Neighborhoods
   Box 462, Radio City Station
   New York 20, New York

3. Commission on Race and Housing
   2180 Melvin Street
   Berkeley 5, California

4. National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing
   35 West Thirty-second Street
   New York 1, New York

INTERRACIAL CONSULTATION OF DISCIPLE MINISTERS ON THE SOUTHERN CHURCH AND RACE RELATIONS

Lexington, Kentucky
July 20-24, 1959

Sponsored by The College of the Bible and the Department of Social Welfare of the United Christian Missionary Society

A Message From The Consultation

Recognizing that racial division in the church is painful, our Brotherhood by International Convention resolutions began in 1946 to call upon our churches and ministers to accept the need to discover our mission in our multi-racial Society. To this end across the years, many meetings have been held in various parts of our nation.

To further implement this high challenge some forty Negro and white ministers and guests from nine southeastern states convened at Lexington, Kentucky to consult with each other. This experience in person-to-person confrontation has enabled us consultants to come to a deeper appreciation of each other and thereby sharpened our understanding of the role of the minister in dealing with racial tensions. Through mutual sympathy and understanding an ever deepening sense of mission possessed us.

The experience of sharing our deepest thoughts, examining our emotional blocks, and exploding the myths which have kept us separated was both shocking and satisfying. Realizing that we were dealing with a complex and deep-seated problem, we sought to examine it with care and candor and to arrive at sound Christian answers.

This message is designed to share our thinking with you. In humble trust we submit our findings, praying God's richest blessing upon you and trusting that some measure of our purpose may be shared throughout the church in the South.

Recognition of the Problem

Racial tension is a world-wide problem. The colored people of the world are struggling to gain their rights as human beings. The racial problem in the South is but part of this total problem. The minister needs to recognize that the roots of this situation lie in the following:

1. The 300-year old social pattern of slavery, segregation and the accompanying discrimination.

2. The paternalism of the white South toward the Negro.

3. The resistance of the South to social change.

4. The participation of the Negro in the recent world wars and the Korean conflict which gave him a keener sense of his rights as a citizen.

5. The struggle of the colored peoples of the world for freedom from white oppression.

The Christian minister needs to recognize that the South, faced with the decisions of the courts, has to move toward a non-segregated society. In a move of this type we are aware that the white ministers face problems such as the hostility of the South toward change, the reluctance of the church to speak out because of its own segregated pattern, the possibility of economic reprisal, the fear of losing their opportunities to make any significant contribution and to exert effective influence. On the other hand, Negro ministers encounter equally serious problems arising from the vested interests of the Negro community, the loss of the church's interest in education, the possibility that Negro church schools and colleges may go out of existence, the loss of the church as an effective instrument of social protest, and the difficulty of keeping the hearts of his people attuned to the gospel of reconciliation.

The Mission of the Church

We believe that individual congregations of Christians have a definite responsibility to work for the solution of racial problems and that wherever men are separated from God or from one another the church is divinely directed to give itself to "the ministry of reconciliation." (II Corinthians 5:18)

We call attention to the fact that the church has often been so busy tending the fires of its institutional life that it has neglected and oftimes forgotten its essential purpose. We remind every Christian congregation that the society which Jesus founded was an inclusive fellowship of men in which all natural differences were subordinated to their new-found loyalty in a common purpose. "He (Jesus) established a new bond of union, independent of race or class or sex, when he declared that 'Whoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother and sister and mother.'"[1]

We believe the conflicts created by racism, which today are so disquieting and menacing, can be resolved through a continuing loyalty to that same common purpose.

We are humbly aware that all of history stands under the judgment of God and that this judgment is falling upon the Church.

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1 Oldham, J. H., Christianity and the Race Problem, The Chatauqua Press: Chatauqua, N. Y., 1926, p. 254.

When the Church is fully aware of its mission in the world, it will be open to the leading of God's Spirit and exclusion or separation on the grounds of race will not be condoned. We submit that any such imposed exclusion or separation violates and compromises the life and essence of the Christian gospel--the reconciliation of man to God and of man to man.

We reaffirm our belief in Thomas Campbell's proposition "That the Church of Christ upon earth is essentially, intentionally, and constitutionally one; consisting of all those in every place that profess their faith in Christ and obedience to him in all things.....and that manifest the same by their tempers and conduct"[2] and that "there ought to be no schisms, no uncharitable divisions"[3] in that church.

Every church should face the present racial crisis with the conviction that the time is always ripe for some type of constructive Christian action.

Believing that the spirit of God is constantly moving in the affairs of men, we urge the churches to seek the will of God by giving themselves to prayer and by humbly yielding themselves, without reservation, to the leading of God's spirit.

The Role of the Minister

The consideration of the role of the Christian minister in intergroup relations brings our attention immediately to the practices of racial discrimination which call us both to repentance and to action. The minister who reflects upon these conditions cannot evade the sense of sacred obligation to use every opportunity in seeking to have justice and love prevail in the relations of men, for this is our mandate from God through Christ.

Under the authority of this conviction and impelled by the need that confronts us, we must hear God's call to assume our rightful places as leaders in The Fellowship of the Concerned, which seeks to have Christ rule in the affairs of men.

Recognizing our constant need of inward renewal, we invite our fellow ministers to examine prayerfully our basic theological position that we speak not with an uncertain voice concerning the faith that is within us.

Christ calls us to exhibit the Christian graces in all our dealings that our convictions may be respected even if our judgment is not followed.

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2 Campbell, Thomas, "Declaration and Address." The Bethany Press, St. Louis, Mo., 1955, p. 44.

3 Ibid.

We humbly suggest that the minister must keep alert and active in perceiving and pursuing the many every-day opportunities that present themselves to immediate action. Among these the building of fellowship among all the ministers of his vicinity holds a high place, for surely the ministers should know each other. Moreover, he should seek out and nurture key laymen to bring them into active participation in areas of creative endeavor, since there are many important things that a dedicated and informed layman can do more effectively than a minister. This is not to suggest either a bushel under which the minister may hide his candle or a convenient storm-shelter to which he may retreat. The training of laymen rather appeals to us as an effective method of leavening the lump of society.

The minister ought so to relate himself to national and local organizations of both races which are dedicated to Christian growth and human dignity that his words of Christian counsel will be heard even though they may not be heeded. Thus he may aid in keeping open the avenues of communication and maintaining valuable institutions such as the public schools.

In addition, the minister may use opportunities to write and speak within his community and thus develop better understanding between races.

We feel that the minister must be friendly and respectful in all personal relations with members of the other race and that he must seek out avenues of association which cross lines of color.

The minister may also bring prudent influence upon state and national legislation by intelligent and factual conversations and communication.

He may also help his church members experience face-to-face contacts with leaders of the other race.

We call upon the minister, finally, to seek by every means of Christian grace to preserve loving fellowship in spite of differing opinions, both in his church and in the community. This is his important task as a pastor and spokesman for Christ.

In working toward the goal of better race relations the minister must be prepared to face sacrifice and suffering. This does not mean that he must seek suffering but that he is to accept it, if it comes, realizing that even this can be used of God for the redemption of the world.

It is in such terms as those stated above that we conceive and urge some first steps in this our Ministry of Reconciliation.

Grounds of Hope

As Christian leaders, we cannot face realistically the racial crisis of our day without being sobered by the size and complexity

of its problems. Our days together in this Consultation have underscored this fact afresh for all of us. But they have also impressed upon us again the heartening fact that many recent developments and current trends, far from giving us cause for despair, offer solid grounds for confidence and hope.

Among these sources of hope, we mention three that seem to us especially encouraging.

One lies in the fact that over wide areas of our public life, the crumbling of long-standing walls has brought new rights, fuller freedom, and greater opportunities to many victims of racial discrimination and segregation. The opening of many formerly all-white schools in scores of towns and cities in our border states has been perhaps the most dramatic change of the past five years, but this clearly is by no means the only field in which old barriers have been breached or broken. Today in the realms of industry, politics, religion, housing, and sports, Negro Americans enjoy opportunities that many considered impossible of attainment a few years ago.

What is more, as such changes occur in growing numbers of communities, a significant fact is being impressed upon the minds of all Americans. Desegregation is proving (as social scientists have long contended) that the most critical stage in racial crises of this kind is the period when people are merely talking about a proposed or impending change and anxiously anticipating it. When desegregation is planned with care and then firmly carried out by a community's most powerful leaders, once-fearful people usually discover that the new order is not nearly as bad as they expected, their fears tend to subside, and many wonder what all the excitement was about in the first place.

Another ground for hope lies in the wide variety of mounting pressures, both foreign and domestic, that are now being brought to bear upon the reluctant white South. The attitude of millions of people in the colored nations of the world, the impact of their opinion upon our national government, the firmness of our Federal courts in support of the Negro's Constitutional rights, the rising tide of books, magazine articles and editorials calling for a new look at our segregation system, the resolutions and pronouncements of our major Christian denominations, the courageous pioneering activities of many outstanding churchmen, and the stubborn fight of today's "new Negroes" for first-class American citizenship--all these are becoming social forces of compelling influence on those sections of our nation where racial discrimination continues to flourish. As these forces grow in scope and intensity, they bid fair to produce constructive pressures--psychological, social, moral and political--that can hardly fail to bring increasingly rapid improvements in America's human relations picture.

A third ground of hope lies in what might be called the quiet but genuine revolution that appears to be taking place in the

minds of countless white Southerners. The white South, if many signs can be believed, is today re-assessing the worth of segregation as over against a variety of other values which the region wants to preserve. It can scarcely be doubted that many white Southerners, though some still talk in terms of "last ditch" resistance, are succumbing with more or less grace to the doctrine of inevitability. But there is also the further fact that more and more Southerners are likewise discovering, as a recent magazine article puts it, that "there are many fates worse than integration Segregation, these Southerners are realizing, costs far more in terms of lost customers, wasted resources, crucified courtesies and decencies, blighted educational opportunities, and the ill-will of millions of other Americans, than they are prepared to pay for its preservation.

Just how much of this quiet change in the mind of the South can be traced to the witness and activity of the American churches it would be difficult to say. We dare to believe that no small part of it has stemmed from that source. While many Southern attitudes are undoubtedly being changed by selfish and prudential considerations, we cannot doubt that many of the most creative deeds in the field of race relations today are the fruits of seed sown years ago by Christian sermons, Christian pronouncements, and the faithful Christian testimony of men and women whose deepest spiritual commitment is to Jesus Christ.

These and many similar facts, we submit, give us cause today to thank God and take courage. They remind us that God himself is continuously at work in men's hearts and in the institutions of society. Only as we respond to the leading of His Spirit and seek to work in harmony with it can we bear our most effective Christian witness in any field of life. What is more, this basic ground of hope, along with the others, plainly summons us to renewed and redoubled efforts to "bring in the day of brotherhood and end the night of wrong." They give us reason to believe that in our struggle for equal dignity and freedom for all Americans "those that are for us are more than they that are against us," and that "in due season we shall reap if we faint not."

INTERRACIAL CONSULTATION OF DISCIPLE MINISTERS
ON THE SOUTHERN CHURCH AND RACE RELATIONS

Lexington, Kentucky
July 20-24, 1959

RESOLUTION OF APPRECIATION

Whereas, many members and leaders of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), both white and Negro, have become increasingly aware of, and concerned with, the problems in present race relations, both in desegregation and integration, and

Whereas, an Interracial Consultation on the Southern Church and Race Relations was called July 20-24, 1959, at The College of the Bible, Lexington, Kentucky, and

Whereas, the purposes of this meeting are:

(1) To understand the background of racial life in the South as it has developed.

(2) To appraise the racial situation in the South at present. Positive and negative factors.

(3) To clarify some just, righteous, Christian, and specific objectives toward which ministers can work.

(4) To determine some course or courses of progressive action which ministers may effectively follow in attaining specific objectives.

(5) To prepare a guidance statement for all Christian ministers in the South.

Whereas, this Consultation, in its study, work and sharing, has met with the enthusiastic participation and approval of all who have been involved;

Therefore, be it resolved that this Consultation give its enthusiastic expression of appreciation for the dedicated and challenging personal leadership of:

Dr. James McBride Dabbs
Dr. Blair T. Hunt
Dr. John H. Marion
Mr. Emmett Dickson
Dr. Riley B. Montgomery
Dr. Lewis S.C. Smythe

and the Local Preparatory Committee consisting of:

Dr. Lewis S.C. Smythe
Dr. Riley B. Montgomery
Dr. Myron T. Hopper
Mr. Charles E. Dietze
Mr. O.B. Garner
Mr. Donald N. Anderson

Be it further resolved that letters of appreciation, with this resolution attached, expressing our gratitude for their contribution of finances, services and personnel to this Consultation be sent to the following institutions and agencies:

Mr. Wesley A. Hotchkiss, General Secretary
The Division of Higher Education and
The American Missionary Association
The Board of Home Missions of the Congregational
and Christian Churches
287 Fourth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

Board of Social Education and Action
United Presbyterian Church
830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia

Department of Social Welfare
United Christian Missionary Society
Indianapolis, Indiana

Central Christian Church, Lexington, Kentucky

Woodland Christian Church, Lexington, Kentucky

The University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky

The College of the Bible, Lexington, Kentucky

Be it further resolved that we express our special gratitude to The College of the Bible, its Board, faculty and staff for its vision in initiating this Consultation and its gracious hospitality in making its facilities available for places of meeting, providing dormitory facilities and serving such delicious meals.

Respectfully submitted,

THE COURTESY COMMITTEE

LEWIS S. C. SMYTHE
Professor of Christian Community

THE COLLEGE OF THE BIBLE
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY
A GRADUATE SEMINARY

July 31, 1959

My dear Brother Minister,

Forty Disciple white and Negro ministers and guests from nine southeastern states convened at The College of the Bible, July 20--24th, to consult with each other as to what Disciple of Christ ministers can do to bring Christ's spirit into race relations. The group decided to draw up a message to send to Disciple of Christ ministers in the southeastern states who might be interested in the conclusions of this Consultation. "A Message from the Consultation" is enclosed for your personal reading and use.

The Consultation also compiled a "List of Publications and Organizations concerned with Racial Justice." I enclose a copy of this for your information.

The theme of the Consultation was: "All this is from God, who through Christ reconciled us to himself and gave us the ministry of reconciliation." (II Corinthians 5:18) We are sending you these materials to help you in your ministry of reconciliation.

Cordially yours,

Lewis Smythe

LEWIS S. C. SMYTHE
Professor of Christian Community

THE COLLEGE OF THE BIBLE
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY
A GRADUATE SEMINARY

August 7, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The president of our school, Dr. Riley B. Montgomery, and I appreciate very much the splendid leadership that your president, Dr. James McBride Dabbs, gave in our recent Interracial Consultation. He brought us splendid addresses revealing his keen insight into the whole situation in the South today. He was a big help on the Steering Committee, in one of the Workshops, and by living in the dormitory with the ministers who were attending.

Therefore, I take great pleasure in presenting to you the "Resolution of Appreciation" adopted by the Consultation. We all are very grateful to your Board for giving us the time and leadership of Dr. Dabbs.

Dr. Montgomery has asked me to send you the materials of the Consultation. I enclose copies of my covering letter, "Message," "List of Publications and Organizations," "Workshop Reports," and "Program." I also enclose pictures of as many of the group as we could assemble at one time.

The leaders in the other picture are from left to right: Montgomery, Marion, Dickson, Dabbs, Hunt, and Smythe.

With kindest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Lewis Smythe

P.S. Please do <u>not</u> publish the names of the Consultants.

LEWIS S. C. SMYTHE
Professor of Christian Community

THE COLLEGE OF THE BIBLE
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY
A GRADUATE SEMINARY

October 6, 1960

Mr. John Constable, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable,

Re: George Mitchell's "Chalk Talk on Southern Appalachians"

About 1953 or 1954 we had George Mitchell, then Executive Director of Southern Regional Council, here to give a talk to our student body. He gave his famous "Chalk Talk." Later, in fact the last time I saw him, in Atlanta he told me that he done the talk on color film (or filmstrip?) and was at that time dubbing in the talk.

Do you have this available for distribution and in what form? What time between now and a week before Thanksgiving, say before November 18th, may I secure this to show to a class here? On what rental terms? Purchase terms?

With many thanks, I am

Cordially yours,

Lewis Smythe

October 7, 1960

Mr. Lewis Smythe
Professor of Christian Community
The College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Our two copies of Dr. Mitchell's film "The Face of the South" are being distributed by the Anti-Defamation League. Enclosed is a film bibliography which will give you rental information.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encl.

LEWIS S. C. SMYTHE
Professor of Christian Community

THE COLLEGE OF THE BIBLE
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY
A GRADUATE SEMINARY

March 24, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are planning another Interracial Consultation on the Southern Churches and Race Relations to be held at The College of the Bible this summer from Monday evening, July 17 through lunch Friday, July 21.

Dr. Riley B. Montgomery asked me to write you whether it would be possible for you to be with us this year. If you can come we will work out a program with you. And I would like to have your suggestions of what you think you would like to do most in our type of Consultation.

The first year, July 1959, we kept the discussions to informal talks and workshops. But this year, July 1960, a number of the men brought prepared speeches with them. We have reproduced these in a Report. I sent you a copy of this in January, but if that is not available I will be glad to send you another copy.

However, we want you to feel free to operate in the Consultation this summer in whatever way you prefer, informal discussions or prepared speeches or both.

Hoping very very much that you can be with us this summer, I am

Cordially yours,

Lewis Smythe

LS/fl

LEWIS S. C. SMYTHE
Professor of Christian Community

THE COLLEGE OF THE BIBLE
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY
A GRADUATE SEMINARY

RECEIVED
APR 3 1961

March 31, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I wrote you on March 24 inviting you to speak and help lead discussions in our Third Interracial Consultation at The College of the Bible July 17-21.

I mentioned in my letter that we had sent your office a copy of last year's Report. On second thought I have decided that it might be more convenient for you to have a personal copy, and I am sending one under separate cover.

Dr. Riley B. Montgomery joins me in urging you to attend the Consultation this year.

With kindest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Lewis Smythe

LS/fl

April 3, 1961

Mr. Lewis Smythe
College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Many thanks for your two recent letters and a copy of "Southern Churches and Race Relations," that you were kind enough to send. By now, Dr. Montgomery would probably have received word of my resignation from the Council in order to accept a new position in Washington. I am enclosing a copy. As you will see, the new executive director of the Council will be Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar.

In view of this change of positions, I fear I must decline your kind invitation to take part in the Interracial Consultation to be held in July. Ordinarily, nothing would please me more, but the next few months promises to be so demanding in my new situation that I dare not take on any further obligations.

If I can be of any service to you and Dr. Montgomery in securing an appropriate person for this assignment you have only to let me know. Meanwhile, with kind regards to you both, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosure - 1.

LEWIS S. C. SMYTHE
Professor of Christian Community

THE COLLEGE OF THE BIBLE
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY
A GRADUATE SEMINARY

May 19, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Our President, Dr. Riley B. Montgomery has asked me to invite you to come to our Interracial Consultation July 17-21. I enclose a mimeographed statement describing the Consultation.

We will be glad to have you come at anytime that is convenient to you and stay as long as you can. We are very anxious to have you come and bring a message to the Consultation.

The program is still fluid and if you can let me know what time is most convenient for you to plan to address the Consultation we will do our best to give you that time.

As you will see from the enclosed statement, the group will be here from dinner Monday evening, July 17, through lunch Friday, July 21. We will be glad to have you stay on our campus and have meals with the members of the Consultation.

In April Mr. Harold C. Fleming informed us that you would be the new Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council. I had very close relationship with the former Director, George Mitchell, and hope to be able to become better acquainted with you than I have with Mr. Fleming.

Looking forward with pleasure to meeting you here in July, I am

Cordially yours,

Lewis Smythe

LS/fl

Enclosure

June 19, 1961

Mr. Lewis Smythe
Professor of Christian Community
The College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Professor Smythe:

I have delayed an unconscionable time in replying to your invitation of May 19. This has been because I wanted to accept but also needed to satisfy myself that I could. Sadly, I am going to ask you for a rain-check until next year. I embarked on the executive directorship with the intension of, for the first few months, accepting as many speaking engagements as I possibly could in order to visit around the South. The result has been pleasant but overwhelming and I must stop it. The load of work in getting myself settled into harness and getting our staff reorganized is such that for a while I do not think I am justified in traveling except on Council business. I do want to be in touch with you and with your college: Dr. Montgomery, as you probably know, is a member of my board and we admire his work and your college greatly.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:a
AIRMAIL

LEWIS S. C. SMYTHE
Professor of Christian Community

THE COLLEGE OF THE BIBLE
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY
A GRADUATE SEMINARY

June 23, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of June 19th. Dr. Montgomery and I regret very much that you will not be able to attend the Interracial Consultation this year. We hope that you can make it next year.

I enclose a copy of the letter we are sending out to all consultants today so that you will have up-to-date information.

With kindest regards and best wishes for your new work, I am

Cordially yours,

Lewis Smythe

LS/fl

LEWIS S. C. SMYTHE
Professor of Christian Community

THE COLLEGE OF THE BIBLE
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY
A GRADUATE SEMINARY

June 23, 1961

Dr. Riley B. Montgomery and I are very happy that you are going to attend the third "Interracial Consultation on Southern Churches and Race Relations" at The College of the Bible, July 17-21.

Twenty Negro ministers and twenty-four white ministers plan to attend. In the enclosed name list you will see that they are coming from Alabama, Arkansas, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, Ohio, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. When all these men get together we are bound to have an exciting Consultation! We are glad that you are going to be one of them.

I enclose a copy of the "Final Announcement to Consultants." You will note that we have added three Guest Speakers. You will also discover that meals will cost you $14.00 and room $8.00 for the four days, or a total of $22.00. Travel expenses will be pooled by the Consultants. In 1959 and 1960 this averaged about $26.00. It may be a little higher this year. Registration will be in the Administration Building, Monday, July 17th, 2:00--4:00 P.M.

A committee here is working on topics for the workshops to be presented to the Consultation Tuesday morning, July 18th.

Please send me another postal card on which you state:

(1) When you expect to arrive.
(2) Mode of travel.
(3) What nights you will want a room at The College of the Bible.

Looking forward to seeing you at the Consultation, I am

Cordially yours,

Lewis Smythe

LS/fl

Enclosures

THIRD
INTERRACIAL CONSULTATION ON SOUTHERN CHURCHES AND RACE RELATIONS

The College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky
July 17-21, 1961

Final Announcement to Consultants

Participation:

This consultation is planned as a work group in which every consultant will contribute constructive thought and committed concern in race relations.

The discussion leaders for the 1961 Consultation will be:

Dr. Will D. Campbell, Associate Executive Director, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., from Nashville, Tennessee.

Rev. Emmett J. Dickson, National Director, Church Relations, United Christian Missionary Society, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Rev. Colbert S. Cartwright, Minister of Pulaski Heights Christian Church, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Rev. David P. McMullin, Minister of Jackson Boulevard Christian Church, Chicago, Illinois.

The following guest speakers will bring messages to the 1961 Consultation:

Dr. Rufus B. Atwood, President of Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky.

Reverend Albert C. Anonye, President of Emmanuel College in Eastern Nigeria, 1957-1958, who is now engaged in graduate studies in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Melvin I. Cooperman, Community Consultant, Ohio-Kentucky Regional Office, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Columbus, Ohio.

Program

Each discussion leader will give one or two addresses but the times for the addresses will be arranged later. The general idea is one address in the morning and one each evening.

The guest speakers will address the Consultation once and participate for as much time as they can.

Most of the time of the morning and afternoon sessions will be given over to the Workshops. Workshop topics will be planned but final decision will be made by the participants Tuesday morning, July 18th.

Discussion periods for personal experiences of participants will also be arranged.

The Consultation will close with a concluding Worship Service after lunch Friday noon, July 21st.

Arrangements

Meals and lodging for the Consultants will be at the new campus of The College of the Bible, 631 South Limestone, Lexington, Kentucky. The campus is opposite the University of Kentucky just one mile south of Main Street on U.S. 27 at Maxwelton Court traffic light. (Parking lot at rear.)

This year funds available are not enough to provide these services free. Consequently, meals will cost $14.00 and room $8.00 or a total of $22.00. Travel expenses will be pooled by participants who attend the whole period. The basis for the pool will be round-trip railway coach fare, bus fare, or at four cents per mile for automobile travel. In 1959 and 1960 this averaged about $26.00 per person.

The sponsors will pay all expenses for speakers that are not covered by contributing organizations.

Sponsors

The Consultation is sponsored by The College of the Bible and the Department of Christian Action and Community Service of the United Christian Missionary Society. Rev. Emmett J. Dickson will represent the United Christian Missionary Society. The American Missionary Association of the United Church of Christ will contribute to the cost and send delegates. The Department of Social Education, The National Council of Churches in the U.S.A. through its Department of Racial and Cultural Relations in Nashville, Tennessee, will contribute one discussion leader, Dr. Will D. Campbell.

June 23, 1961

1961 INTERRACIAL CONSULTATION
The College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky
July 17-21, 1961

Negro Consultants

E. H. Mason	Montgomery	Alabama
A. C. Anonye	Washington	D.C.
J. F. Whitfield	Washington	D.C.
Emmett J. Dickson	Indianapolis	Indiana
R. B. Atwood	Frankfort	Kentucky
William J. Barber	North Middletown	Kentucky
Walter D. Bingham	Louisville	Kentucky
O. B. Garner	Lexington	Kentucky
Australia S. Gentry	Lexington	Kentucky
Harry E. Jackson	Paducah	Kentucky
Dean W. O. Gill	Jackson	Mississippi
S.W.R. Keyes	Jamesville	North Carolina
Wilbert D. Keyes	Roper	North Carolina
W. Judson King	Bricks	North Carolina
C. L. Parks	Goldsboro	North Carolina
G. W. Roland	Winston-Salem	North Carolina
Claude Walker	Nashville	Tennessee
Ozark Range	San Antonio	Texas
J. G. Galloway	Chatham	Virginia
N. J. Dickerson	Bluefield	West Virginia

White Consultants

Theophilis M. Carroll	Gadsden	Alabama
Colbert S. Cartwright	Little Rock	Arkansas
Joseph B. Hunter	Little Rock	Arkansas
Adelbert H. Tisdall	Washington	D.C.
Richard Roland	Tampa	Florida
Harry J. Berry	Macon	Georgia
David P. McMullin	Chicago	Illinois
Charles W. Bare	Owensboro	Kentucky
E. Tipton Carroll	Hazard	Kentucky
John Chambers	Lexington	Kentucky
Paul C. Duncan	Glasgow	Kentucky
Thomas Harlin	Lexington	Kentucky
James A. Lollis	Lexington	Kentucky
Riley B. Montgomery	Lexington	Kentucky
Roscoe Pierson	Lexington	Kentucky
Lewis Smythe	Lexington	Kentucky
A. D. Beittel	Tougaloo	Mississippi
Ross J. Allen	Wilson	North Carolina
Robert L. Jones	Charlotte	North Carolina
H. Thomas Money	Greenville	North Carolina
Melvin I. Cooperman	Columbus	Ohio
Farrell D. Walters	Aiken	South Carolina
Will D. Campbell	Nashville	Tennessee
Glendale Burton	Arlington	Virginia

INTERRACIAL CONSULTATION ON SOUTHERN CHURCHES AND RACE RELATIONS

The College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky
July 17-21, 1961

Consultants: Ministers of Christian Churches in the South.

Purpose of Consultation:

(1) Understanding of background of racial life in the South as it has developed.

(2) Appraisal of the racial situation in the South at present. Positive and negative factors.

(3) Clarify some just, righteous, Christian, and specific objectives toward which ministers can work.

(4) Determine some course or courses of progressive action which ministers may follow effectively in attaining specific objectives.

(5) Prepare a guidance statement for Christian ministers in the South.

Participation:

This consultation is planned as a work group in which every consultant will contribute constructive thought and committed concern in race relations.

The discussion leaders for the 1961 Consultation will be:

Dr. Will D. Campbell, Associate Executive Director, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., from Nashville, Tennessee.

Rev. Emmett J. Dickson, National Director, Church Relations, United Christian Missionary Society, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Rev. Colbert S. Cartwright, Minister of Pulaski Heights Christian Church, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Rev. David P. McMullin, Minister of Jackson Boulevard Christian Church, Chicago, Illinois.

Sponsorship

The Consultation is sponsored by The College of the Bible and the Department of Social Welfare of the United Christian Missionary Society. Mr. Barton Hunter and Mr. Lewis Deer are expected to represent the Department and Rev. Emmett J. Dickson will represent the United Christian Missionary Society. The American Missionary Association of the United Church of Christ will contribute to the cost and send delegates. The Department of Social Education, The National Council of Churches in the U.S.A. through its Department of Racial and Cultural Relations in Nashville, Tennessee, will contribute one discussion leader, Dr. Will D. Campbell.

Arrangements

Meals and lodging for the participants will be at the new campus of The College of the Bible, 631 South Limestone, Lexington, Kentucky. This year funds available are not enough to provide these services. Consequently meals will cost $14.00 and room $8.00 or a total of $22.00. Travel expenses will be pooled by participants who attend the whole period. The basis for the pool will be round-trip railway coach fare, bus fare, or at four cents per mile for automobile travel. In 1959 and 1960 this averaged about $26.00.

The sponsors will pay all expenses for speakers that are not covered by contributing organizations.

Program

Each discussion leader will give one or two addresses but the times for the addresses will be arranged later. The general idea is one address in the morning and one each evening.

Most of the time of the morning and afternoon sessions will be given over to the Workshops. Workshop topics will be planned but final decision will be made by the participants Tuesday morning, July 18th.

Discussion periods for personal experiences of participants will also be arranged.

The Consultation will close with Friday noon lunch, July 21st.

Reply

Please send a postal card to Lewis Smythe, The College of the Bible, Lexington, Kentucky, before May 10th. State:

(1) Whether you will attend whole Consultation
(2) Will you arrive for dinner, Monday evening, July 17th, at 6:30
(3) Or when you expect to arrive
(4) Mode of travel

LEWIS S. C. SMYTHE
Professor of Christian Community

THE COLLEGE OF THE BIBLE
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY
A GRADUATE SEMINARY

549-65
Phone: 5-4765

April 20, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I enclose a copy of the Announcement for our Fourth Interracial Consultation on Southern Churches and Race Relations to be held at The College of the Bible on July 16-20.

You notice that we have a number of good people who are prepared to help with workshops and discussions. However, Dr. Riley Montgomery would like to have you come for a day or two and present the overall situation regarding race relations in the South at the present time. We are especially interested in how this affects the work of the churches but would also be interested in other significant developments. Dr. Herman Long will do this from the Negro point of view and mainly from the point of view of secular organizations.

In order to get your description of the general situation as you see it into the Consultation as early as possible, could you be with us for an address on Tuesday, July 17 or Wednesday evening, July 18?

The evening sessions are open to the public and, therefore, have a broader influence. We usually have two addresses in an evening, allowing one hour for each address and questions.

We regretted very much that you couldn't come last year and hope very much that you can be with us this year.

With kindest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Lewis Smythe

LS:cam

Enclosure

FOURTH
INTERRACIAL CONSULTATION ON SOUTHERN CHURCHES AND RACE RELATIONS

The College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky
July 16-20, 1962

Announcement

Consultants: Ministers of Christian Churches in the South.

Purpose of Consultation:

(1) Understanding of background of racial life in the South.

(2) Appraisal of the racial situation in the South at present.

(3) Clarify some just, righteous, and Christian objectives toward which ministers can work.

(4) Determine courses of progressive action which ministers may follow effectively in attaining specific objectives. Value of non-violent direct action techniques?

(5) Prepare a guidance statement for Christian ministers in the South.

(6) Review what has been accomplished by these Consultations and decide what it is best to do next.

Participation:

This consultation is planned as a work group in which every consultant will contribute constructive thought and committed concern in race relations.

The discussion leaders for the 1962 Consultation will be:

Rev. Arthur A. Azlein, Minister of Michigan Park Christian Church, Washington, D.C.

Dr. A. D. Beittel, President of Tougaloo Southern Christian College, Tougaloo, Mississippi.

Rev. Lewis H. Deer, Jr., Executive Director, Social Education and Action, Department of Christian Action and Community Service, United Christian Missionary Society, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Rev. Emmett J. Dickson, National Director, Church Relations, United Christian Missionary Society, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Rev. Howard E. Dentler, Assistant to Executive Secretary, International Convention of Christian Churches, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Dr. Herman H. Long, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Rev. Andrew J. Young, Department of Youth Work, National Council of Churches, Atlanta, Georgia.

Sponsorship

The Consultation is sponsored by The College of the Bible and the Department of Christian Action and Community Service of the United Christian Missionary Society. Mr. Lewis Deer will represent the Department. Rev. Emmett J. Dickson comes as National Director of Church Relations and will represent the National Christian Missionary Convention. Rev. Howard E. Dentler will represent the International Convention of Christian Churches. The American Missionary Association of the United Church of Christ will contribute to the cost and send delegates. They are also sending a speaker, Dr. Herman H. Long of Fisk University. The Department of Youth Work of the National Council of Churches is sending one speaker, Rev. Andrew J. Young of Atlanta, Georgia.

Arrangements

Meals and lodging for the participants will be at the campus of The College of the Bible, 631 South Limestone, Lexington, Kentucky. Meals for the four days will cost $14.00 and room $8.00 or a total of $22.00. Travel expenses will be pooled by participants who attend the whole period. The basis for the pool will be round-trip railway coach fare, bus fare, or at four cents per mile for automobile travel up to two persons per auto. In 1961 this averaged $28.60.

The sponsors will pay all expenses for speakers that are not covered by contributing organizations.

Program

Each discussion leader will give one or two addresses. The general idea is one address in the morning and one each evening.

Most of the time of the morning and afternoon sessions will be given over to the Workshops. Workshop topics will be planned but final decision will be made by the participants Tuesday morning, July 17th.

Discussion periods for personal experiences of participants will also be arranged.

The Consultation will close with Friday noon lunch, July 20th.

Reply

Send Registration Blank to Lewis Smythe, The College of the Bible, Lexington, Kentucky.

April 24, 1962

Professor Lewis Smythe
The College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Professor Smythe:

Thank you for renewing the invitation to participate in your Fourth Interracial Consultation on Southern Churches and Race Relations. I am sure that I can come up for at least one day. Why don't you schedule me either for July 17 or July 18, as you prefer, and let me know? It will be a pleasure to be with you.

Please give my regards to Dr. Montgomery.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

LEWIS S. C. SMYTHE
Professor of Christian Community

THE COLLEGE OF THE BIBLE
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY
A GRADUATE SEMINARY

May 11, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I wrote you on April 20 inviting you to speak at our Fourth Interracial Consultation here on Tuesday or Wednesday evening, July 17 or 18.

Our Committee meets again next Thursday, May 17, and I wonder if you are in a position to let me know which evening you prefer by that time.

Hoping very much that you can be with us this year, I am

Cordially yours,

Lewis Smythe

LS:eb

May 14, 1962

Professor Lewis Smythe
The College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Professor Smythe:

I wrote to you on April 24 (copy enclosed) and my situation is still the same. It really does not matter to me whether I come July 17 or 18. If an indication of preference would help, let me say July 18. But if Tuesday would be more convenient for you, please feel free to change.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

LEWIS S. C. SMYTHE
Professor of Christian Community

THE COLLEGE OF THE BIBLE
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY
A GRADUATE SEMINARY

May 16, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I eat crow.

Many thanks for telling me that I should eat crow in your letter of May 14. I am very sorry but your letter of April 24 got misplaced, unopened along with book notices.

The big thing is that you are coming. Since you prefer July 18, we will put you on the program that evening. However, we will be very glad to have you stay as long as you can.

Thanking you again for answering me twice and with kindest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Lewis Smythe

LS:eb

May 18, 1962

Professor Lewis Smythe
The College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Professor Smythe:

Eat no crow, please. I will see you on July 18. Let me have a copy of program when it is available.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

LEWIS S. C. SMYTHE
Professor of Christian Community

PR-fyi

LD

THE COLLEGE OF THE BIBLE
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY
A GRADUATE SEMINARY

June 7, 1962

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Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar

Re: 1962 Interracial Consultation
July 16-20

Dr. Riley B. Montgomery and I are very happy that you will be attending the fourth "Interracial Consultation on Southern Churches and Race Relations" at The College of the Bible the week of July 16-20.

We now have forty-eight persons signed up to attend this year's Consultation. I enclose a "Tentative List of Consultants, June 4, 1962." When you look at the names of the people coming, you will know that we are going to have a very interesting week together. We trust that everyone will go home with a better understnading of what a minister and a church can do to make race relations more Christian.

We have a few more rooms available. So, if you know of anyone not on the enclosed list that you think would be interested in this Consultation, let me know and we will try to include them.

You will see by the enclosed copy of the revised "Announcement" that we plan genuine workshops this year. There are four new names among the discussion leaders: William K. Fox, Sr., Leslie W. Dunbar, Galen Martin, and Melvin I. Cooperman.

Three ministers will also make statements regarding their experiences with race relations: O. Merrill Boggs, Theophilis M. Carroll, and, we hope, R. Fred West.

A local Committee on Future Program will have an interesting report to present to the Consultation for its decision as to what they would like to do next year.

Looking forward to the pleasure of working with you in this Consultation, July 16-20, I am

Cordially yours,

Lewis Smythe

LS:mrp

Enclosure

LEWIS S. C. SMYTHE
Professor of Christian Community

THE COLLEGE OF THE BIBLE

LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

A GRADUATE SEMINARY

RECEIVED
JUL 2 1962

June 29, 1962

Dear Fellow Consultant,

Re: 1962 Interracial Consultation
July 16-20

We are glad that you will be attending the "Fourth Interracial Consultation on Southern Churches and Race Relations" at The College of the Bible the week of July 16-20.

The enclosed list of "Persons Coming" gives the names of all sixty Consultants that will be here. You may be able to arrange for a group to travel together.

The only changes in the "Final Announcement" are on the fourth page. I wish to call your attention to the book by R. Fred West, Preaching on Race, which came off the press this spring.

You will also find a statement on page four regarding registration, when the Consultation will begin and close, daily schedule, and directions for finding The College of the Bible.

For the travel pool every full participant turns in his travel cost round trip. The travel pool committee then figures the average cost for all consultants in the pool. Last year this was $28.60. If a consultant has paid $10.00 for his bus fare, then he pays the pool the difference, or $18.60. If another consultant has paid $40.00 for his round trip fare, the committee would pay him $40.00 minus $28.60, or $11.40.

Looking forward to seeing you here Monday, July 16th, I am

Cordially yours,

Lewis Smythe

LS:cam

Enclosures

FOURTH
INTERRACIAL CONSULTATION ON SOUTHERN CHURCHES AND RACE RELATIONS

The College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky
July 16-20, 1962

Final Announcement, June 29, 1962

Consultants: Ministers of Christian Churches in the South.

Purpose of Consultation

(1) Understanding of background of racial life in the South.

(2) Appraisal of the racial situation in the South at present.

(3) Clarify some just, righteous, and Christian objectives toward which ministers can work.

(4) Determine courses of progressive action which ministers may follow effectively in attaining specific objectives. Value of non-violent direct action techniques?

(5) Prepare a guidance statement for Christian ministers in the South.

(6) Review what has been accomplished by these Consultations and recommend what it is best to do next.

Participation

This consultation is planned as a work group in which every consultant will contribute constructive thought and committed concern in race relations.

Speakers and Discussion Leaders

Rev. Arthur A. Azlein, Minister of Michigan Park Christian Church, Washington, D.C.

Dr. A. D. Beittel, President of Tougaloo Southern Christian College, Tougaloo, Mississippi

Mr. Melvin I. Cooperman, Community Consultant, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Columbus, Ohio.

Rev. Lewis H. Deer, Jr., Executive Director, Social Education and Action, Department of Christian Action and Community Service, United Christian Missionary Society, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Rev. Howard E. Dentler, Assistant to Executive Secretary, International Convention of Christian Churches, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

Rev. William K. Fox, President of National Christian Missionary Convention, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Dr. Herman H. Long, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Mr. Galen Martin, Executive Director, Commission on Human Rights, Frankfort, Kentucky.

Rev. Andrew J. Young, Administrator of Citizenship Education Program, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta, Georgia.

Three ministers will also make statements regarding their experiences with race relations:

Rev. O. Merrill Boggs, College Hill Christian Church, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Rev. Theophilis M. Carroll, Wright Avenue Christian Church, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Rev. R. Fred West, St. Paul's Christian Church, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Workshops

Topic	Leader	Manual
(1) Church Desegregation	Arthur Azlein	Dean & Rosen, Part I.
(2) Community-Wide Commissions or Civic Committees	Galen Martin	Dean & Rosen, Part II.
(3) Non-Violent Movements	Andrew Young	Ramsey, Sit-In
(4) Negro In-Migrants to Northern Cities	Lewis Deer	Kloetzli, The Church and the Urban Challenge

The "Manuals" are listed in "Books to Read," at end of this paper.

Sponsorship

The Consultation is sponsored by The College of the Bible and the Department of Christian Action and Community Service of the United Christian Missionary Society. Mr. Lewis Deer will represent the Department. Rev. William K. Fox will represent the National Christian Missionary Convention. Rev. Howard E. Dentler will represent the International Convention of Christian Churches. The American Missionary Association of the United Church of Christ will contribute to the cost and send delegates. They are also sending a speaker, Dr. Herman H. Long of Fisk University.

Arrangements

Meals and lodging for the participants will be at the campus of The College of the Bible, 631 South Limestone, Lexington, Kentucky. Meals for the four days will cost $14.00 and room $8.00 or a total of $22.00. Travel expenses will be pooled by participants who attend the whole period. The basis for the pool will be round-trip railway coach fare, bus fare, or at four cents per mile for automobile travel up to two persons per auto. In 1961 this averaged $28.60.

Program

Each discussion leader will give one or two addresses. The general idea is one address in the morning and two each evening.

Most of the time of the morning and afternoon sessions will be given over to the Workshops. Choice of Workshops will be made by the participants Tuesday morning, July 17th.

The Consultation will close with Friday noon lunch, July 20th.

Reply

Send registration Blank to Lewis Smythe, The College of the Bible, Lexington, Kentucky.

Books to Read

Harry S. Ashmore, Epitaph for Dixie, W. W. Norton, 1958.

Waldo Beach, "A Theological Analysis of Race Relations," Chapter VII, pp. 205-224, in Paul Ramsey, ed., Faith and Ethics: The Theology of H. Richard Niebuhr, Harper, 1957.

Robert R. Brown, Bigger Than Little Rock, Seabury Press, 1958.

Ernest Q. Campbell and Thomas F. Pettigrew, Christians in Racial Crisis, Public Affairs Press, 1959.

Commission on Race and Housing, Where Shall We Live? (Report of the Commission on Race and Housing) University of California Press, 1958 (77 pp.) (The findings are given in five volumes on race and housing.)

James McBride Dabbs, The Southern Heritage, Knopf, 1958.

*John P. Dean and Alex Rosen, A Manual of Intergroup Relations, The University of Chicago Press, 1955.

Harriet Harmon Dexter, What's Right With Race Relations, Harper, 1958.

Kyle Haselden, The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective, Harper, 1958.

Martin Luther King, Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story, Harper, 1958.

*Walter Kloetzli, The Church and the Urban Challenge, Muhlenberg Press, 1961.

Frank S. Loescher, The Protestant Church and the Negro: A Pattern of Segregation, Association Press, 1948.

T. B. Maston, The Bible and Race, Broadman Press, 1959.

T. B. Maston, Segregation and Desegregation: a Christian Approach, Macmillan, 1959.

William Peters, The Southern Temper, Doubleday, 1959.

*Paul Ramsey, Christian Ethics and the Sit-in, Association Press, 1961.

R. Frederick West, Preaching on Race, Bethany Press, 1962.

* Recommended "Manuals" for "Workshops"

Registration

Registration will be on Monday, July 16th, from 2:00 to 5:00 P.M. at the Business Office at The College of the Bible in the Educational Building. At that time rooms will be assigned and participants will be asked to sign up for such meals as they want to eat with the Consultation.

The Beginning and the End

The Consultation will start with dinner together Monday evening at 6:00 P.M. in the New Fellowship Hall at The College of the Bible. The first session will be at 7:30 in the same hall. The closing session will be a Devotional by Dr. Riley B. Montgomery right after lunch, Friday, July 20th. Adjournment at 2:00 P.M.

Schedule

8:00 A. M.	Breakfast
9:00--12:00	Meetings and Workshops
12:15	Lunch
2:00--5:00	Meetings and Workshops
6:00	Dinner
7:30--9:30	Lectures and Discussion
9:30	Fellowship Hour

Directions

The new campus of The College of the Bible is located on U.S. 27 highway about one mile south of Main Street. Turn right at traffic at intersection of Maxwelton Court and South Limestone Street. Coming from down town, come south on Upper Street which runs into Limestone three blocks north of the Seminary.

Telephone: 5-4765. Switchboard is open M-F 8:00--5:00, Saturdays, 8:00--12:00.

FOURTH
INTERRACIAL CONSULTATION ON SOUTHERN CHURCHES AND RACE RELATIONS

The College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky
July 16-20, 1962

Revised Announcement, June 5, 1962

Consultants: Ministers of Christian Churches in the South.

Purpose of Consultation

(1) Understanding of background of racial life in the South.

(2) Appraisal of the racial situation in the South at present.

(3) Clarify some just, righteous, and Christian objectives toward which ministers can work.

(4) Determine courses of progressive action which ministers may follow effectively in attaining specific objectives. Value of non-violent direct action techniques?

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Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

Rev. William K. Fox, President of National Christian Missionary Convention, Indianapolis, Indiana.

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FOURTH
INTERRACIAL CONSULTATION ON SOUTHERN CHURCHES AND RACE RELATIONS

The College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky
July 16--20, 1962

Persons Coming as of June 7, 1963 21

Raymond Alexander	Lexington, Ky.
Arthur Azlein	Washington, D.C.
A. D. Beittel	Tougouloo, Miss.
O. Merrill Boggs	Cincinnati, Ohio
Glendale Burton	Arlington, Va.
E. Tipton Carroll	Hazard, Ky.
Theophilis M. Carroll	Little Rock, Ark.
Mervin I. Cooperman	Columbus, Ohio
Paul A. Crow	Lexington, Ky.
Gerald Cunningham	Lexington, Ky.
Lewis Deer	Indianapolis, Indiana
Howard E. Dentler	Indianapolis, Indiana
M. C. Dickson	Dallas, Texas
Leslie W. Dunbar	Atlanta, Ga.
William K. Fox	Indianapolis, Ind.
Frank T. Garner	Knoxville, Tenn.
O. B. Garner	Lexington, Ky.
Daniel C. Garrison	Lexington, Ky.
Australia S. Gentry	Lexington, Ky.
W. O. Gill	Jackson, Miss.
Thomas Harlin	Lexington, Ky.
Joseph B. Hunter	Tougaloo, Miss.
Harry E. Jackson	Paducah, Ky.
H. Myron Kaufman	Richmond Va.
J. William Kemp	Lexington, Ky.
Wilbert D. Keyes	Roper, N. C.
David L. Lollis	Edwards, Miss.
James A. Lollis	Lexington, Ky.
Herman Long	Nashville, Tenn.
Clifton C. McCoy	Columbia, Mo.
Galen Martin	Frankfort, Ky.
E. H. Mason	Montgomery, Ala.
Riley B. Montgomery	Lexington, Ky.
G. Bronson Netterville	Clarksdale, Miss.
C. L. Parks	Goldsboro, N. C.
C. Duke Payne	Lexington, Ky.
Thomas C. Phelps	Birmingham, Ala.
Roscoe M. Pierson	Lexington, Ky.
Richard Pope	Lexington, Ky
Jack Sherley	Lexington, Ky.
Lewis Smythe	Lexington, Ky.
Allen Stanger	Lynchburg, Va.

Herbert F. Stuecher	Lexington, Ky.
B. Eugene Taylor	Birmingham, Ala.
David Weiler	Lexington, Ky.
R. Fred West	Raleigh, N. C.
C. Lynn White	Harlan, Ky.
Richard C. White	Lexington, Ky.
Robert White	Cadiz, Ky.
C. L. Whitfield	Baltimore, Md.
Andrew J. Young	Atlanta, Ga.

Comment

Only 16 out of the 51 persons listed are Negroes. Therefore, we are especially anxious that more Negro ministers come.

FOURTH
INTERRACIAL CONSULTATION ON SOUTHERN CHURCHES AND RACE RELATIONS

The College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky
July 16-20, 1962

Persons Coming as of June 29, 1962

Raymond Alexander	Lexington, Ky.
Arthur Azlein	Washington, D.C.
A. D. Beittel	Tougouloo, Miss.
O. Merrill Boggs	Cincinnati, Ohio
Richard D. Bullock (U.C.C.)	Henderson, N.C.
Glendale Burton	Arlington, Va.
E. Tipton Carroll	Hazard, Ky.
Theophilis M. Carroll	Little Rock, Ark.
Melvin I. Cooperman	Columbus, Ohio
Paul A. Crow	Lexington, Ky.
Gerald Cunningham	Lexington, Ky.
Lewis Deer	Indianapolis, Ind.
Howard E. Dentler	Indianapolis, Ind.
M. C. Dickson	Dallas, Texas
Charles E. Dietze	Lexington, Kentucky
Leslie W. Dunbar	Atlanta, Ga.
William K. Fox	Indianapolis, Ind.
George A. Frazier	Mt. Sterling, Ky.
Frank T. Garner	Knoxville, Tenn.
O. B. Garner	Lexington, Ky.
Daniel C. Garrison	Lexington, Ky.
Australia S. Gentry	Lexington, Ky.
W. O. Gill	Jackson, Miss.
Thomas Harlin	Lexington, Ky.
Harry E. Jackson	Paducah, Ky.
Robert L. Jones	Arapahoe, N.C.
Roland W. Jones	Charlotte, N.C.
H. Myron Kaufman	Richmond, Va.
J. William Kemp	Lexington, Ky.
S. W. R. Keyes	Jamesville, N.C.
Wilbert D. Keyes	Roper, N.C.
William M. Lake (U.C.C.)	Graham, N.C.
Carl J. Landes (U.C.C.)	Greensboro, N.C.
David L. Lollis	Edwards, Miss.
James A. Lollis	Lexington, Ky.
Herman H. Long	Nashville, Tenn.
Clifton C. McCoy	Columbia, Mo.
Galen Martin	Frankfort, Ky.
E. H. Mason	Montgomery, Ala.
Riley B. Montgomery	Lexington, Ky.
James W. Morrison (U.C.C.)	Graham, N.C.

G. Bronson Netterville	Clarksdale, Miss.
C. L. Parks	Goldsboro, N.C.
C. Duke Payne	Lexington, Ky.
Thomas C. Phelps	Birmingham, Ala.
Roscoe M. Pierson	Lexington, Ky.
Richard Pope	Lexington, Ky.
Jack Sherley	Lexington, Ky.
Willie Sims	Louisville, Ky.
Lewis Smythe	Lexington, Ky.
Herbert F. Stuecher	Lexington, Ky.
B. Eugene Taylor	Birmingham, Ala.
Glenn S. Weaver	Portsmouth, Va.
David Weiler	Lexington, Ky.
R. Fred West	Raleigh, N.C.
C. Lynn White	Harlan, Ky.
Richard C. White	Lexington, Ky.
Robert L. White ("B.L.")	Cadiz, Ky.
C. L. Whitfield	Baltimore, Md.
Andrew J. Young	Atlanta, Ga.

Comment

Twenty-two of the sixty persons coming are Negroes. With regard to function, ten of the persons listed are speakers and discussion leaders, two are student observers, fourteen have helped on the Local Preparatory Committee, and thirty-four are other Consultants.

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PROGRAM SCHEDULE

and

Information

SOUTHERN CHURCHES AND RACE RELATIONS

Fourth Interracial Consultation

held at

The College of the Bible

July 16-20, 1962

Lexington, Kentucky

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FOURTH
INTERRACIAL CONSULTATION ON SOUTHERN CHURCHES AND RACE RELATIONS

The College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky
July 16-20, 1962

PROGRAM SCHEDULE

Note: The titles of some addresses are tentative and the speakers may change them.

Monday, July 16th

2:00 P.M. Registeration

6:00 Dinner - Lewis Smythe presiding
Blessing by William Kemp
Welcome by Riley Montgomery
Special Music by Miss Bettye Smith

7:30 General meeting - O. B. Garner presiding
Devotional - Raymond Alexander
Address - "The Church and the Challenge of Race Relations"
William K. Fox
Address - "The Christian and Race Relations in Mississippi"
A. D. Beittel

Tuesday, July 17th

9:00 A.M. General meeting - Lewis Smythe presiding
Devotional - Roscoe Pierson
Address - "The Michigan Park Story"
Arthur Azlein
Organization of Committees and Workshops

11:00 Workshops
1. Church Desegregation - Arthur Azlein
2. Community-Wide Commissions or Civic Committees - Galen Martin
3. Non-Violent Movements - Dan Garrison
4. Negro In-Migrants to Northern Cities - Lewis Deer

2:00 P.M. Workshops

4:00 Special Session - E. H. Mason presiding
Address - "The Gadsden Story"
Theo Carroll

Tuesday, July 17th (cont'd)

6:00	Dinner
7:30	General meeting - James Lollis presiding Devotional - Worship Committee Address - "The Nature of the Church and Race Relations" Arthur Azlein Address - "The Church and Citizenship Education for Southern Negroes" Andrew Young Film - "Walk in My Shoes"

Wednesday, July 18th

9:00 A.M.	General meeting - Paul Crow presiding Devotional - Worship Committee Address - "Problems of Negro Migrants to Northern Cities." Lewis Deer Workshop Reports
11:00	Workshops
2:00 P.M.	Workshops
4:00	Special Session - Lewis Smythe presiding Address - "The Threat of the Radical Right to Civil Rights" Melvin Cooperman
6:00	Dinner
7:30	General meeting - William Kemp presiding Devotional - Worship Committee Address - "The South and Race Relations - An Overview" Leslie Dunbar Address - "Human Rights and the Public Interest" Herman Long

Thursday, July 19th

9:00 A.M.	General meeting- Paul Crow presiding Devotional - Worship Committee Future Plans Committee - James Lollis Report of Message Committee Workshops Reports
11:00	Workshops
2:00 P.M.	Workshops

Thursday, July 19th (cont'd)

4:00 P.M.	Special Session - William Kemp presiding Address - "The College Hill Story" Merrill Boggs
6:00 P.M.	Dinner - "Ladies Night" Program by Worship Committee
7:30	General meeting - Charles Dietze presiding Devotional - Worship Committee Address - "Religion and Race Relations" Herman Long Address - "Churches and Community Action Regarding Race Relations" Howard Dentler Film - "Birmingham"

Friday, July 20th

9:00 A.M.	General meeting - Lewis Smythe presiding Devotional - Worship Committee Report of Message Committee
11:00	General meeting - Lewis Deer presiding Workshop Reports
12:15	Lunch
1:30 P.M.	Closing Devotional by Riley Montgomery
2:00	Consultation will adjourn.

Information

Daily Schedule

8:00 A.M.	Breakfast
9:00	General Meeting in Room 208
10:30	Coffee in Co-op
11:00	Workshops
12:15	Lunch
2:00 P.M.	Workshops
3:30	Coffee in Co-op
4:00	General Meeting in Room 208.
6:00	Dinner
7:30	Lectures and Discussions
9:30	Fellowship Hour

Students' Cooperative Book Store

Location: Basement under Fellowship Hall
Open : During coffee breaks and free time
Stock : Workshop books and others on race relations
Religious books on many subjects
Prices : Regular market price
Manager : David Weiler

Integrated Facilities in Lexington

All stores
All busses
All movies
Some lunch counters and restaurants (See below)
No hotels or motels

EATING PLACES IN LEXINGTON WHICH SERVE EVERYONE

Lunch Counters

Kresge's - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Main Street

H. L. Green - - - - - - - - - - - - Main Street

Woolworth - - - - - - - - - - - - - Main Street

Woolworth - - - - - - - - - - - - - Southland

McCrory's - - - - - - - - - - - - - -Main Street

Walgreen Drug - - - - - - - - - - - Main Street

McAdams & Morford Drug - - - - Main Street

Bradley Drug - - - - - - - - - - - - Main Street

Cassell's Drug - - - - - - - - - Short & Upper

Hubbard & Curry Drug - - - - - - - Short & Lime

Palmer's Rexall Drug - - - - - - - Corner of Fifth & Chestnut

Sageser Drug - - - - - - - - - - - - Short & Mill

Terminal Drug - - - - - - - - - - - Short (across from Bus Station)

Will Dunn Drug - - - - - - - - - - Lime & Maxwell

Cafes - Restaurants

Cottrell's - - - - - - - - - - - - - Main Street

Cafes - Restaurants (cont'd)

Pasquale's Pizza - - - - - - - - - South Lime & Maxwell

Luigi's Pizza - - - - - - - - - - North Broadway (with whites)

Luigi's - - - - - - - - - - - - - Rosemont (with whites)

Airport - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Versailles Road (about 5 miles from Lexington)

Howard Johnson's - - - - - - - - - New Circle Rd. NE (near Winchester Rd) 5:30 A.M. - 11:00 P.M.)

Wing's Tea House - - - - - - - - - 708 E. Main (11:30 A.M. - 9:00 P.M.)

Cafeterias

Phil Bacon's - - - - - - - - - - - Main Street

YWCA - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Mill & Church

Post House - - - - - - - - - - - - Short Street (inside Bus Station)

Student Union Cafeteria - - - - University of Kentucky Campus

St. Joseph Hospital - - - - - - -South Broadway (closes 6:30)

Baptist Hospital Coffee Shop - - South Lime

Drive-In Restaurants

Asher's - - - - - - - - - - - - - -New Circle Road and N. Broadway (6:30 A.M. - 2:00 A.M.)

Parkette - - - - - - - - - - - - - New Circle Road N.E.

Parkette - - - - - - - - - - - - - Georgetown Road

Jerry's - - - - - - - - - - - - - South Lime (with whites in booths)

1962 INTERRACIAL CONSULTATION

Lectures

The evening lectures at 7:30 in Fellowship Hall will be open to the public. The speakers will appear as follows:

Monday evening; July 16th:

William K. Fox, President of the National Christian Missionary Convention, Indianapolis, Indiana.

"The Church and the Challenge of Race Relations."

A. D. Beittel, President of Tougaloo Christian College, Tougaloo, Mississippi.

"The Christian and Race Relations in Mississippi."

Tuesday evening; July 17th:

Arthur A. Azlein, Michigan Park Christian Church, Washington, D.C.

"The Nature of the Church and Race Relations."

Andrew J. Young, Citizenship Education Program, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta, Georgia.

"The Church and Citizenship Education for Southern Negroes."

Wednesday evening; July 18th:

Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

"The South and Race Relations--An Overview."

Herman H. Long, Director of Department of Race Relations, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

"Human Rights and the Public Interest."

Thursday evening; July 19th:

Herman H. Long, "Religion and Race Relations."

Howard Dentler, Assistant to Executive Secretary, International Convention of Christian Churches, Indianapolis, Indiana.

"Churches and Community Action Regarding Race Relations."

Dunbar
B-206

FOURTH
INTERRACIAL CONSULTATION ON SOUTHERN CHURCHES AND RACE RELATIONS

The College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky
July 16-20, 1962

Committees and Workshops

Secretary: Glendale Burton

Steering Committee

Lewis Smythe, Chairman
Glendale Burton, Secretary
Arthur A. Azlein
E. Tipton Carroll
Lewis Deer
O. B. Garner
Daniel C. Garrison
Thomas Harlin
J. William Kemp
James A. Lollis
Galen Martin
E. H. Mason
Roscoe Pierson

Worship Committee

E. H. Mason, Chairman
George A. Frazier
E. Tipton Carroll

Public Statement

E. Tipton Carroll, Chairman
Arthur A. Azlein
Gerald Cunningham
O. B. Garner
Roland Jones

Travel Pool

B. Eugene Taylor, Chairman
J. William Kemp

Courtesy Committee

Theo Carroll, Chairman
George A. Frazier

Ruling Elder

Merrill Boggs

. . . . . .

Local Committee

Lewis Smythe, Chairman
Raymond Alexander
Paul Crow
O. B. Garner
Thomas Harlin
William Kemp
James Lollis
James Moak
C. Duke Payne
Roscoe Pierson
Richard Pope
Leslie Smith
Richard C. White

Workshops

1. Church Desegregation Room 207

Leader: Arthur A. Azlein
Merrill Boggs
E. Tipton Carroll
Howard Dentler
William K. Fox
Roland Jones

2. Community-Wide Commissions or Civic Committees Room 208

Leader: Galen Martin
Glendale Burton
Leslie Dunbar
George A. Frazier
Frank T. Garner
O. B. Garner
B. Eugene Taylor

3. Non-Violent Movements Room 209

Leader: Daniel Garrison
A. D. Beittel
Gerald Cunningham
David L. Lollis
E. H. Mason
Andrew Young

4. Negro Migrants to Northern Cities Room 210

Leader: Lewis Deer
Theophilis M. Carroll
Melvin Cooperman
J. William Kemp
James A. Lollis
Herman Long
David E. Weiler

PR-f.yi ~~Dunbar~~
mmj

WORKSHOPS ON INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Workshop I. Church Desegregation, Part I below.

Workshop II. Community-Wide Commission or Civic Committees, Part II below.

Source: John P. Dean and Alex Rosen, A MANUAL OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS, University of Chicago Press, 1955.

Criteria for Evaluation of Intergroup Relations Practices (pp. 3-4)

(In chapters 2 to 10 one chapter is devoted to each of these criteria.)

1. Is genuine two-way communication taking place between the majority and the minority groups, especially between the leaders?

2. Is the minority participating effectively in the formulation of policy and program in organizations that have different ethnic groups as members or staff?

3. Are the staffs of mixed organizations trained and experienced in intergroup relations?

4. Have those activities been desegregated that can reasonably be expected to be carried on jointly by different groups?

5. Are integrated activities being used to broaden the individual's understanding of other groups and to reinforce a personal creed devoted to democratic intergroup practices?

6. Are intergroup action organizations working for realistic objectives?

7. Is intergroup action work effectively organized, and has it involved key influential leaders in community life?

8. Are effective strategies being used by action organizations in negotiating for intergroup change?

9. Are practitioners in intergroup relations continuing to grow professionally in their understanding of intergroup relations?

PRINCIPLES IN MANUAL

Part I. Improving Intergroup Relations in Your Organization

Chapter 2. Problems of Communication

Proposition 1: Sustained interaction between majority and minority is essential if the lines of communication and understanding necessary for an effective intergroup relations program are to be established.

Proposition 2: Persons inexperienced in intergroup relations frequently alienate minority persons with whom they wish to be friendly by inadvertently expressing themselves in the language of prejudice.

Proposition 3: Intergroup understanding is impeded by ignoring individual and group differences and treating all persons as though they were alike.

Chapter 3. Minority Participation in Policy and Program

Proposition 4: An effective intergroup relations program generally requires adequate minority representation among those who develop and guide the activities of the organization.

Proposition 5: Fullest minority participation in planning policy and program involves the participation of minority persons with insight into minority problems, skills in social relationships with persons of different social and ethnic status, articulateness in discussing minority-majority relations, and the emotional poise to handle touchy subjects and situations without becoming bitter or hostile.

Chapter 4. A Staff Trained in Intergroup Relations. (No propositions.)

Chapter 5. Desegregation: Changing the Practices

Proposition 6: An important mechanism for the perpetuation of segregated situations and discriminatory practices appears to be the relatively unquestioning acceptance by people in a community of the intergroup relations practices instituted by earlier customs or policy decisions and passed along as "the way we do things here."

Proposition 7: Conformity with the practices of segregation and discrimination is often quite unrelated to the intensity of prejudice in the individuals who conform.

Proposition 8: Within wide limits, prejudiced persons will accept and participate in a thoroughly mixed and integrated setting if integrated patterns are established and accepted as appropriate by other participants in that situation.

Proposition 9: Leaders who control the operating practices of an institution or social environment can establish intergroup policies and practices for that environment within a wide range of community customs. These new practices, even if they differ from the generally accepted prior practices, then become the established and accepted customs to which participants conform.

Proposition 10: Desegregation that proceeds by firm and decisive steps backed by the responsible authorities is more readily accepted and taken for granted than a halting desegregation that appears unsure of itself.

Proposition 11: In planning for desegregation it is important to diagnose (1) the likelihood of organized opposition developing and (2) the specific capabilities of the staff or proper authorities to dissipate any organized opposition that does develop.

Proposition 12: Establishing "separate but equal" facilities may mean in the short run that more facilities will be available to Negroes, but it usually also means establishing institutional barriers that will become a major long-run obstacle to desegregation.

Proposition 13: Desegregation is sometimes brought about by establishing joint planning committees and providing procedures by which the decision to desegregate can be arrived at by the joint committee itself.

Chapter 6. Integration: Establishing the Values

Proposition 14: The newcomer to a nonsegregated social environment learns from its regular participants the appropriate forms of interaction and sentiment for that environment, and these often are even more important in regulating his behavior in that particular environment than his past experiences and current prejudices.

Proposition 15: Major changes in individual prejudices occur most quickly and thoroughly from exposure to social interaction in a new social environment rather than from information and exhortation alone.

Proposition 16: Interaction in a favorable environment generally leads to friendship formation between majority- and minority-group persons, regardless of the level of disengaged prejudice in the individual.

Proposition 17: A person can more easily accept criticism of objectionable intergroup behavior if he is helped to understand that the criticism is not a rejection of himself as a person.

Proposition 18: Objectionable behavior should be publicly challenged, with an explanation of why it is not acceptable; but the practitioner should arrange to hold individual interview sessions where the offender's personal feelings can be appropriately discussed.

Part II. Working for Better Intergroup Relations in the Community at Large

Chapter 7. Realistic Goals for Community Action

Proposition 19: Attempts to modify prejudices by media that cannot counter the social pressures that perpetuate prejudice are not likely to be effective.

Proposition 20: Successful efforts to eliminate segregation or discrimination usually have two phases: (1) getting fair-play policies established and (2) working to bring about compliance with and enforcement of these policies.

Chapter 8. The Pattern of Effective Community Organization

Proposition 21: Community-wide action in intergroup relations is more often successful when strategic, influential community leaders participate at the outset in the planning and organization of the action effort.

Proposition 22: Exploration of a local intergroup relations problem often supplies key people with convincing evidence of the seriousness of the problem and brings home the need for action.

Proposition 23: Social conflict on an intergroup relations issue, if successfully resolved, usually leads to further movement toward better intergroup relations.

Chapter 9. The Strategy of Negotiating for Change (of Practices)

Proposition 24: Where there are clear lines of authority or administrative control, people tend to go along with the rules and regulations that are passed down from the top, even when their initial feelings about these regulations may not be favorable.

Proposition 25: Polling those involved in advance of an intergroup change typically calls forth many more negative reactions than will actually occur if the change is undertaken as matter-of-factly as any other change that might be instituted.

Proposition 26: Negotiations for intergroup change are more frequently successful if the sanctions that can be brought to bear on the key gatekeepers are thoughtfully evaluated and an approach used that maximizes the leverage these sanctions afford.

Proposition 27: Get a reluctant gatekeeper on record in favor of fair-play practices, and he will generally have difficulty evading this commitment later without calling forth social disapproval.

Chapter 10. Continuing Professional Growth (No propositions.)

For Further Reading, pp. 183--188.

August 17, 1962

Professor Lewis Smythe
The College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Professor Smythe:

Enclosed is a copy of my talk.

I enjoyed very much my visit to Lexington and the opportunity that it gave me to see you, Dr. Montgomery, and the others. Be sure and look in on us if you come to Atlanta.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosure:
An Overview of the Present Situation

LEWIS S. C. SMYTHE
Professor of Christian Community

THE COLLEGE OF THE BIBLE
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY
A GRADUATE SEMINARY

August 20, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you very much for your letter of August 17 and for the manuscript "An Overview of the Present Situation."

I am glad that you had the time to work out this manuscript because it makes it much easier for me than handling the tape recorder, and it is better to have your refinements in it.

I am intending to send out copies of the "A Statement of Concern" and the workshop reports this week. Since it is ready, I enclose a copy of the statement. Dr. Montgomery and all of us were delighted to have you here and speak at the Consultation. Our only regret is that you could not be here for all four days.

I assure you that if I get as far as Atlanta I will look you up.

With kindest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Lewis

LS/mrp

Enclosure

Motion To Delay Rape Case Filed

Tallahassee Democrat

P-1 5/15/59

A date may be set today for argument on a motion to delay the trial of two of the four defendants, charged with raping 19-year-old Florida A. & M. University co-ed.

The motion, filed on behalf of Willion Collinsworth and Patrick G. Scarborough, seeks a postponement of at least 45 days from the May 27 trial date that was set by Circuit Judge W. May Walker.

Attorneys S. Gunter Toney, privately employed by Willion Collinsworth, and Harry L. Michaels, court appointed counsel for Patrick Scarborough, joined in the motion which asked the trial delay until "public excitement" has died down.

AFFIDAVITS FILED

A jury obtained now or within the next several weeks could not be free to render justice, the motion stated. Affidavits from several Tallahassee residents, including one Negro, accompanied the motion, stating the trial should be delayed.

Delay is also necessary, the motion said, to provide sufficient time to investigate the case, study the backgrounds and mental conditions of the defendants and investigate prospective jurors. Also to be considered, it was stated, is whether separate trials will be sought in view of possible implication of the two defendants in statements given by the other two. The attorneys said they need time to decide whether to request that the case be tried in another county.

OTHER DEFENDANTS

The other two defendants in the case are David E. Beagles and Ollie Stoutamire. Their court appointed attorneys have not asked for a later trial date. All four pleaded innocent on May 8.

Speaking before the Christian Leadership Conference in Tallahassee, the Rev. Martin Luther King, the Montgomery, Ala., Negro leader, said he is not demanding death in the case of the four defendants.

"I do not believe in capital punishment," he told Negroes from throughout the South. "I only call for punishment suiting the crime. If the court does this, it will be a great day for the South.

"Segregation is still with us—in the South in its most glaring form—and in the North, East and West in more subtle forms."

PERSONAL

STATE OF FLORIDA

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

RECEIVED MAY 19 1959

TO: Mr. Harold Flemming

DATE: May 19, 1959

FROM: John Perry

I knew you would be interested in seeing this clipping.

Apparently there was no difficulty or disorder.

Again, many thanks for your wonderful cooperation.

JP

JLP:im

STATE OF FLORIDA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
TALLAHASSEE

LEROY COLLINS
GOVERNOR

August 17, 1959

RECEIVED AUG 18 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thanks greatly for your letter of August 13, and for the school desegragation report.

Mr. Muse and his good wife were in Tallahassee the other night, and Bill Durden, the Governor's Executive Assistant, and I and our wives had a most delightful evening with them. He told us we would be receiving this report, and we are looking forward to reading it.

The Governor is out of town and Bill Killian is on vacation, so please accept my thanks on behalf of both of them.

Sincerely,

John

JOHN L. PERRY
Administrative Assistant

JLP:jp

BC: Benjamin Muse

April 11, 1960

The Honorable LeRoy Collins
Governor
State of Florida
Tallahassee, Florida

My dear Governor Collins:

It is a pleasure to send you the enclosed version of your fine address before the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, which we have reprinted under the title "The South and the Nation." With the thought that you might have use for more, we are sending fifty copies under separate cover.

We are grateful to you for permission to reprint the speech for distribution to a wider audience. And I should like to add an expression of deep appreciation for the leadership you are giving in the situation arising from the student protests. We are all in your debt.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Copy to B. Muse 4/26/60

STATE OF FLORIDA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
TALLAHASSEE

LEROY COLLINS
GOVERNOR

April 22, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I deeply appreciate the fact that the Southern Regional Council has deemed my talk to the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools to be worthy of reprinting in such an excellent manner.

Thank you for the extra copies, and for your generous comments on my recent remarks on race relations.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

LeRoy Collins

Governor

LC:jim

STATE OF FLORIDA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
TALLAHASSEE

LEROY COLLINS
GOVERNOR

May 13, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I wish to express my appreciation for your generous words in your article in the May 12 issue of The Reporter magazine concerning the efforts we are trying to make here in Florida to deal with the racial situation.

We are convinced the bi-racial committee approach is a sound one, and I hope that our efforts will be rewarded with some solid improvements in our state.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

LeRoy Collins
Governor

LC:jim

BC; Collins ltr. & HCF reply to Ben Muse
Collins ltr. to Doug. Cater (Reporter Maggie)

May 17, 1960

The Honorable LeRoy Collins
Governor
State of Florida
State Office Building
Tallahassee, Florida

My dear Governor Collins:

It was kind of you to write me about my article in the Reporter Magazine. What I said about your efforts to initiate wholesome bi-racial processes in the state was only a brief expression of what all of us felt.

Needless to say, we here at the Council earnestly hope for the success of these efforts and will be happy to render any assistance we can to you and your associates.

Cordially yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Leader

Draft

CBS

~~Draft~~

See any reason why I should not send this letter to Murrow?

January 30, 1956

Mr. Edward M. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Harold, I am advised not to send this. Peng Ferry suggest you might use some of it in a letter to Murrow.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

As consultant on intergroup relations for The Fund for the Republic, I recently spent a month visiting the state affiliates of the Southern Regional Council which are supported by the Fund. I found a great need for the average white person to understand that integration is a process and that the NAACP is willing to go along on a step-by-step program of integration, provided that there is agreement on policy.

The NAACP is pictured as the source of all of the South's troubles. Your "Person to Person" program, by including Roy Wilkins, might promote a saner attitude toward the NAACP and a greater readiness for conference and conciliation.

Our scheme is getting a good reception from the offices. Your memo was excellent.

Regards
Frank

Congratulations for your marvelous handling of "The Farm Problem" on "See It Now." This prompts another suggestion.

I hope you will do an hour on the struggle for freedom in the South today. White as well as Negro people are victims of economic, ~~XXXXXXXX~~ political and social pressures. In Orangeburg, S.C., there are economic reprisals and counter boycotts. (Last fall, to give you one example, a merchant, under White Citizens' Council pressure, withdrew credit from a Negro petition signer; he is now being boycotted by the Negro community. Yet last spring when the Claflin College (Negro)

girls' dormitory burned down, he took a truck load of dresses to the students.) A Methodist minister who is chairman of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, the state affiliate of the Southern Regional Council, said on a Columbia, S.C., "Meet the Press" TV program, "White people are not free in South Carolina. Only Negroes are free." He undoubtedly was thinking of Rev. Stafford of Batesburg Baptist Church, who was forced to leave, and Rev. Carl Pritchett of a Presbyterian Church in Anderson who is leaving rather than split his church over the monthly meetings of an interracial group in his church. In the Montgomery, Alabama, ~~XXXXX~~ bus boycott I saw Gandhiism in action. Here is a truly dramatic story of 40,000 Negroes participating every day in non-violent direct action.

In Georgia, Dr. Guy Wells, retired president of the Georgia State College for Women and now executive director of the Georgia Committee for Interracial Cooperation, challenges the governor by publicly calling for a program of gradual desegregation.

In Rock Hill, South Carolina, Father Shean, after twenty years of work in the community with some like-minded Protestant, Jewish and Negro people, has persuaded the Mayor to establish an official human relations committee. Foreign visitors interested in southern race relations are regularly sent to Rock Hill by our State Department.

In Virginia the ministers led the fight against the Referendum, so much so that the Staunton and Richmond papers attacked them editorially. In Lynchburg, I was told, 47 ministers bought space for an ad in the local paper to tell the people how they felt about the Referendum.

These are examples of what I mean by the struggle for freedom in the South today. A "See It Now" program could help white and Negro southerners to know each other better. "See It Now" could also interpret "The Silent South" (the South of decency, fair dealing, concern for democracy and human values) to the whole country.

Sincerely yours,

Frank S. Loescher

February 20, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Mr. Fleming, Dr. Clement and I greatly appreciate the interview with you, Mr. Friendly and Mr. Morse.

We were impressed with your concern that such program as you might put on would be helpful to those Southerners who are seeking to have the South follow an honorable course. That it would do so is the firm conviction of the three Southerners who were in your office and who, through this organization, make their influence felt. In addition to what was said in your office, the following considerations appear to me to have merit:

1. Throughout the South probably several hundred young men are considering careers in politics. What kind of politicians shall they become? They see Eastland, Thurmond, Talmadge and men of that stripe virtually monopolizing TV, radio and headlines. Certainly to the immature mind, those are symbols of success. Go thou and do likewise is the obvious lesson. The young men will probably do exactly that unless these symbols of success are occasionally awarded to those who are at

the political poles (no pun intended) from men of the ~~mill-running~~ Eastland category.

2. What of the private citizen in the South who has no political aspiration? His spine needs all of the stiffening it can get. All of us need recognition and appreciation. With Southern journalism largely in segregationist hands and with the segregationist receiving free radio and TV time, the private citizen hereabout is apt to conclude that he has but few friends and little support. If he is to be steered in the right direction, it must be made clear to him that others are at his side. The great job which TV can do is to give to the conscientious and well disposed citizen the feeling that he does not stand alone.

So I think the collateral benefits from such program as you have in mind will be to impress upon the youthful Southern politician the view that integration is a rising star to which he may attach his wagon and to give to the inconspicuous private citizen the feeling that he moves, not alone, but in the very best of company.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

b c to Harold Fleming

b c to Dr. Clement

MARION A. WRIGHT, LIBERTY HALL
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, SHERWOOD
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, SECRETARY
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, TREASURER
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE CHAIRMAN
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. D. SOUTH, STATE CHAIRMAN
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. S. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
RUTH HOUSE
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

Southern Re[redacted]

ROOM 422, 63 AUBURN AV[redacted]A

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

March 1, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

In view of our conversation in New York about current Southern problems, I thought you would be interested in this statement which the Southern Regional Council is issuing. Incidentally, a reading of it by our executive director has been filmed for television by George Martin.

I hope you, Mr. Friendly, and Mr. Morse will feel free to call on us for any assistance we may be able to give you, now or in the future.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

EDWARD R. MURROW
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

March 9, 1956

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Many thanks for your note and for sending me the statement issued by the Southern Regional Council.

Fred Friendly and I greatly appreciate your offer of assistance and we shall not hesitate to call on you whenever the necessity arises.

Sincerely yours,

E R Murrow

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

fc

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.

485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York · Plaza 1-2345

SEE IT NOW
EDWARD R. MURROW
FRED W. FRIENDLY

April 5, 1956

Dear Mr. Wright:

Ed Murrow has asked me to reply to your letter. We all enjoyed discussing the segregation question with you and we wish to assure you that our interest in the subject has not diminished.

We have been studying various ways in which to present this topic. We feel that our first explorations have not been adequate to the complexity of the problem.

If we go ahead next Fall we will certainly be in touch with you. I want you to know how grateful we have been for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Fred W. Friendly

Mr. M. A. Wright
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FWF/fjf

April 11, 1956

OMNIBUS
CBS Television
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

Several of our officers and staff members saw your recent series on the Bill of Rights and greatly admired the three programs, particularly the third and last.

I understand that you contemplate making the films of these programs available to interested citizens' groups. Would you be kind enough to advise me of this possibility and the terms on which the films may be secured?

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:o

April 25, 1956

Mr. Arthur Morse
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Arthur:

Just a note to say that I was as impressed as you said I would be by the first of the two programs on Africa. Murrow, Friendly and Company deserve the highest praise.

I'm glad we had a chance to talk the other day, and I'm looking forward to seeing you on my next trip northward. The joint is jumping so down here that I haven't been able to schedule it, but hope it will be soon.

Regards,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o

AIRMAIL

May 8, 1956

Mr. Arthur Morse
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Arthur:

It appears that I will be in New York Thursday and Friday of next week, May 17th and 18th. I will give you a ring in the hope that we can get together for some conversation, preferably some time Friday. Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.

485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York · PLaza 1-2345

SEE IT NOW
EDWARD R. MURROW
FRED W. FRIENDLY

May 21, 1956

Dear Harold,

Sorry for the foul-up the other day. It so happened that I got involved with a writing chore and couldn't leave home and it coincided with a tentative decision on a segregation show which made the business side of our meeting sort of a cademic.

This will have to be most confidential as we have not breathed a word to network officials let alone the press but we are considering have Rebecca West examine a Southern community -- possibly Orangeburg, S.C. I'm taking my family to England for the Summer on May 31 and will talk to West about the project. She has already agreed to do a SEE IT NOW and this seems a likely bet. We would trail her with a camera crew and it would be handled like "An Englishman Looks At America" which we did a few years ago with Aiden Crawley, a British journalist. This, I think, solves many problems. I spent a lot of time in Orangeburg on my junket and think it has just about everything.

Pleasesay nothing about this project. Our address for the summer will be:

The Oast House
Curtisden Green, Cranbrook
Kent, England

If you have any thoughts on this or other projects, drop me a line. Have a good Summer -- hope to see you in the Fall.

Sincerely,

Arthur

Personal

May 23, 1956

Mr. Arthur Morse
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Arthur:

I was sorry too we couldn't get together, but no harm done.

I found your letter most interesting. I won't comment further except to say that your idea is exciting and that we are prepared to be helpful if we can.

Your address for the summer fills me with envy. I will write you there if I get any brain storms.

All the best to you and the family.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

October 1, 1956

Mr. Arthur Morse
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Arthur:

I enjoyed our lunch the other day plus the rump session in Fred Friendly's office.

Take a quick look through the enclosed clippings. Maybe State Senator Carter is the Man of Destiny who will start the creative juices flowing there?

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
encs.

Don't forward.
HCF

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.

485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York · Plaza 1-2345

SEE IT NOW
EDWARD R. MURROW
FRED W. FRIENDLY

March 29, 1957

Dear Miss Wright:

Ed Murrow and I are grateful to you for your letter about "Clinton and the Law". We have been most encouraged by the response to this program. Since the segregation-integration question reputedly rouses the most primitive passions, we are delighted by the thoughtful tone and content of viewer reactions.

Less than twenty of more than one thousand communications were unfriendly to the program. You might be interested to know that the Knoxville News-Sentinel found that all groups within Clinton, including defendants in the forthcoming trial, considered it accurate and impartial.

As far as we can tell, Southern newspapers, with one exception, responded to it with enthusiasm. For this, of course, the residents of Clinton deserve the credit. They told their story and any merit the program may have had springs from them.

We think that audience reaction indicated that television can cover this great issue without being inflammatory or destructive.

Again, thanks for writing to us.

Sincerely,

Fred W. Friendly

Fred W. Friendly

Miss Marion A. Wright
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FWF/hlt

October 7, 1957

Emerson 29300

Mr. Howard K. Smith
CBS News — Federal 34444
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Smith:

Several people whose judgment we value highly have commended to us your broadcast of Sunday morning, September 29th -- unfortunately not carried in Atlanta.

Would it be possible for me to see the text of your remarks? If so, would you also advise me whether permission might be granted for us to reprint the text in our monthly publication New South?

Although I did not hear the broadcast in question, I have long admired the insight and fairness you brought to your analysis of the news. We are all fortunate that you were on hand when the unhappy developments broke in Little Rock.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Howard K. Smith

REGARDING:

Broadcast of Sunday, September 19th, 1957.
(Reprinted in New South, October/1957)

Explanation of Reprint permission

DATE

November 20, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Peters, William

September 19, 1958

Mr. Howard K. Smith
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Smith:

The other day - I believe it was Sunday - you moderated a program on which the Dean of the Harvard School of Law, among others, appeared. The program was exciting and informative. It was a splendid educational opportunity for Southern viewers. It was obvious that the Dean of Harvard Law School knew more about constitutional law than is customary even among scholars of jurisprudence.

We would very much appreciate, if it is readily available, a written transcript of the program. If there is any cost involved please charge it to the Southern Regional Council.

I have not seen you, except on television, since we met at the University of London when you spoke to a class in the summer school in which I was teaching.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

Materials mailed:
Negro and the Ballot
Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence
If the Schools Are Closed...
Background Report on School Desegregatipn

September 11, 1959

Mr. Howard K. Smith
Broadcast House
CBS, Washington Bureau
Washington 16, D. C.

Dear Mr. Smith:

Following up your telephone request for Council material, we are placing your name on our mailing list for all future materials.

We are also mailing to you, under separate cover, some of our recent material.

If we can be of any additional assistance to you or your organization, please let us know.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Materials sent to Arthur Morse:

Excerpts from Pt. 3, "Public Education" Report of Civil Rights Commission, 1959

"The Truth About Desegregation in the Washington Schools"

Hansen Special Report on Washington Schools

10/22/59

Memo

2:30 -

FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

3:30 - June 1960

~~Hon. T.~~

PL 1-2345

~~Debate~~ CBS - X-8125

JIM DELIHAS
CBS News -
485 Mad Ave.
NY 22, NY

Lunch-counters - repts (esp. Winston-Salem)

TULSA, Okla. -

Sent
C.R. Reprint.
Morland / Price Reports
N.Y. Times article

file Columbia Broadcasting System

CBS NEWS

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK · PLAZA 1-2345

RHA
LD

November 18, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thanks for the long version of Jim Silver's speech. I have talked with Bill Goodman at Harcourt, and he has agreed to let me keep it for a while. I talked with Jim several days after the speech and he told me that Mississippi is ignoring it. Have you heard anything new on the subject?

?

"Ebony" magazine for August 1963 has a story on Arthur Mitchell, the former Congressman from Illinois, an erstwhile representative of the SRC. Mitchell, who is apparently eighty years old now, was once the office boy of Booker T. Washington, according to the "Ebony" story.

Not SRC
RHA

I am looking for someone with a relationship of this sort to Washington to talk about him in an interview for my proposed program on 100 years of Negro history. I wonder if you could tell me:

1. More about Mitchell's association with Washington

2. Whether Mitchell would make an articulate spokesman on Washington

3. If you or anyone else there knows whether he is still sound of mine and able to express himself well.

I would welcome any information you could give me about him.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters
Producer

WP:jls

via air mail

January 22, 1969

Miss Jonett Steinbaun
Columbia Broadcasting System
524 West 57th Street
New York, New York 10019

Dear Miss Steinbaun:

Enclosed is a brief memorandum on Clarendon County. I think you do have the potential for quite a program here, and we will be more than happy to be of any possible assistance to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

January 22, 1969

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Glenda Bartley

RE: Clarendon County, South Carolina

In 1950, 22,833 Negroes resided in Clarendon County; by 1960, the number had dropped to 20,122, 68.2 per cent of the total population. The county's total population dropped from 32,215 in 1950 to 29,490 in 1960, and to an estimated 28,900 (of which 65.4 per cent were black) in 1966. In that year, 85.5 per cent of Clarendon Countians lived outside areas with populations greater than 2,500, compared with 29.4 of all U. S. citizens. The average size of a farm in Clarendon County is 90 acres, compared with 303 acres nationally. In 1960, 49.3 per cent of the county's farms were tenant-operated, compared with the U. S. average of 19.8. Unemployment in the county climbed from nine per cent of the labor force in 1950 to 7.5 per cent in 1960.

Median school years completed by Clarendon Countians 25 years old and over (1960) was 7.1, compared with the U. S. average of 10.6. Thirty-three and one-half per cent of the population of Clarendon County completed less than five years of school, compared with 7.8 per cent in the U. S Of the 250 whites in first grade in 1955-56, 127 (50.8 per cent) were in twelfth grade in 1966-67; of the 1,043 Negroes in

first grade in 1955-56, only 334 (32.2 per cent) were in twelfth grade in 1966-67.

Medical care for Clarendon Countians is far below the national norm: On the basis of number of physicians per 100,000 population, the county would have 27.4 compared with the national average of 142. On the same basis, the county would have 3.4 dentists, compared with 54.1 in the U. S. Infant mortality in Clarendon County is more than a third higher than in the United States.

Results of the above dreary statistics are predictable: Per capita income for the total population of Clarendon County in 1959 was $593 -- ranking it the thirty-ninth poorest in the nation -- (for black people in Clarendon County, per capita income was $540), compared with the national average of $1,850. Total median family income in the county was $1,945 (ninety-eighth from the bottom in national rankings); for black families, it was $1,241, compared with the national median of $5,660. Sixty-four per cent of the families in Clarendon County are poor.

In 1968, 5,218 whites (99.9 per cent of the white voting age population), and 4,648 Negroes (60.1 per cent of the Negro voting age population), were registered to vote. Hubert Humphrey carried Clarendon County with 3,606 votes, Nixon and Wallace got 2,201 and 2,097, respectively. Clarendon County is represented in Congress by L. Mendel Rivers.

The man most knowledgeable about Clarendon County is:

Mr. Billy Fleming
502 West Boyle Street
Manning, South Carolina
Phone: 803/435-8360 (home)
803/435-8994

Negroes' legal struggles with Clarendon County Schools are in their twenty-first year. In 1948, Negro citizens brought suit in federal court to require state and county officials to provide school buses for Negro pupils. An equalization suit was brought in May, 1950, and in December of that year, the suit was dropped and another filed attacking segregation per se. The case, Briggs v. Elliott, was heard before a three-judge federal district panel, which ruled two to one (J. Waties Waring) against the appellants. South Carolina segregationists, recognizing Briggs as a test case threatening the whole system of segregation, embarked on an elaborate equalization program, led by Governor James F. Byrnes (formerly a justice of the United States Supreme Court). Briggs reached the Supreme Court in December, 1952; Clarendon County was represented by John W. Davis, Democratic presidential candidate in 1924, a "Northern man with Southern principles." Thus Clarendon County became part of the original School Segregation Cases, summed up in the Supreme Court's ruling in Brown v. Board of Topeka in May, 1954.

In 1964, there were yet no Negro students in school with whites in Clarendon County; in 1965, there was one child so situated; by 1966, the number had jumped to 48.

Columbians, Inc.

10-31-46

Mr. Cliff, Manager of Georgian Book Shop, which has display of Stetson Kennedy's new book Southern Exposure, reports to us that two "Columbians" mentioned in todays paper as being in trouble with police, came in bright & early to purchase a copy of book. These men are James R. Childers and Homer L. Lewis.

HBG

FISK UNIVERSITY
SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

Air Mail - Special

MONTHLY SUMMARY OF EVENTS AND TRENDS IN RACE RELATIONS

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, DIRECTOR

1 November, 1946

STAFF
PEARL L. WALKER
CHARLES R. LAWRENCE, JR.
RACHEL B. NOEL
ALMA G. FORREST

RECEIVED
NOV 4 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Doctor Johnson:

Please send me whatever information you have on the Atlanta Columbians and their terroristic activities. From very meagre information at hand, it sounds like an ominous movement. Incidentally, is their any information in the Interracial Commission files concerning the Black Shirts of the early thirties? As I recall, this was a protofascist organization that had as its immediate goal the garnering of "Negro jobs" for white persons. Atlanta was the main center of their activity.

I should like to use the Columbian mess as a lead story in the November issue of the Monthly Summary. The deadline for my copy is November 6. Any information that your office can give us on this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Cordially yours,

Charles

Charles R. Lawrence, Jr.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
69 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

November 5, 1946

Mr. Charles R. Lawrence, Jr.
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Lawrence:

I am pleased to send you by first-class mail our file clippings on the Columbians and our historical file on the Black Shirts.

Since your deadline is so near, no effort has been made to select those clippings which might be of most help to you in preparing your story. Our complete file on the Black Shirts is almost necessary, however, in order for you to follow their activities from the beginning through to the time when they were refused a charter and enjoined from operation in the State of Georgia. A small amount of correspondence is also included with these clippings and will, I believe, give you some rather interesting sidelights on Black Shirt activities.

Please return this material after it has served your purpose.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

FISK UNIVERSITY
SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

11 November, 1946

MONTHLY SUMMARY OF
EVENTS AND TRENDS IN
RACE RELATIONS

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, DIRECTOR

STAFF
PEARL L. WALKER
CHARLES R. LAWRENCE, JR.
RACHEL B. NOEL
ALMA G. FORREST

Dear Doctor Johnson,

Thank you very much for this material. It was most helpful to me in preparing a report on the matter for the November Summary.

Returned to Files RR 12-11-46

Cordially yours,

Lawrence

Charles R. Lawrence, Jr.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
69 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Black Shirts
Columbians

November 18, 1946

Dr. A. R. Mead, Director
Educational Research
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Dr. Mead:

Your letter arrived just as we were in the midst of preparations for our annual meeting. We had four solid days of meetings last week and of course we had to let the office work go for awhile.

The local newspapers and other agencies have planted informants among the Columbians in Atlanta and they have been collecting some very good inside information. One news writer has published a lengthy interview with Loomis in the Atlanta Journal for November 3. I am enclosing this and several other clippings which I think will interest you. Please return the clippings as soon as you have finished with them.

We are certainly interested in finding out how the leaders such as Loomis and Gerald Smith "got that way". The Columbians are in such hot water right now that they are sensitive about giving out detailed personal histories, but if we are able to get hold of anything else we shall send the information to you.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
GAINESVILLE

November 6, 1946

RECEIVED
NOV 8 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I have noticed recently in the newspaper reports coming from Atlanta of an organization calling itself the "Columbians". It seems to be another one of the usual post-war hating organizations. An item sent out from Atlanta by Edward L. Bridges, November 4, reports the leader of this as Homer L. Loomis, Jr.

You may recall that I visited your office a year ago in relation to materials on Attitudes. It has occurred to me a number of times that case studies of such characters as Loomis, Gerald L. Smith, and Father Coughlin and others might reveal enlightening information about how they "got that way". Is there anyone in your organization that is interested in getting a rather detailed biographical sketch of this man? Or do you know of anyone who could do it? I would appreciate very much getting hold of such case studies.

I will appreciate hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

A R Mead

A. R. Mead, Director
Educational Research

ARM/ek

M E M O R A N D U M

November 20, 1946

TO: Dr. Guy B. Johnson
FROM: H. L. Trigg
RE: Record of Incident Involving Columbians Cruising in the Neighborhood of Kennedy and Griffin Streets on September 25, 1946, 4:30 P.M.

On the above date three men in a car which appeared to be a Lincoln-Zephyr sedan with an amplifier cruised in the neighborhood of Kennedy and Griffin Streets N.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

The license plate of the car bore the number Georgia F-579. Two men were in the front seat and one in the rear. The driver was in his shirtsleeves. The broadcaster said "Attention, Please. Attention, please, all white men and all white women. There will be a mass meeting on the corner of Kennedy and Griffin Streets at 8 o'clock tonight."

The insignia of the Columbians was on a piece of cloth attached to the left side of the car.

Workmen constructing houses on Griffin Street just south of this point said that these men had been cruising since 3:30 the same afternoon and that they had announced that "we want to keep this neighborhood white." They did not hear them advise Negroes not to ride the English Avenue car after 9 P.M. of the same evening.

This record is for the files.

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
GAINESVILLE

November 25, 1946

RECEIVED
NOV 27 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I thank you very much for the information about the "Columbians" and also for the newspaper clippings. I am returning these to you.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

A R Mead

A. R. Mead, Director
Educational Research

ARM/ek

Encl. newspaper clippings

Bilbo, the Mississippi mountebank (*see* PEOPLE). They had decided to challenge Bilbo's right to his Senate seat on the grounds that he incited whites to bar Negroes from the Mississippi polls in the Democratic primary.

Solidarity. One other matter which Republicans chewed over was their own internal organization. Joe Martin, as expected, will be Speaker of the House. The rivalry between Indiana's Charlie Halleck and Ohio's Clarence Brown for House majority leader will be fought out spiritedly; other candidates may complicate the race. But there was no sign of any deep developing rifts among the triumphant G.O.P. leaders. Vandenberg will preside over the Senate as president pro tem. Elderly (69) Wallace White, ineffectual minority leader during G.O.P. underdog days, will become majority leader by courtesy. The G.O.P. spark plug will be sparkless, plugging Bob Taft, serving as boss of the steering committee. Nebraska's Ken Wherry will be party whip.

Leaving a lot of wind behind them and much preliminary work done, and still rubbing their hands, the Republican leaders went home to await other meetings next month and—best of all—the momentous opening of the 80th Congress on Jan. 3.

FISCAL

The Vanishing Jitney

Even a nickel wasn't worth five cents any more. In a survey of Manhattan, the *Daily Mirror* found that a candy bar cost 7¢, shoelaces were two for 15¢. In a penny arcade, slot-machine psychoanalysis was 2¢ a throw. Quipped one shopkeeper, overhauling his price lists on patent medicines: "If you experience stomach distress due to hyperacidity, it will now cost you 6¢."

COLORADO

Blizzard on the Prairie

The sun disappeared behind a grey overcast, and a great stillness fell over the eastern Colorado plains. After that a freezing wind rose, banged barn doors and snatched at the smoke from lonely ranch houses. It grew dark, and salt-like snow began hissing across leagues of sere buffalo grass. Then, for 48 hours, a blizzard—the worst in 33 years—moaned down out of Wyoming with nothing to stop it but fence posts and cottonwood trees.

As the prairies whitened, scores of thousands of chunky Hereford cattle turned tail to the storm, lowered their heads, and began to drift disconsolately before it. When they came to fences they turned, followed the wire. But some time during the second night, when the snow was belly deep on the flats and higher than a rider's head in the drifts, they stopped. When the storm ceased and the cold intensified, herd after herd stood wearily with their breaths steaming, waiting patiently for death.

Across the plains, ranchers and cowhands tied bandannas under their Stetsons to protect their ears, pulled on sheepskins and mittens, and began a desperate rescue operation. Horses were helpless in the drifts. Trucks were useless except on cleared roads. But a caterpillar tractor with a bulldozer blade was worth its weight in gold.

The Hay-Bombers. At the 100,000-acre Tom Talle Ranch near Aroya, tough, greying Manager Elmer Ray rounded up three of the tractors. Then, with six muffled, red-eyed cowhands, he set out across the prairies, clearing a path for the cattle. It was heartbreaking work; they fought drifts by day, worked by lantern light after dark "caking" the tired stock with concentrated protein feed. But in a week they got 2,500 of their 3,600 fine Herefords into railroad cars and on their way to market.

Other stockmen waged similar battles. Railroads moved all available stock cars into sidings at Hugo, Limon, Boyero, Wild Horse, Kit Carson, Cheyenne Wells and Arapahoe. Few ranchers were lucky enough to get more than a small percentage of their cattle out of the drifts, and many distant herds had not eaten for a week after the storm. As a desperate expedient, the Keystone Ranch near Karval had Army bombers try dropping baled hay to some of its cattle. After that seven Army C-47s began hay-bombing on a larger scale. As the cold weather continued, airlines passengers reported seeing dead cattle, horses and antelope dotting the frozen prairies.

At week's end, as a new snow storm began, 50,000 cattle were still in danger, hundreds of ranchers were still living on black coffee, whiskey and sandwiches, still fighting their battle against the elements. Army planes scoured the prairies, dropped skis and supplies to isolated families who tramped out distress signals in the snow.

There were no reports from sheepmen, who followed their flocks for weeks at a time. But Colorodoans knew that eventually, as after every heavy snow storm, dead sheepherders would be found where they had fallen, with their storm-driven flocks.

GEORGIA

Gassed

When the state of Georgia moved to revoke the charter of the anti-Negro, anti-Semitic Columbians, Inc. (TIME, Nov. 11), demagogic President Emory Burke disdainfully tore the charter to shreds, mailed the pieces to Assistant Attorney General Daniel Duke. The loss of a charter would not stop them. Last week khaki-shirted Columbians assembled for another hate feast.

In a rented Atlanta hall Columbian Burke wildly harangued his audience of riffraff. Suddenly there was a crash of glass; a cloud of tear gas sent the listeners coughing and choking toward the exit. His lean face bright with sweat, Burke leaned through the broken window and shook his fist. He bawled: "Come back here, you Jew. We'll get you yet." To emergency police he shouted accusingly: "Some Communist did it."

Next day, in Fulton County Superior Court, Führer Burke begged and got a ten-day delay in Georgia's suit against Columbians, Inc.

Associated Press

COLUMBIANS AFTER GASSING (LEADER BURKE, *center*)
"We'll get you yet."

ret

STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION
270 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
TEL.: BARCLAY 7-1616

CHARLES ABRAMS
CHAIRMAN
ELMER A. CARTER
J. EDWARD CONWAY
JOHN A. DAVIS
MARY LOUISE NICE

CHARLES LIVERMORE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
EDWARD RUTLEDGE
HOUSING DIRECTOR
HENRY SPITZ
GENERAL COUNSEL
JOHN B. SULLIVAN
DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION

August 7, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
(Room 432)
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Routh:

I was happy to learn that you are to be a participant in a panel on "The South Today" at the national conference of the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago. I suppose that the most exciting question in the South and in the nation for that matter is the integration in the public school systems following the decision of the Supreme Court and the state of public opinion in the South today on this question and more recently the reaction to the renomination of Governor Faubus insofar as it can be gauged.

I requested Mr. Harry Golden to send me some suggestions as to the scope and dominant emphasis of his discussion and I am making this same request of you.

I suppose the changing economy in the South and its effect on the Negro worker is an important phase of life in the South today as well as the extent to which the Negro might be expected to participate in the political life of the South through greater exercise of his civil rights. Particularly, the right of franchise. I believe it would be in the interest of an effective program if you and Mr. Golden would exchange a summary of your respective statements so that there would be as little repetition as possible.

I haven't had much experience in panel discussions but the usual method contemplates eight to ten minute statements by each of the panelists at the opening of the panel which would serve to create the framework and the atmosphere for the discussion. If you would prepare such a statement, I would suggest that it be sent directly to Lloyd Davis and I would be happy if you would send a copy to me.

I expect to be in Chicago on the evening of the 28th but I hope to be able to inform you where I might be located prior to that time.

Thank you very much.

Very sincerely yours,

Elmer A. Carter

Elmer A. Carter
Commissioner

EAC:jm

STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION
270 BROADWAY 7, N.Y.

JOHN B. SULLIVAN
DIRECTOR OF
PUBLIC RELATIONS
EDUCATION & RESEARCH

December 23, 1958

Dear Fred,

It was so comforting to hear from you in connection with Phil's illness. I wish that I could report that things are better. Fortunately, and mercifully, his physical suffering is at a minimum. We are also pretty sure that through the wonderful graces that have been given to him, particularly through the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, he is ready to embrace joyfully whatever will be the final outcome. Of course, both his mother and I would like to have it different, but we are thankful to God that He is giving us the strength to accept His Holy Will.

Please call me if you are in New York. It would be swell to get together for an hour or so.

Sincerely,

John B. Sullivan

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Conference
Atlanta, Georgia

December 29, 1958

Dr. Aaron Antonovsky
Acting Director of Research
State Commission Against Discrimination
270 Broadway
New York 7, New York

Dear Dr. Antonovsky:

Thank you for the copy of "Negroes in Five New York Cities: A Study of Problems, Achievements and Trends."

We at the Southern Regional Council would very much like to remain on your permanent mailing list. I would like to suggest, however, that materials be sent to the Research Department of the Southern Regional Council. Our new Director of Research is Leslie W. Dunbar, Ph.D.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Associate Director

FBR:ls

STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION
270 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
TEL: BARCLAY 7-1616

CHARLES ABRAMS
CHAIRMAN
ELMER A. CARTER
J. EDWARD CONWAY
JOHN A. DAVIS
MARY LOUISE NICE

CHARLES LIVERMORE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
EDWARD RUTLEDGE
HOUSING DIRECTOR
HENRY SPITZ
GENERAL COUNSEL
JOHN B. SULLIVAN
DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION

October 31, 1958

Dear Sir or Madam,

Enclosed you will find a copy of "Negroes in Five New York Cities: A Study of Problems, Achievements and Trends."

The Commission has set up a permanent mailing list, to whom all research publications will be sent. Please notify us if you wish to remain on this list.

We would appreciate being informed of any errors in the address.

Sincerely yours,

Aaron Antonovsky

Aaron Antonovsky, Ph.D.
Acting Director of Research

AA:rc
Enc.

CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO
GEORGE CHRISTOPHER, MAYOR

COMMISSION ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
500 GOLDEN GATE AVE. - SAN FRANCISCO 2 - HEMLOCK 1-2121, EXT. 718

JOHN F. BRADY, CHAIRMAN
MRS. RAYMOND E. ALDERMAN
TERRY A. FRANCOIS
C. J. GOODELL
PETER E. HAAS
JOHN F. HENNING
NAT SCHMULOWITZ

EDWARD HOWDEN
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

January 9, 1959

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
c/o Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

It was indeed good to hear from you this week. For a while I thought that perhaps you had rejoined the Navy. Then came the excellent news of your election to the NAIRO Presidency a year hence.

NAIRO continues, in my opinion, to exhibit fine discernment in its presidential selections. Of course, I hope it is clearly understood that the undersigned contributed very substantially to your otherwise closely fought victory -- about a week before the conference I learned via the grapevine that John Yoshino intended to submit my name for nomination, and I hastened, with all due thanks, to ask him to withdraw the draft. He must have been shattered by my ungraceful exodus from the field, as I have not heard a word since. So I'll be around in due course for my share of those fat appointments with which NAIRO is loaded.

As much as we would have liked to have you in San Francisco (and shall we still keep this objective in mind?) I cannot help but agree that you are terribly needed in the Old Domain and other points South. I shall be looking forward for the news which you promised.

More power to you, old boy!

Sincerely yours,

Ed

EH:be

Edward Howden

Anne sends her best

Ans 21 Jan 59
FBR.

November 2, 1955

Professor Nicholas J. Demerath
Department of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Professor Demerath:

We have been requested by Mr. Davis McEntire, Research Director of Housing, to arrange an informal one-day conference of people familiar with bi-racial aspects of housing in the South. The purpose of the conference, in Mr. McEntire's words, is to help the Commission "choose the most fruitful foci of research in the South."

This is to invite you to take part in such a meeting in Atlanta on November 21. Final details will be fixed shortly; meanwhile, tentative plans are to hold the meeting at Atlanta University, beginning at 10 A. M. and ending no later than 4 P. M. Travel and other expenses will, of course, be paid by the Commission.

The Commission on Race and Housing, as you may know, is an independent commission recently established under a grant from the Fund for the Republic. Its research office is located in Berkeley, California.

The Commission would be greatly benefitted by your experience with an insight into the problems of housing and race in the South, and we earnestly hope you will find it possible to attend.

Since we are inviting a quite limited number of persons -- no more than twelve -- I will appreciate an early answer from you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/ys

November 2, 1955

Dr. Herman Long
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Long:

We have been requested by Mr. Davis McEntire, Research Director of Housing, to arrange an informal one-day conference of people familiar with bi-racial aspects of housing in the South. The purpose of the conference, in Mr. McEntire's words, is to help the Commission "choose the most fruitful foci of research in the South."

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Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HF/ys

Mr. Maceo Smith
2407 Thomas Avenue
Dallas, Texas

Dear Mr. Smith:

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Since we are inviting a quite limited number of persons -- no more than twelve -- I will appreciate an early answer from you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/ys

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

November 3, 1955

Mr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council
Room 422
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Flemming:

I have your recent letter regarding the one-day conference on bi-racial aspects of housing in the South which will be held with Dr. Davis McEntire of the Commission on Race and Housing in Atlanta on November 21.

I very much appreciate your invitation to attend this meeting. You may expect me at the sessions which begin at 10:00 a.m. at Atlanta University.

Best of wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Herman H. Long

HHL:MDW

FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION
1114 Commerce Street, Room 1415
Dallas 2, Texas

~~OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR~~
DALLAS, TEXAS

IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO:
Racial Relations Service

November 7, 1955

AIR MAIL SPECIAL

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
62 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Reference is made to your November 5th letter inviting me to participate in a meeting at Atlanta University, Monday, November 21st, which is planned for a discussion of race and housing.

While I am very anxious to attend and to participate in the conference, official clearance with the Federal Housing Administration is necessary. I would, therefore, suggest that you write immediately to Commissioner Norman P. Mason, Federal Housing Administration, Washington 25, D.C., sending a copy of the letter to Dr. George W. Snowden, Minority Group Housing Adviser, Federal Housing Administration, Washington 25, D.C., requesting official clearance on this matter.

If such clearance is affected, I would be in a better and more strategic position to serve the purposes intended.

Sincerely,

A. Maceo Smith

A. Maceo Smith
Racial Relations Officer

AMS/hwb

MEMORANDUM

TO:

FROM:

DATE:

SUBJECT:

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Please excuse a hurried note. Thank for your invitation for Nov. 21. I will be glad to come.

Nick Demeratte
11/8/55

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

November 11, 1955

Mrs. Margaret Breland
Metropolitan Planning Commission
Glenn Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Peg:

I am hoping that you will find it possible to take part in the informal discussion meeting on Race and Housing on November 21st. The meeting will begin at 10:00 a. m. in the Board Room of the Administration Building, Atlanta University, 223 Chestnut St., S. W., and should be over by about 4:00 p. m. Needless to say, we would be grateful for your presence at any part of the meeting, if you can't be there for all of it.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

November 11, 1955

Prof. Nicholas Demerath
Institute for Research and Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Mr. Demerath:

We are delighted that you find it possible to take part in the one day discussion meeting which we are arranging for the Commission on Race and Housing.

The meeting will begin at 10:00 a. m. Wednesday, November 21, in the Board Room of the Administration Building, Atlanta University, 223 Chestnut St., S. W. The meeting should be over about 4:00 p. m.

If you would like us to reserve overnight accomodations for you, please let me know as soon as possible.

I shall look forward to seeing you on the 21st.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

November 11, 1955

Mr. Hubert Jackson
250 Auburn Av., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Hubert:

We are delighted that you find it possible to take part in the one day discussion meeting which we are arranging for the Commission on Race and Housing.

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Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

November 11, 1955

Dr. Herman Long
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Herman:

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If you would like us to reserve overnight accomodations for you, please let me know as soon as possible.

I shall look forward to seeing you on the 21st.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

November 11, 1955

Mr. Maceo Smith
2407 Thomas Avenue
Dallas, Texas

Dear Mr. Smith:

We greatly hope that the official clearance will come through and that you will be with us at the meeting on Race and Housing on November 21st.

The meeting will begin at 10:00 a. m. in the Board Room of the Administration Building of Atlanta University, 223 Chestnut St., S. W. I should think it would be over by about 4:00 p. m.

I will look forward hopefully to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

November 11, 1955

Mr. Robert Stuart
Metropolitan Planning Commission
Glenn Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bob:

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Harold C. Fleming,
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HCF:mf

November 11, 1955

Mr. A. L. Thompson
Room 303
250 Auburn Av. N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

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Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
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Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Av. N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

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Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

November 14, 1955

Prof. Nicholas Demerath
Institute for Research and Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Mr. Demerath:

In my letter to you of November 11, I find I said that the Housing Conference would be taking place on Wednesday, November 21. I should have said Monday, of course, which is the correct day of the week. I am looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

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250 Auburn Av., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

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Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

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Atlanta, Georgia

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Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Av. N. E.
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Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

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HAROLD C FLEMING=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST
ATLA=

WOULD APPREICATE YOUR ARRANGING FOR RECORD OF CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS. RECORD SHOULD BE EXTENSIVE BUT NOT NECESSARILY VERBATIM THANKS=

DAVIS MCENTIRE=...

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

November 11, 1955

Mr. Davis McEntire
Commission on Race and Housing
2180 Milvia Street
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Mr. McEntire:

This is to confirm the plans for a small Conference of persons familiar with minority groups housing in the south.

The meeting is set for the Board Room, Administration Building, Atlanta University, 10 a. m., Monday, November 21st. Luncheon at Atlanta University will be provided for, and I am advising participants that the meeting will probably end by four o'clock.

To date the following persons have accepted:

Robert A. Thompson, Atlanta Urban League.
Robert Stuart, Director, Atlanta Metropolitan Planning Commission.
Lester H. Persells, until recently an Official of the Public Housing Administration, now in business in Jacksonville, Florida.
Hubert Jackson, PHA Race Relations Advisor, Atlanta.
Al Thompson, FHA Race Relations Advisor, Atlanta.
Maceo Smith, FHA, Race Relations Advisor, Dallas.
Dr. Herman Long, Race Relations Department, Fisk University, Nashville.
Mrs. Margaret Breland, Planning and Research Specialist, Atlanta.
Prof. Nicholas Demerath, Institute for Research and Social Science, University of North Carolina.

Of these persons accepting, Persells is the only self-employed professional for whom an honorarium would be mandatory. One or two others who have not finally accepted may be in this category. In

addition to the persons invited, two members of the Southern Regional Council's staff might appropriately take part.

I might add that each of the persons invited was selected by us on the basis of not only his official position or professional speciality, but also his personal interest and insight.

I will welcome your suggestions and comments on the plans as they now stand, and will look forward to seeing you on the 21st.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

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TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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:HAROLD FLEMING ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR=
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ROOM
432 63 AUBURN AVE NE ATLA=
RE MY TELEGRAM 17TH CAN YOU CONFIRM DAT FOR ATLANTA
CONFERENCE ON MINORITY HOUSING=
:DAVIS MCENTIRE=•••

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:HAROLD C FLEMING ASSISTANT DIRECTOR=
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC=ROOM 432 63 AUBURN
AVE NE ATLA=

ACCORDANCE YOUR LETTER 13TH PLEASE PROCEED WITH PLANS
FOR CONFERENCE EARLIEST DATE POSSIBLE SUGGEST LIMITING
INVITATIONS TO 10 OR 12 PERSONS MOST COMPETENT TO
ADVISE ON RESEARCH WILL COVER ALL EXPENSES• YOUR
COOPERATION APPREICATED=
:DAVIS MCENTIRE•••

October 13, 1955

Mr. Davis McEntire
Research Office
2180 Milvia Street
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Mr. McEntire:

Mail between here and the Coast being what it is, I tried to reach you today by telephone, but was unsuccessful. Hence, this somewhat delayed reply to your letter of October 6.

We will be glad to assist the Commission on Race and Housing by arranging a meeting of Southerners who are knowledgeable about housing for minority groups. Unfortunately, people close to the research side of this question in the South are extremely rare. However, there are people who have had practical experience in the field and have reflected deeply on it. Because of Atlanta's importance as a regional center, a good many of these people are locally available. Perhaps half-a-dozen would have to be brought from other cities, at an average travel expense of about $100 each. Of the total group, perhaps three would require honoraria of about $50, since they are self-employed professional people. I suppose much for the group would be included in the cost of the conference. Some reimbursement to the Southern Regional Council for its overhead costs in arranging the conference would be appreciated.

The earliest date feasible for such a conference would be November 21 or thereabouts.

Let us know how these tentative proposals strike you, and we will proceed, on the basis agreed upon, to develop a firm list, issue the invitations, and make the necessary physical arrangements for the meeting.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/ys

THornwell 3-8558

COMMISSION ON RACE AND HOUSING

AN INDEPENDENT COMMISSION OPERATING UNDER A GRANT FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

Haf - advise Dan what to do on this

RESEARCH OFFICE:
2180 MILVIA STREET
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

EARL B. SCHWULST, CHAIRMAN
NEW YORK

GORDON W. ALLPORT
CAMBRIDGE

ELLIOTT V. BELL
NEW YORK

LAIRD BELL
CHICAGO

JOHN J. CAVANAUGH, C.S.C.
NOTRE DAME

PETER GRIMM
NEW YORK

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
NASHVILLE

CHARLES KELLER, JR.
NEW ORLEANS

CLARK KERR
BERKELEY

PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK
CHICAGO

HENRY R. LUCE
NEW YORK

STANLEY MARCUS
DALLAS

H. C. McCLELLAN
LOS ANGELES

WARD MELVILLE
NEW YORK

FRANCIS T. P. PLIMPTON
NEW YORK

R. STEWART RAUCH, JR.
PHILADELPHIA

ROBERT R. TAYLOR
CHICAGO

RESEARCH DIRECTOR:
DAVIS McENTIRE
BERKELEY

October 6, 1955

OCT 8 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

As you may know, the Commission on Race and Housing is engaged in a national study of minority group housing problems. We are anxious to obtain the best expert advice with respect to the focus of our research in different parts of the country. Dr. Frank Loescher has suggested that we ask you for some help in this regard.

Would it be possible for your organization to sponsor an informal one-day conference of experts on housing in the South? What I think we most need at this point is a small group meeting of not more than ten or twelve people close to the research side of the problem, who could help us choose the most fruitful foci of research in the South.

If you think such a conference is possible, could it be held fairly soon? As we are just now in the process of planning our studies, the earlier we could have such a conference, the better. Could you also give us some estimate of the cost of such a conference? We should, of course, pay all expenses, including travel of participants and any costs incurred by your office in arranging the meeting. We could also pay a limited number of honoraria, provided the total expenditure did not become too large.

I should be grateful for your attention to this matter at your early convenience.

Sincerely,

Davis McEntire

Davis McEntire

DMcE:ba

PERSONS PROPOSED FOR HOUSING AND RACE CONFERENCE, NOV. ~~22~~ 21st

Robert A. Thompson, Atlanta Urban League

Philip Hammer, Hammer & Company

Morris B. Abram, Atlanta Attorney

Robert Stuart, director, Metropolitan Planning Commission, Atlanta

Lester H. Persells, ex-PHA, Jacksonville businessman HU 8 9729 Buckl TCW.

WA 4121 FEN 2-10. Hubert Jackson, PHA race relations adviser, Atlanta

WA 5511 Al Thompson, FHA race relations adviser, Atlanta WA 8811

Maceo Smith, ~~ex-HHFA~~ FHA race relations adviser, Dallas, Texas

Mrs. V. E. Virrick, 8400 Old Cutler Road, Miami, Fla. (Routh)
Researcher, ~~prepa~~ preparing book on minority housing

Westbrook McPherson, Urban League executive, New Orleans (RAT)

Thelma McEwen, Urban League executive, Fort Worth (RAT)

W. H. Aiken, contractor, Atlanta (RAT)

W. C. Dutton, Jr., Charleston County Planning Board, Rm 427, The Center, Charleston, S. C. (RAT)

write Preston Valien)
Herman Long) Fisk University

Wallace McKey, Urban Redevelopment, HHFA, Atlanta (Hammer)

? Margaret Breeland (Mrs.), Met Plng Comm (?), Atlanta (Stuart, Hammer)

Eric Hill, private planner, Atlanta; lately directed housing program in Puerto Rico. (Stuart)

write UNC Institute for Research in Social Science (Blackwell or who?) (Hammer)

Tulane School of Social Work (check with Sytz?) (Hammer)

Gladys Tillett (Mrs.) - Charlotte, civic, & political, & welfare leader. (Hammer)

(Others Kaufman (Mobile), Mattison (Charlotte), Zuber & Maslin Atlanta.)

Nicholas Demerath

+ Honorarium -

223 chestnut

W. C. Dutton Jr
Charleston Co. Plng Bd
Rm 427
The Center
Charleston SC

Louis S. Smythe
Prof Christian Comm
The College of the Bible
Lexington, Ky

November 17, 1955

Mr. Nicholas Demerath
Institute for Research and Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Mr. Demerath:

At your request, we have reserved a room for you at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel (formerly The Ansley) for Sunday Night, November 20th.

Yours very truly,

Mrs. Roy Fiske,
Secretary,
Harold Fleming.

MEMORANDUM

TO:

FROM:

DATE:

SUBJECT:

Dear Mr. Fleming:

If you can get me a room at the Ansley or another down-town hotel, or out at Atlanta Univ. I would appreciate it. I'll arrive Sunday evening (by EAL) about 9:00 PM.

Thanks very much.

Nick Demeratt.

Nicholas
Univ. N.C.
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Dunbar Hotel

La 2461
98 Forsyth N.W.

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

Housing Conf.

FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OFFICE OF
THE COMMISSIONER

November 17, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is to acknowledge your letter of November 8, informing me of a proposed one day meeting on minority group housing problems in the South.

I regret that it is not feasible at this time to comply with your request that Mr. A. Maceo Smith be granted clearance to participate in this meeting. However, we have on our Atlanta staff Mr. Albert L. Thompson, who serves in a capacity similar to Mr. Smith. Mr. Thompson has been with this Agency for a considerable period and has acquired extensive knowledge and skill in the area of your concern. I would suggest, therefore, that you may wish to contact the FHA Director in Atlanta and request that Mr. Thompson take part in your program next week.

I sincerely trust that your meeting will be successful.

Very truly yours,

Norman P. Mason

Norman P. Mason
Commissioner

THE COMMISSION ON RACE AND HOUSING MEETING

Atlanta, Georgia

November 21, 1955

The meeting convened in the Board Room of the Atlanta University Administration Building at 10:00 a. m., November 21. A list of those in attendance is attached.

Mr. Fleming introduced Mr. McEntire and stated that the purpose of the meeting was to bring together people who know the situation of housing in the South to discuss the situation. The purpose of the meeting is not to come up with any statements for the record or in any way to have publicized results.

Mr. McEntire, also, expressed appreciation from the Commission on Race and Housing to those who had come here to Atlanta to confer on minority housing. The Commission is a grantee of the Fund for the Republic but is entirely free and independent to carry on its studies as it sees fit. The members of the commission are business executives, bankers, builders, and educators. Their first objective is to conduct an inquiry into the facts of minority group housing. Facts touching such questions as where minorities can live and what the obstacles are that prevent mimorities from living in certain residential areas. He is meeting with various groups over the country seeking to discover what the principal foci of this study should be.

Discussion was invited to proceed. Would a principal focus of study be a "look into alternatives to the segregation pattern?"

It was pointed out that there are a lot of different kinds of segregation in the south. One kind has been between the townspeople and

the mill people, which is being largely broken down. It was also brought out that Negroes are increasingly buying rather than renting housing, partly the result of homestead exemption.

Some communities don't realize that they have non-segregation. There are apartment houses with both Negro and white occupants, yet they don't seem to realize this, or want to face up to it as an issue. There are other minority groups besides the Negro in the South: the Latin-Americans in Tampa, Florida, for example. In many groups they started off with segregated housing and gradually became nonsegregated. Columbia, South Carolina is an example.

Mr. Fleming asked: To what extent is the national goal of Integregation a practical community objective in the South at the present? Mr. McEntire described the rationalization used to justify segregation: "Why do minorities need integrated housing? Minorities should have housing that they need, luxuries, etc., but in their own community." This view is widely held in the North and West but it is unworkable there. An adequate supply of segregated housing can not be made available to minority groups. Builders run into tremendous problems of finding sites, financial backing, markets among low income groups, etc. Because of these factors and public opinion segregated housing is not built, but neither is integrated housing made available. It was emphasized that there are many different patterns of segregation in the South. Would it be possible to explore these different patterns?

Mr. Fleming made the statement that any approach to Southern Housing must assume that integregation is the only ultimate solution that is compatible with moral and economic health. Is there agreement on this?

It was brought out that segregation exists on the basis of class. The commission is largely concerned with segregation on the basis of race. However, there is a relation between income and minority housing. Integrated housing is a valid ideal to work toward. But low income does have an important bearing on keeping the minority groups where they are in the slums.

Mr. McEntire told about the situation in San Francisco, which has a reputation of being liberal in race relations. Although there has been an enormous increase in the Negro population in San Francisco, there has been no new housing for Negroes. A lot of Negro families would like to have better homes but can't get them. San Francisco can not build a segregated housing project. Very few builders have built integrated housing projects. The increase in Negro population has been absorbed or integrated but mostly into the lower or middle-class neighborhood. Segregation has been handled informally with the result that the minority group in that area have no new housing at all. In Atlanta segregated housing projects have been built, sometimes surrounded by white neighborhoods. The conclusion was drawn that the system of segregation does seem to permit more supply than San Francisco's kind of liberalism.

It seems that there are two sources of housing for Negroes:-- segregated housing built privately or white neighborhoods changed over to Negro.

The Real estate brokers' code calls for selling only to those who will be "happy" in that neighborhood. This prevailing policy of the real estate interests is at cross purposes with the ultimate aim of integration.

Mrs. Virrick believes that we need to take advantage of situations as they arise. For example, down near Miami, some white people wanted to be admitted to a Negro housing development and were refused admittance. If properly handled, this situation might have been of great value in moving toward integration in housing.

The power of the real estate lobby is such that those who lean toward open occupancy are frustrated by the system. Mortgage bankers, loan companies, and builders, etc., present a complexity of trade associations. To what extent is this a primary block in the south?

The pattern of segregation is deeply imbedded in the culture of the south; is it really true that the realtors are really blocking progress?

It seems that in Mobile, Ala., builders and realtors are definitely doing this by replacing mixed neighborhoods with segregated housing. Housing patterns are of vital importance in the whole question of School segregation. This motivates conservative community leadership to extend segregation patterns when they did not formerly exist.

It was suggested that the trend toward more vocational schools in the south, set up and operated across district lines, might have an effect on the subject. Baltimore school situation was cited as an example. This led to a discussion of whether school integration would be of much value in leading toward integrated housing. When people of the two races have an opportunity to sit down together and rub shoulders together and become acquainted it tends to break down barriers. However, it was felt that many other factors -- such as economic opportunities -- would be more crucial than the consideration of school integration in connection with minority housing.

It was suggested that the real estate operator is fundamentally interested in dollars and it would be worthwhile if we could find facts to demonstrate ~~to them~~ that desegregation of housing will not affect his profits. There are around 1500 real estate salesmen in Atlanta. These men have been taught that you put people of like religions, color, race, etc. together. Is there any way to deal with the kind of training that real estate salesmen receive? This might be a direct approach to the housing markets.

Is the study going to reveal anything relative to the cost of minority housing and the cost to the city administration of providing utility lines, etc., for segregated developments?

Who wins and who loses when a Negro takes over an old house in a borderline area? A white person who vacates must go to a suburban area. Does he get as much housing by moving? Perhaps he sells for $15,000, and puts it all into a smaller house in the suburbs where there is no school, etc. Housing cannot be considered only in terms of a dwelling but must include all the amenities that go to make up a neighborhood and good living. What has redevelopment in housing done to racial patterns?

One discussant summarized: It seems to me that much of our discussion has pointed to a consideration of housing markets, production, distribution, and consumer demands. Market characteristics differ according to local conditions. What are the community characteristics which are most meaningful in shaping market situations? One aspect of study might deal with some kind of comparative treatment in regard to community market situations.

Mr. McEntire said that the Commission had in mind concentrated

field work in two metropolitan areas in the South. The choice is between doing a study in two or three places in depth and intensity, or a more surface, journalistic approach which would cover more communities but lack depth.

What about comparing what happens under one set of community market conditions and another. Work out some set of variables according to what has actually happened in this field. What are the salient traditions of communities of one extreme, as contrasted with one at the other extreme? Work out a classification whereby you select your metropolitan areas and smaller communities and attempt some sort of action program. For instance Miami is different from Atlanta and Charleston differs from Louisville, What kind of action program could be used to study these differences at first hand? The Health Information Foundation has done a couple of trial studies on health programs. The procedure was to get the various strategic groups in the community to form discussion groups to figure out on their own how to have a more adequate health program. Psychologists and sociologists learned a lot from this proceedure.

We should be interested in the theapeutic value of such an approach to the city. What can we do to awaken the people so that they will be at least as vocal as those on the other side? It was felt that no research group such as Mr. McEntire's could promise any immediate relief of this kind.

Along about 1943 election time Atlanta's mayor campaigned to annex newly settled suburban areas to the city because so many white people had moved out of Atlanta, leaving more Negroes in the center of the city. This might be an effective argument in supplying suburban

housing for Negroes, thus eliminating dense, expensive slums in the central city.

Expansion of city people into suburbs is usually all white rather then Negro. However, there are some segregated suburbs in Miami and also other places.

It was suggested that a lot might be learned from a wide sampling of areas that already have programs underway. However, you can learn a lot about changes in housing from looking at one situation.

In Dallas there were some bombings several years ago when some Negroes moved into a section. This alarmed the city authorities and the Chamber of Commerce appointed an Interracial Council to survey the situation. The result was that they picked out a number of scattered spots throughout the city and designated them as Negro housing areas. In other words they came up with a concrete plan of segregation. Is this the kind of "critical incident" of which we ought to make a study? Who stood where and why? What happened?

What about Negroes who take part in local committees seeking to maintain segregation? You have to look at the reason behind the action, the power behind them that causes them to make such decisions. You cannot always accept the recommendations of interracial councils. Such groups may, for their own interests, make some moves which would not be ultimate progress toward integration. On the other hand, the result may transcend the keeping of the tradition.

How can you get good middle class or neighborhood housing? Do you look for a neighborhood that can become integrated or do you look for a piece of ground? Does a group try to promote integration or try to promote what can be achieved now?

AFTERNOON SESSION

The last point in the morning discussion was summarized: "To what extent is there constructive organized effort to get racial integration in housing in the south? People who seek minority housing under the present system may have different motivations: Some favor integration while others are opposed; but they work in the same practical context.

Actually there always has been and still remains a great deal of integrated living, in the sense that the two races share the same geographical area. When proposals are made for new housing, public or private, the pattern seems always to be to extend and intensify racial segration. What is it that causes private builders and governmental agencies to operate on the premise that segration is the only way?

FHA has little opportunity to approve integrated housing developments. The pattern is that a builder comes in with a piece of land on which he has an option; the FHA asks "Is it insurable? Are there transportation and utilities?" etc. If all these things are present, there is really no justification for turning it down on the basis of race. We need to encourage builders to come in and try something in the line of open occupancy.

The race relations officers of FHA are in a peculiar position sometimes because they are accused of perpetuating segregation because they have to go ahead with what is proposed. What is preferable, to leave people with no housing at all, or go ahead with things as they are?

Will there be anything in the study in regard to the cost of housing, to the individual and to the municipal govenment? The study will deal with the value of Negro housing in comparison with whate hous-

ing; whether the Negro is exploited, whether he has to pay more than the white person for the same housing. Due to segregation in the city, the Negro pays more for land than the white. Any study that omits the cost to the person or to the city is going to fall short.

Mr. McEntire would like to know whether land is available for construction to meet the needs of minorities even on a segregated basis and at what price.

The Atlanta Urban League in one area west of here opened an area for Negroes and land values jumped right away. Need three or four more in order to bring the property value down. Also, in order to make these areas useful, we need sewage, water, lights, transportation.

In the event of the so-called "fleeing in the face of Negro encroachment" what is the financial profit? It increases property values if it is known that Negroes are moving into a neighbourhood. If an owner cannot sell to white persons, sometimes rumors are started of Negroes moving in, which starts a panic in the neighbourhood and a rush of sales at inflated prices to Negroes. However, will the white person who sells because the Negro is moving in not pay <u>more</u> for <u>less</u> housing by moving? His new housing is not better and he has a new mortgage to pay off. This type of white person is exploited because he doesn't get as much for his money by selling, and, in most cases, because he sells from fright and not from the profit motive. He is usually middle-class or poor and can ill afford a move, but moves in panic and loses financially by moving. Some white persons, however, deliberately set out to exploit these situations. It has been noted in a number of cases that the first house to be sold is the last house to be bought. It might be interesting to learn how many people

move from one "transition" area to another.

Foci of investigation might be: 1. Increasing the supply of land for construction; 2. Transforming existing areas into integrated housing; 3. Increasing the density of minority housing already existing.

Does the Negro have to pay more for financing housing than the white person? It is generally higher all over the south. However, there are several exceptions where there are Negro owned and directed institutions and the discount rate is not as high. Some groups don't invite Negro applications. What percentage of the total is being financed by either FHA or VA? The Building and Loan Associations are making serious inroads on that type of financing.

We need to deal with the total housing problem as well as integration. Density is one way of increasing supply but perhaps other ways are more helpful. Why is it that when we have hundreds of Negroes and whites living side by side some neighborhoods stay stable and some are constantly shifting and changing. It has to do with the attitudes of the people. For example, the Atlanta mayor's calm, sensible reception of the parks decision and the panic attitude on the state level. We need to know why.

It was suggested that the stable neighbourhoods are of two types: 1. Where contacts are of unequal status, as servant to master; and 2. where there is real neighborliness, and no fears of caste violations; in other words, where there is security.

What kinds of interracial neighborhoods do we know about? In Knoxville, Negro population is 10% while here it is 25%. The white section is larger and older and several Negro professional people bought

into it. They could buy anywhere they wanted to in the city. What is the difference? Why there, and not in Atlanta?

An instance was related of a Negro and white family living side by side who were very warm personal friends. It was suggested that probably this would occur at the top or bottom of the economic ladder. Expedience sometimes causes integration, as when Negroes and whites were both drinking from a Negro water fountain when it was unusually hot. Interpretation is important. The people in such situations are not conscious of integration and when you define it as such you get a kick-back. Example: Natchez, where Negroes and whites lived side by side and used the same drugstore fountain, but when the abstract question of integration was brought up the white drugstore owner was violently against it.

How can we create something new? Can you translate these deviations from the accepted pattern caused by expediency into housing opportunities? Perhaps these deviations are the handhold we are looking for in interracial housing.

There seem to be a different type of politician in Richmond and Knoxville. They have not been so vocal in attempting to retain the status-quo. However, it is not the facts but what the leaders say about the facts that we must examine. For instance when politicians state their platforms are unanimous in support of the supreme court decision, we need to ask why? Did they respond to the underlying feeling of the community to votes: Is it for expeciency in their campaign or from real interest in the ultimate goal?

If we could get one situation adequately studied, perhaps we could transfer the know-how or methods used to other areas. Once we get

legal integration on the institutional level, there will be less tolerance of integration in housing, since that will bring more whites and Negroes into proximity.

We have groups where there are caste taboos and where there are no caste taboos involved. Perhaps you get the greater acceptance in interracial relations in the non-caste related situation. All housing situations belong in one of these categories.

What effect has the acceptance of Negroes in skilled jobs had? The Director of Personnel of North Carolina stated that 900 Negroes are employed as scientists and technologists in the South. What effect is this going to have on housing integration?

Korean War Veterans were a most vocal group for integration, although World War II Veterans were much opposed. The opinion was expressed that they might talk this way as students but they wouldn't stand up and be counted when they got home and were involved in community life. The difficulty of getting educated and professional people to come back to Southern areas after they have received their education was mentioned.

Integration on one level has little effect on integration at another level. However, the capacity for compartmentalization need not be discredited. In some cases it has been helpful in school integration.

Who is responsible for discrimination and segregation in housing? What forces? Is it the bankers, the real estate brokers, the builders, who are directly responsible for the housing shortage for minorities? If the truly responsible group is made known, many of their rationalizations will collapse. However, it was felt that it would take more then an exposé to get action. An aspect of the study might be an assessment of forces that

make for change.

Prudential Insurance Company was quoted as giving around 40% of the loans for Negro housing. However, another opinion was that this was not true in this region which has the largest volume of Negro loans. They are beginning to get financing from a lot of lending institutions that have not previously been willing. Most of the major associations have appointed committees to see how they can help in the racial housing situation. It might be interesting to see what they are doing.

How much help can Mr. McEntire get from Dr. Wolfe at the University of Miami? Would he have any data series on new housing or open occupancy? Are there other such studies in the South? Prof. Demerath has a list of people who were doing research in housing.

What about the study in rural areas and small towns? How advantageous would it be to include these areas? How could we most advantageously localize studies in the South? If we are to investigate planning, financial questions, various facts affecting old areas as well as new areas, what Negroes pay for old housing as well as new housing and so on, would it be of more value to localize all of these various topics in two metropolitan areas or examine the different factors in differing community situations.

It was suggested that graduate students in various Southern University centers might do some of the research within an overall research pattern.

For metropolitan areas, had thought of Atlanta and Memphis, New Orleans and Houston. What criteria will be used in selecting cities? It should be an area where minority population is expanding so that the

community needs to do something. It should also be generally representative of its section.

On a national level, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, D. C. are among the cities being studied. Will the study try to evaluate cities in regions or various kinds in various sections. Each section has different patterns. It is anticipated that the Southwest, where the historic pattern is breaking down, will represent one pattern while the deep South will have a more traditional pattern.

It was suggested that of the two cities, one be "reactionary" and one "progressive". What about using Negro migratory figures in helping select cities? A city which has had harmonious racial adjustments and a city where there has been disharmony. Houston is the largest, most rapidly growing city in the South and also has had racial problems. The Atlanta situation, where Negro areas are surrounded by whites, might not produce findings that would be helpful elsewhere.

Criteria for selecting the metropolitan areas might be:- Is Housing change successfully accomplished? Unsuccessfully accomplished? Migrant changes. One city where change was successfully pulled off and one where it was not. Processes of change -- that would be the main fact. Matching two cities from each region. Houston, Louisville and Richmond might be considered good or progressive. Birmingham the worst.

Attending the COMMISSION ON RACE AND HOUSING MEETING were:

Dr. Herman Long, Race Relations Department, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

Prof. Nicholas Demerath, Institute for Research and Social Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. Y.

Mr. Robert Stuart, Metropolitan Planning Commission, Glenn Building, Atlanta

Mr. Robert A. Thompson, Atlanta Urban League, 239 Auburn Av., N. E.,Atlanta

Mr. Hubert Jackson, 250 Auburn Av., N. E., Atlanta, PHA Race Relations Advisor

Mr. A. L. Thompson, FHA Race Relations Advisor, Rm. 303, 250 Auburn Av. N. E. Atlanta

Mr. Lester H. Persells, Jacksonville, Florida

Mrs. V. E. Virrick, Miami, Florida

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Southern Regional Council, Room 432, 63 Auburn Av., N. E., Atlanta

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Southern Regional Council, Room 432, 63 Auburn Av., N. E., Atlanta

Mr. Davis McEntire, Commission on Race and Housing.

CONFERENCE ON RACE AND HOUSING - November 21, 1955

Dr. Herman Long, Race Relations Department, Fisk University, Nashville.

Prof. Nicholas Demerath, Institute for Research and Social Science
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Mr. Robert Stuart, Metropolitan Plannin Commission, Glenn Building, Atlanta

Mr. Robert A. Thompson, Atlanta Urban League, 239 Auburn Av., N. E.

Mr. Hubert Jackson, 250 Auburn Av., N. E., PHA Race Relations Advisor

Mr. A. L. Thompson, FHA Race Relations Advisor, Rm. 303, 250 Auburn Av.,N.E.

Mr. Maceo Smith, FHA Race Relations Advisor, Dallas, 2407 Thomas Av.

Mrs. Margaret Breland, Metropolitan Planning Commission, Glenn Building,
Atlanta

Mr. Lester H. Persells, until recently an Official of the Public Housing
Administration, now in business in Jacksonville, Fla.

Board Room - Administration Building - Atlanta University - 10:00 a. m.

Monday, November 21st, 1955.

Mr. Davis McEntire, Commission on Race and Housing.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Southern Regional Council.

December 2, 1955

Mr. Davis McEntire
Research Department
COMMISSION ON RACE AND HOUSING
2180 Milvia Street
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Mr. McEntire:

Enclosed is the transcript of Mrs. Fiske's notes on the Housing Meeting. We have made no effort to process them, feeling that you are the one who can best decide the final form which the records should take.

I am sorry I didn't get to see you again before you left. One of the things I had hoped to discuss with you was the financial aspect of the meeting. $200.00 is our best estimate of the cost to SRC. This includes the luncheon, clerical and communications, and general overhead. If this doesn't seem reasonable to you let me know.

I hope the meeting was as fruitful from your point of view as it was from ours. Let us know whenever we can be of assistance to the Commission on Race and Housing.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

Enc.

December 9, 1955

Mr. Davis McEntire
COMMISSION ON RACE AND HOUSING Conf
Research Office
2180 Milvia Street
Berkeley, California

Dear Mr. McEntire:

Enclosed is an expense voucher sent in by Elizabeth Virrick. I thought it simplest to forward it to you.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

Conference

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CHICAGO

RESEARCH DIRECTOR:
DAVIS McENTIRE
BERKELEY

RESEARCH OFFICE:
2180 MILVIA STREET
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

December 12, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This will acknowledge your letter of December 2 and Mrs. Fiske's notes on the Housing Conference. The conference was most helpful--actually more illuminating to me than would appear from the written proceedings. After the conference, I had good talks with several of the participants. As a result we are proceeding with the Southern part of our study with considerably more confidence than before. We shall probably put more emphasis on Southern conditions than was earlier intended.

I have asked our Treasurer to send you a check for $200, and we are paying the participants' bills as presented. It is good to know that we are welcome to call on the Southern Regional Council for more help and very likely we shall do so.

Cordially,

Davis

Davis McEntire

DMcE:ba

HEA

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RESEARCH DIRECTOR:
DAVIS McENTIRE
BERKELEY

January 18, 1956

RESEARCH OFFICE:
2180 MILVIA STREET
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

RECEIVED JAN 23 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Although Fred did an outstanding job at the Milwaukee Conference, I was very disappointed that you weren't there so we could have had a visit.

I am now engaged in building up the file of pamphlets and fugitive materials for staff use and have come across several of your publications which we would like if they are available:

"The Negro in Our Economy" by W. Hardin Hughes

New South - April, 1948 Housing in our cities
November, 1948
April, May, 1950 Greenville's Big Idea
August, 1950
October, 1951

We already have the following on file:

"Answers for Action. Schools in the South"

"Changing Patterns in the New South"

"Safety, Security, and the South"

New South, July-October, 1955.

If you have any other publications relative to our general problem area, will you please send them to us. If there is any charge, please bill us. I am assuming that we are already on your mailing list for current and future publications until September, 1956.

Happy New Year!

Cordially,

Helen

Helen E. Amerman
Research Associate

HEA:ba

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Commission on Race and Housing
2180 Milvia Street
Berkeley 4, California

Att: Miss Helen E. Amerman - January 24, 1956

Purchase order number
Date shipped **1/24/56**

1 each of the following:

NEW SOUTH -	April, 1948	$ 0.10
	November, 1948	.10
	April-May, 1950	.10
	August, 1950	.10
	October, 1951	.10
THE NEGRO IN OUR ECONOMY		.10
		$ 0.60

January 24, 1956

Miss Helen Amerman, Research Associate
Commission on Race and Housing
2180 Milvia Street
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Helen :

Here are the pamphlets and a tiny bill.

The Southern Regional Council does not have a mailing list and we will have to ask your Commission to subscribe to New South which will cost them two dollars a year. That will give you a copy of everything we print in the next twelve months.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

COMMISSION ON RACE AND HOUSING

AN INDEPENDENT COMMISSION OPERATING UNDER A GRANT FROM
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January 30, 1956

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BERKELEY

RESEARCH OFFICE:
2180 MILVIA STREET
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

RECEIVED ~~JAN~~ Feb. 4 1956

Dr. Mitchell -
we do not have

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

CR rha

Thank you for the materials. I am enclosing a check for $2.60 to cover the invoice and a subscription to New South. Since we shall complete our project in the late fall of 1956, could it be arranged to back-date the subscription to November 1, 1955 and give us the materials which you have since then, stopping with October, 1956?

Since my first letter to you, we have been informed that two items requested at their sources are no longer available; and I am wondering if by any chance you have spare copies or ones which we might borrow:

Barry Bishop, "The Negro Problem--Housing a Basic Factor." Dallas: Housing Authority of the City of Dallas, 1944.

Community Council of Greenville County (S.C.),"The Big Idea Goes On," 1951. 5 pp. (mimeo.)

Sincerely yours,

Helen

Helen E. Amerman
Research Associate

Suppose we

HEA:ba
Enclosure

February 8, 1956

Miss Helen E. Amerman, Research Associate
Commission on Race and Housing
2180 Milvia Street
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Helen:

We appreciate the $2.60. Your subscription will commence with November 1, 1955.

The item you list in your letter of February 4;

> Barry Bishop, "The Negro Problem--Housing a Basic Factor." Dallas: Housing Authority of the City of Dallas, 1944

was never ours and we have not got a copy. I think that if you would write to the Race Relations Commission, Dallas Chamber of Commerce, they would scare you up one.

The other item we send separately.

Devotedly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

COMMISSION ON RACE AND HOUSING

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February 23, 1956

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RESEARCH DIRECTOR:
DAVIS McENTIRE
BERKELEY

RESEARCH OFFICE:
2180 MILVIA STREET
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Pubs have been sent

Dear George:

Thank you for the two publications on Greenville's Big Idea.

Enclosed is $ .10 (Camp Rha), for which please send us a copy of the April, 1948, special number of New South devoted to "Housing in the South" by Helen Bridgman.

If this costs more, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Helen

Helen E. Amerman
Research Associate

HEA:ba
Enclosure

Sent 2/28/56 Rh.

March 15, 1957

Mr. Davis McEntire
Research Director
Commission on Race and Housing
2180 Milvia Street
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Dave:

I thought you would be interested in seeing the enclosed letter written to me a short time ago by Phil Hammer. Phil's understanding of our plans, as explained in the first sentence, is a little exaggerated. We have a deep concern for the question of house supply for Negroes in the South, but can hardly claim that we are developing a long-run program.

What I am hoping is that the results of your studies may provide the stimulus for the development of such a program under some appropriate auspices. I shall be looking forward to your publications and hope you will keep me posted on the prospects for further activities by the Commission on Race and Housing.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

cc: Frank Loescher

EAB - Send copy to Bob Thompson. H.

RECEIVED MAR 27 1957

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RESEARCH DIRECTOR:
DAVIS McENTIRE
BERKELEY

RESEARCH OFFICE:
2180 MILVIA STREET
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

March 22, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for the copy of Philip Hammer's interesting letter of February 11. I am writing him for further information on some of the observations in the letter.

Our research program is behind its original schedule but it is moving along and we should have some reports ready for publication before the end of summer.

Belatedly I should like to offer my congratulations on your succession to the Directorship of the Southern Regional Council. It was good to hear from you again and I shall be looking forward to the next opportunity for a good talk with you.

Cordially,

Davis

Davis McEntire

DMcE/lb

Our board, staff, + interagency list

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JOHN H. WHEELER
DURHAM

RESEARCH DIRECTOR:
DAVIS McENTIRE
BERKELEY

RESEARCH OFFICE:
2180 MILVIA STREET
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

October 7, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Flemming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am happy to be able to say at last that the report of the Commission on Race and Housing is nearing publication. It is to be published by the University of California press around the end of this month.

This forthcoming report is a short one, summarizing the main conclusions from the research and stating the recommendations of the Commission on Race and Housing. A series of technical volumes will be published later.

Before the forthcoming report goes on sale by the press, we shall have the opportunity of distributing a quantity of complimentary copies. Hence, this letter is to ask if you would be kind enough to supply us with a list of persons affiliated with the Southern Regional Council who should receive complimentary copies of the Commission's report. I hesitate to ask for your general mailing list, because I suspect that it probably contains far too many names for this purpose. However, we will undertake to send a complimentary copy of the Commission's report to anyone whom you think ought to receive it. If you could make a suitable selection of names from your general list, we shall be most appreciative.

With personal greetings,

Sincerely,

Davis McEntire

Davis McEntire
Research Director

DMcE:bs

Enclosures: Board List
State organizations list
Cooperating agencies list

VIA AIR MAIL October 20, 1958

Mr. Davis McEntire
Research Director
Commission on Race and Housing
2180 Milvia Street
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Davis:

I am delighted to know that the report of the Commission on Race and Housing is about to be published. Certainly we would like to see it get the broadest kind of distribution and attention in the South.

Recognizing the limitations on the number of copies you will have for complimentary distribution, I am suggesting as our first priority the Southern Regional Council's staff, board members, and associated state Councils on Human Relations. The names and addresses of the board and the state groups are enclosed; if we could have as many as twelve (12) copies for staff use, this would be most helpful.

I thought you might also like to have the enclosed list of human relations organizations having staffed programs in the South. I am sure that the Southern staffers listed, as well as the national staffs, could apply the results of your

studies with maximum effectiveness.

You are quite right in supposing that our general mailing list would be prohibitively large; however, we have from time to time compiled various selected lists of key persons in the South and could make suggestions toward further strategic distribution if needed.

Many thanks for keeping us in mind. I am looking forward eagerly to see the forthcoming report and the later more technical volumes as they are published.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

COMMISSION ON RACE AND HOUSING

AN INDEPENDENT COMMISSION OPERATING UNDER A GRANT FROM
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC INC.

October 29, 1958

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PHILADELPHIA

JOHN H. WHEELER
DURHAM

RESEARCH DIRECTOR:
DAVIS McENTIRE
BERKELEY

RESEARCH OFFICE:
2180 MILVIA STREET
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for your letter of October 20 and lists of your own Board and human relations organizations with staffed programs in the South. We are sending a complimentary copy of the Commission's report to each one of the organizations listed and twelve copies to your office. The latter will arrive in twelve separate envelopes because we have no provision for handling bulk orders. For your information, copies of the report when published may be ordered from the University of California Press at Berkeley.

With kind regards,

Cordially,

Davis

Davis McEntire

DMcE:jh

Berkeley, California
~~February 25, 1960~~
April 7, 1961

The Commission on Race and Housing, a private citizens' group operating under a $305,000 research grant from the Fund for the Republic, Inc., has completed its inquiry into the housing and residence problems involving racial or ethnic minority groups in the United States and announces the closing of its research office, effective 1960 ~~immediately~~. Will you please remove the Commission's name as it appears below from your mailing lists.

MR. DAVIS MCENTIRE
COMMISSION ON RACE & HOUSING
2180 MILVIA STREET
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

The Commission has published its findings in Where Shall We Live? (1958), now out of print. The first three volumes of its monograph series ~~are being~~ were published during February and March, 1960. These are Privately Developed Interracial Housing by Eunice and George Grier, Property Values and Race by Luigi Laurenti, and Studies in Housing and Minority Groups edited by Nathan Glazer and Davis McEntire. Demand for Housing in Racially Mixed Areas by Chester Rapkin and William Grigsby and Residence and Race, the final and comprehensive report to the Commission on Race and Housing, by Davis McEntire, research director, ~~will be~~ were published later 1960, ~~this year~~. Inquiries concerning these publications should be addressed to

The University of California Press
2120 Oxford Street
Berkeley 4, California

Inquiries concerning the Commission or its research should be addressed to

Dr. Davis McEntire
Professor of Social Welfare
University of California
Berkeley 4, California

The Commission on Race and Housing and its staff have greatly appreciated the cooperation of your agency in its research and has found useful the many items sent during the past several years.

Sincerely,

June E. Harvey

June E. Harvey
Former Editorial Assistant
Commission on Race and Housing

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Patrick, Clarence H.
Dept. of Sociology
Wake Forest College

REGARDING:

Manuscript: "A Study of the Lunch Counter Situation in Winston-Salem, N. C."

DATE

April 2, 1960

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Muse, Benjamin (S. L. Project) - SRC
Also: Newspapers, Gen: Seven City Sentinel

STATE OF FLORIDA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
TALLAHASSEE

LEROY COLLINS
GOVERNOR

April 5, 1960

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Our office is in receipt of six copies of the Southern Regional Council's Special Report on "The Student Protest Movement, Winter 1960."

We find this report very interesting and the Commission has requested that we order an additional twelve copies for distribution throughout the State.

Sent

Please forward these copies to my attention. Any charge for this service will be promptly handled.

As local bi-racial committees are formed throughout the State, we anticipate a possible requirement for additional copies of this report in bulk quantity. Would these be available through your office?

Sincerely,

William N. Rose

WILLIAM N. ROSE
Staff Assistant for
Governor's Commission on
Race Relations

WNR:gs

April 7, 1960

Mr. William N. Rose
Staff Assistant for Governor's
Commission on Race Relations
Office of the Governor
State of Florida
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Rose:

We were glad to have your request for additional copies of our Special Report on the student protests; twelve more copies have been sent.

If you find later that a larger quantity would be useful in your work with local bi-racial committees, I am sure we can arrange to supply it. We, along with many others, are grateful for the fine leadership that Governor Collins is giving, and will be more than happy to render any service we can to you and your associates.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Governor's Commission on Race Relations - Florida

REGARDING:

Formation of, and list of members

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Southern Leadership Project - Muse Field Trip dtd. April 11, 1960
"Lunch Counter Desegreation; Visit to Florida..."

April 12, 1960

Mr. John Perry
Office of the Governor
State Capitol
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Perry:

Ben Muse suggested that you and your associates would like to have a copy of the enclosed study by Professor Clarence H. Patrick of Wake Forest College. Ben has also arranged for one of his newspaper friends in Winston-Salem to send us an account of community developments in the lunch-counter situation there. I will forward a copy to you as soon as it arrives.

With regards and good wishes for your fine efforts in Florida,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - (Patrick Manuscript)

Send copy to BM, LWD ✓

Sent 4/25/60 HH

MF. file

LeRoy Collins
GOVERNOR

STATE OF FLORIDA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
TALLAHASSEE

April 19, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much for your letter of April 12, enclosing a copy of Professor Patrick's study of the lunch counter situation in Winston-Salem.

I know the Governor's Commission on Race Relations will be pleased to have this information, and we are grateful to Benjamin Muse for suggesting that you send it.

I know the Commission also would be glad to receive the other report you mentioned, and you might want to address it to one of the staff assistants, Mr. William N. Rose or Mr. Saul Silverman, at the Commission offices, State Office Building, Room 313, 800 Twigg Street, Tampa, Florida.

The staff is doing some work out of our office here, so it also would be possible to communicate with them through us, too.

Thank you very much for your help, and before long I hope we will be in a position to tell you more about the work of the Commission.

Sincerely,

John L. Perry

JOHN L. PERRY
Administrative Assistant

JLP:gs
cc: Mr. Saul Silverman

Hcf 84

April 22, 1960

Mr. John Perry
Office of the Governor
State Capitol
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Perry:

Mr. Muse has sent us the enclosed account of the lunch counter situation in Winston-Salem as prepared by Mr. Sid Bost of the Twin City Sentinel. Since Mr. Fleming promised to send a copy to you as soon as we received it, I am doing so in his absence.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF/
Enclosure - 1.

Sid Bost
Twin City Sentinel
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Nobody laughed when Carl Matthews, a 28-year-old employee of a trucking firm, sat down at the S. H. Kress Co. lunch counter in Winston-Salem on the early afternoon of Monday, Feb. 8.

Matthews is a Negro, and his appearance signalled the spread of the Southern lunch counter protests to Winston-Salem.

Matthews' simple act caused consternation, not only in the store, but in ripples which soon spread to all areas of the city. The newspaper office buzzed with excitement and reporters and photographers were sent to the scene.

The radio stations broadcast the news that a Negro was sitting at a previously all-white lunch counter. The idly curious began to drop by to watch Matthews as he sat and smoked cigarettes. Police officers appeared on the scene.

After about an hour, he was served a cup of water. Later he was served a second cup. As the afternoon wore on, other Negroes joined him at the counter, which continued to serve white patrons.

Matthews said to a reporter, "We are not here to start any violence or any trouble."

The store reached its regular closing time without trouble and Matthews and his supporters went away.

The next day, a large group of Negroes appeared at the lunch counter at Walgreen's, a couple of blocks away from the Kress store where Matthews had sat the day before. The manager of Walgreen's promptly closed the counters "in the interest of public safety."

Thus began a war of nerves, a pattern of opening and closing the counters, which has continued in Winston-Salem for more than two months.

Since April 2, an unofficial truce has existed. A Goodwill Committee appointed by Mayor Marshall Kurfees asked that the variety store managers keep their lunch counters closed and that the Negro leaders of the sit-down demonstrators refrain from picketing the stores. This has been done.

Today, April 14, the Goodwill Committee met a second time. Its members ---- 10 white, 10 Negro ---- heard a report from a five-man subcommittee that has been meeting with store officials. The subcommittee indicated it would be able next week to make a recommendation that it felt the full committee could accept.

There is impatience within the committee. One of the Negro members, the Rev. Jerry Drayton, said at the April 14 meeting: "I don't quite understand why all the holdup. If we're going to desegregate, let's desegregate."

Mayor Kurfees gave a hint of the recommendation the subcommittee is expected to make by saying, "If our solution is acceptable to the store managers, I hope there won't be a wholesale rush to those counters ... you know what I'm talking about."

Drayton replied, "There never has been in any area that was desegregated...the buses, for instance."

Most of the members of the Goodwill Committee expressed the feeling, one way or another, that if lunch counters could be desegregated successfully anywhere in North Carolina, Winston-Salem is the place.

At its first meeting, April 2, the committee received a report from a Wake Forest College professor, Dr. Clarence H. Patrick, based on a survey conducted by him and some of his students, which indicated many white customers of the stores are ready to accept desegregated service at the counters.

During the two months between the time Matthews began the sit-down protest and the formation of the Goodwill Committee, there was only one break in the store pattern of closing up whenever a Negro sat down for service.

At a hardware store where there is a small lunch counter, the demonstrators were served the first time they showed up. The management then promptly took out all the stools and announced that henceforth everyone would be served on a standup basis.

The Negroes confined their sit-down attempts to stores that normally serve them in other departments. There has been no effort to get service at all-white restaurants.

Five days after Matthews began the whole thing, he and other leaders of what had then become a large group of protestors, composed primarily of Negro students at Winston-Salem Teachers College, asked the mayor to call a meeting of them and store officials to try to work out a solution. But the mayor replied that he did not intend to take action at that time, that future policy should be decided by the store officials themselves.

On Feb. 22, Matthews warned that the demonstrations would continue until an agreement was reached.

And the next day, 22 persons ---- 10 white, 12 Negro ---- were arrested on charges of trespassing at a local Woolworth store. The 10 whites were students at Wake Forest College, and nine of the 12 Negroes were students at Winston-Salem Teachers College. Of the other three, one was Matthews. The white students had turned out to support the Negroes in their efforts.

On Feb. 24, trial of the 22 was continued in Municipal Court to a later date.

On March 2, Judge Leroy Sams convicted the 22 and "suspended judgment straight" (imposed no penalty).

The next day, after some of the defendants had given notice of appeal to Forsyth County Superior Court, Sams changed the judgments to "prayer for judgment continued for a period of 12 months." His action had the effect of blocking, or at least postponing, the appeals, since [redacted] technically he has not yet passed judgment.

On May 7, 75 placard-carrying, song-singing Negro students marched to city hall and held a brief prayer service on the front lawn. The police chief warned that another such demonstration would bring arrests on charges of staging a parade without a permit.

Meanwhile support for the demonstrators began building up. The Twin City Sentinel, the town's afternoon newspaper, came out editorially with the stand that when the counters are reopened, they should be on a desegregated basis.

On March 15, a group of 60 members of the Wake Forest College faculty asked that managers of five Winston-Salem stores (the five

most often affected by the demonstrations) open their lunch counters to all customers, regardless of race.

On March 25, Dr. Patrick, chairman of the Wake Forest College Dept. of Sociology, announced he was supervising a survey in downtown variety stores to see how many white customers would be willing to eat at desegregated lunch counters.

On Saturday, April 2, the Mayor's Goodwill Committee met for the first time and heard Dr. Patrick read his report. At first the committee seemed headed for a recommendation that the lunch counters be opened on a desegregated basis, but later voted to take no action and meet again within a week. (See Patrick report).

The week passed and the committee was not called back together. Twelve days later ---- today, April 14 ---- the mayor did call the committee together to hear the progress report from its subcommittee. The mayor said the subcommittee was doing a great deal of work behind the scenes.

The Negro members of the committee seemed satisfied with the mayor's assurance that "progress is being made." One of them, the Rev. D. R. Hedeley, vice president of the city's inter-racial ministerial group, said, "As long as progress is being made, I can wait."

Sid Bost
Twin City Sentinel
Winston-Salem, N. C.

LeRoy Collins
GOVERNOR

STATE OF FLORIDA

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

TALLAHASSEE

May 3, 1960

Mrs. Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Flowers:

Thank you for your letter of April 22, transmitting a copy of the Twin City Sentinel article of the lunch counter incident in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

I appreciate very much receiving this, and I am passing it along to the staff of the Governor's Commission on Race Relations.

Sincerely,

John L. Perry

JOHN L. PERRY
Administrative Assistant

JLP:gs
cc: Mr. Saul Silverman

file

FOR RELEASE
6:30 P.M.
SATURDAY, MAY 28

May 27, 1960

STATEMENT BY CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS

Many have asked, "What has the Fowler Commission done?" Many Negro leaders have said "What have you desegregated?" To which we have answered, "It has been wiser not to talk on the record until the touchy climate of an election was in back of us and until we had a chance to talk with each other on our differing feelings."

Now we feel free to answer. Our role is not to segregate or to desegregate but to help each and every local community to face and solve its racial problems with maximum understanding. Our role is also to take leadership in building a climate throughout the state that will give support and encouragement to mature and responsible approaches. We have worked hard. We have worked long. We have spent hours consulting with many of Florida's outstanding leaders, both Negro and white. We have examined our respective biases. We have reached the point where we can begin to say many things.

Florida has an outstanding record in the peaceful solution of racial problems. It has, however, several new considerations to deal with. Foremost of these is a series of court cases over the past six years that have made it increasingly clear that segregation policies in public facilities have become more and more invalidated by the courts. Consequently the possibility of legal delay has been greatly lessened.

The Commission did not write the Constitution. The Commission did not interpret it. The Commission did not cause almost all of the religious bodies of the South and the North to insist in the brotherhood of man. The Commission deeply respects one hundred years of tradition and custom. We insist that each community has the responsibility of reasserting its conscience, its intelligence and its capacity for good will in a long range approach. The more we study our racial problems, the more we realize that changes are in the making. The idea that the problems do not exist is just not so. These problems must be faced now. If we take the point of view of no communication and no discussion, the realistic possibilities of tension, demonstration, violence and intimidation will, we believe, become greatly increased. An objective look at Little Rock will show us that such policies mean economic deterioration of a very substantial kind. The business community of Little Rock paid and paid heavily for its massive resistance. Many business leaders in Florida are already much concerned. It is our belief that thoughtful people do not want such a damaging effect on Florida's bright future.

We feel that most people want to deal with the facts with responsibility and understanding. If we are to do this, we must realize the issue is not simply integration vs. segregation. We must instead help each other see a much more realistic picture that includes:

1. Definite court decisions.
2. A recognition rather than a denial of the problem.
3. The growing refusal of Negroes, both young and old, to carry on the appearance of contentedness.
4. The experience and accomplishments of Negroes who served in our armed forces.
5. The increasing number of educated and capable leaders of the Negro race.
6. The economic cost and disorder resulting from racial antagonism.
7. Our responsibility to the peaceful ethical and cultural growth of our children.
8. America's leadership and prestige in a changing world which is more than two-thirds non-white.
9. Florida's particular situation of wealth, population growth and enormous tourist trade distinguishes it from other Southern states.
10. The recognition that many of our old ideas confuse racial characteristics with the tragic effects of poverty, job discrimination, inadequate housing, education and recreational facilities. These conditions must be improved.
11. The understanding that our population is expanding most rapidly in urban areas. These urban areas are facing the greatest pressure and have the greatest opportunity for leadership in constructive change.
12. The recognition that the business establishment depending substantially on Negro trade has a responsibility and obligation to maintain policies of service and employment that do not unjustly discriminate against Negroes.

We must basically understand that people of the Negro race must have a feeling of dignity and pride in themselves and their community.

In some areas, resistance is so heavy it is unrealistic to hope for change in our lifetime. In other areas, change is imminently possible. In still other areas, refusal to change is absurd. For example, the practice of providing two water fountains, side by side in public facilities.

We want all responsible leaders in the Negro and white races to know that this Commission is doing everything in its power to support the establishment of bi-racial committees in communities throughout the length and breadth of Florida. These committees will have much to do and much to learn before reaching the point of wise decisions. We firmly believe that the pressure of demonstrations will retard their formation and will limit their effectiveness. We feel that the effective and constructive functioning of outstanding bi-racial committees all over the state in itself will be unprecedented in Florida, the South, and the Nation.

There are some who believe that change only comes from pressure and force. To this we respond that such a position is a complete and utter denial to the possibility of people of good will solving their problems unless coerced. It assumes that a man cannot feel for and understand another man and react to their common humanity. It is an assumption that may gain some desegregation but build more resentment and less communication in the long run. Nobody likes to be forced. In such a situation we are apt to react from emotions rather than reason.

Nor does it take into account our discovery that progress in the modern world has not been confined to science and medicine. Human relations have been studied and are now much better understood. We plan to avail ourselves of such knowledge and to make it available to every local community that feels as we do the need for such help. We plan to obtain new knowledge where there is none now.

It has been suggested that for a leader of the Negro race to participate in a bi-racial committee is to be labelled an Uncle Tom by his people and for a white man who so participates to be labelled an integrationist by his people. In either event to slap these labels on or to permit them to be slapped on could well be the most unfair attitude we face in the whole problem. Unfair because it replaces problem solving with a prejudgement and accusation. Unfair because it pastes inflamatory name calling upon the best method the world has yet devised for solving problems. Unfair finally because it can be a mask for allowing childish prejudice and impatience to destroy the necessity of deliberations of reason. Those who have foresight enough to participate in bi-racial committees deserve the recognition of the entire community. This we can all do something about immediately.

The idea of looking at our racial relations from a moral point of view, as well as a business point of view has been doubted by some who felt basically it was a political problem. We wanted to be sure, so we called upon a group of Florida's most distinguished, proven and loved religious leaders from all faiths and asked their advice. They spent much time conferring with each other. They conferred at length with us. They affirmed in a way we shall never forget, the moral basis of these issues. They pledged all their help. Our program resulted. They have offered their full and aggressive cooperation and plan to contact every clergyman in Florida recommending that they take leadership in opening up communication now. There is no longer the slightest question of a doubt in their minds and in ours that communication between the races is our best hope.

We know that each community must make its own decision. We are not here to tell you what to do. But we are here to say to you that we join thousands of responsible citizens in Florida in recommending the discussion and study of these issues around a table. We must bring our best intelligence and our most sincere desire to understand squarely to bear on the problems. Satisfactory race relations will add to the pleasure of our living. Racial conflict will deter new business and impede tourists from coming to Florida. We have an opportunity for national leadership. The whole history of mankind boldly and brilliantly declares that customs are not permanent, that life is change, and that the love of understanding is the most dynamic and the most inspiring possibility that mankind has ever approached.

We believe in the democratic control of change. We abhor ill-will and violence. We pledge to each community of Florida our assistance in facing the fears and anxieties inevitable in such processes of change. We are well along the road to a new era of education, health, recreation, wealth, and the power for good. This gives us additional strength and responsibility. What is required right now is the sanity to insist that we must meet, listen and talk to each other. Now is the time for reason and understanding. We must see and recognize in each other the right to human dignity and happiness. We must be aware that when we do, we will be met with criticism from friend and foe alike. It will be difficult and not always popular. To avoid criticism is to do nothing. But we call to your attention that it was ever thus when mankind broke through to new levels of moral growth and good will. What is even more crucial is that we react to such pressures with courage and integrity - more than that, with patience and the insight that such is the inevitable condition of human progress.

MEMORANDUM
TO
GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
FROM
ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS
RE
ACCEPTANCE OF TASK AND
ADVISORY OPINIONS FOR ACTION AND STUDY

We, the members of the Advisory Committee on Religious Affairs do hereby accept our appointments to this group and willingly and humbly pledge ourselves to the over-all task of working for the improvement of the racial climate of Florida and to whatever other special tasks may be required of us.

To this end we shall forthwith address ourselves to two areas of concern as having been indicated to us as worthy of our attention.

1. In the area of apparent problems deserving action we offer these opinions:

   A. We concur with the Governor's statement, and we feel that in the realm of the business world there is a moral responsibility for any merchant to treat and serve all his customers in the same manner.

      To this end we feel that the business leaders should be called upon to meet with a similar representative group of religious leaders on the several community levels for the purpose of determining what is the best approach toward resolving the practical problems.

   B. In the absence of active leadership by some city governments to form racial commissions we suggest - that the entire body of clergy or ministers of the state be made recipients of a mailing that would include:

      1. A summary of the current racial tension in Florida and the resultant creation of the Governor's Commission, its proposed plans and progress to date.

      2. The substantive thinking of the Religious Advisory group as to its understanding of the possible roles of the clergymen in the present crisis.

   C. We further urge that the religious leadership be made conscious of the tremendous task of an on-going program of education in whole field of human relations and that they receive at the earliest possible date a bibliography of materials pertinent to such a study. Such a bibliography should include material in the following areas:

1. Religious and moral studies and/or pronouncements on the race problem.

2. Research findings from all reputable social studies.

3. Reports from community self studies.

4. Training materials on intergroup relations.

In addition to the religious leadership, we respectfully fully submit that this bibliography be also made available to the membership of all other advisory groups.

II. In the area of apparent problems deserving study we submit these thoughts as the beginning of such a study program as described above. We feel that this study should begin with the Governor's Commission and its advisory groups.

In the effort of improving racial relations in the State of Florida the paramount task is to provide a climate wherein real communication may begin to take place. It is becoming increasingly apparent that in the present climate there are many problems that are preventing this kind of communication. Some of these problems have to do with facts, some with attitudes, and others with values.

A. Our failure to recognize the following as well established facts in the State of Florida increases the difficulty of reaching realistic solutions to our race problems.

1. The fact that many of us in leadership roles within the several communities of the state have avoided responsibility in acting for an improved racial climate by rationalizing that it was someone else's responsibility.

2. The fact that many of us lack knowledge of the changes in Negro leadership, assuming that this is either temporary or imported and not responsible or deserving of our respect.

3. The fact that many of us lack knowledge of the numerous occasions where racial relations have been improved when the community leadership has acted with responsibility especially in Florida.

4. The fact that many of us have not accepted that our rapidly expanding economic development can be greatly retarded by an attitude that actively or even passively endorses violence or repression in our racial problems.

5. The fact that many of us have not accepted the paramount reality that the southeast in general and Florida in particular, is undergoing a dramatic process of change from a predominantly rural culture to a predominantly urban culture. And that a sound approach to the problems of race relations must have substantially different strategies for each culture.

B. Our failure to recognize the following attitudes as irresponsible, unhealthy and uncreative also make difficult realistic solutions to our racial problems.

1. The attitude that assumes that customs and traditions are fixed and unanimously held rather than that they are divergent and can change and grow in a climate of responsible and dignified leadership.

2. The attitude that assumes we can deal with the problems of race relations with a kind of thinking that embraces the idea that you are either for segregation or for integration, while completely overlooking the alternative of creative responsible moderation.

3. The attitude that disregards the fundamental differences between discriminative attitudes on the one side, which we all share by right, and on the other side violent and unlawful behavior which, regardless of rightness or wrongness cannot be tolerated in a society based on law and justice.

4. The attitude of some caucasians that "I can always get along with Negroes when they keep their place" is acceptable to the Negro and does not further complicate and retard the possibilities of responsible solutions.

5. The attitude that the underlying issue in our racial problems is the fear of intermarriage or, to put it another way, the issue of segregation vs. mongrelization, while failing completely to face and to accept the fact that:

a. The overwhelming majority of scientists have found no biological evidence of racial inferiority or superiority in any race.

b. There is no evidence to justify predictions that dealing responsibly with racial problems increases the probability of intermarriage, and such evidence to suggest that in states legally integrated such intermarriage is extremely rare.

c. The overwhelming majority of our citizens of the Negro race do not consider intermarriage as a goal, whereas many of our citizens of the white race mistakenly think it does.

d. Nobody can be forced to marry - Each has the privilege and right to say no; research indicates that the overwhelming majority of people marry people of the same social and cultural background.

C. Our failure to recognize that the finest values in the Southern tradition have a wonderful potential for creative and realistic solutions to our racial difficulties. The values are: Respect for God, Graciousness, Courtesy, Hospitality, Honor, Self respect, and Respect for the feeling of others.

D. Finally let us, regardless of our preconceived solutions, face with God's courage our tragic illusions that the Negro among us is "happy and contented" and in so doing avoid the common recognition that in a social order that demands of him or any minority group a position of inferiority he necessarily experiences a basic anxiety, and frustration.

FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
RECOMMENDED APPROACH
FOR
LOCAL BI-RACIAL COMMITTEES

GOAL I.

To begin immediately to negotiate with responsible leaders and the persons directly involved in all matters involving racial problems.

GOAL II.

To explore and discuss in good faith, race relations in the local community, the State of Florida, and the South in general, with no commitment other than to understand the viewpoint of all involved in order to reach a better understanding of what is happening and why.

1. In this discussion to obtain an understanding of the tensions, facts, and causes underlying the racial problems rather than attempting to find immediate solutions without total understanding.

2. To explore and understand the point of view of community leaders in the following areas, government, Chamber of Commerce, religion, press, police, education, social service agencies, service clubs, bar associations, medical associations, responsible community organizations and others.

3. To examine these viewpoints from the standpoint of isolating facts, values, and attitudes for further exploration and to take the necessary time to get the best available knowledge. These facts will include:

   a. Legal rights, responsibilities and obligations.

   b. The total community picture of race relations obtained either by community self study using only local resources or by community self study using local resources plus that of trained specialists. (Guide material for community race relation studies will be forwarded at an early date.)

c. Knowledge from other communities of successful and unsuccessful approaches to racial conflict.

d. Evaluation by each committee member of knowledge gained in completion of Goal II.

GOAL III.

To develop a strategy:

1. To improve the general climate in the community by a responsible and peaceful approach rather than repression or avoidance of problems.
2. To intelligently treat the causes of racial tension by joint decision and joint responsibility at places of least resistance and of the greatest need.
3. To inculcate a sound understanding of, and respect for freedom -- its rights of choice, its responsibilities of human brotherhood if it is to endure.

GOAL IV.

Establishment of long range program.

GROUND RULES

Ground rules to be mutually agreed upon in formation of local Committees. All committee deliberations are to be conducted:

1. With mutual respect and dignity.
2. With an understanding and respect for the differing viewpoints of community leaders.
3. With an understanding and respect for the differing pressures and influences operating upon each and every member of the community.
4. With the express disclaimer of all illegal approaches.

5. With an understanding and respect of the underlying need for communication in an informal atmosphere.
6. With an understanding and respect of the rights of all citizens to choose and discriminate in their private racial relations.
7. With an understanding and respect of the importance of the racial problem to the American people and necessity of approaching it through Democratic process rather than coercion and denial.
8. With an understanding and respect of the need for the utilization of every available resource.

The staff of the Fowler Commission has been charged with the duty of assisting all local committees. We look forward to the possibility of holding a series of regional and state-wide conferences bringing together representatives of local bi-racial committees, the State Commission, and its Advisory Committees together with outstanding specialists in the areas of race relations.

Correspondence

via air mail

July 21, 1960

Mr. Saul Silverman
Florida Commission on Human
Relations
Capitol Building
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Silverman:

Your telephoned request for information on cities which have desegregated lunch counters, emphasizing whether the chain stores, variety stores and department stores have desegregated simultaneously or separately and including factors involved, has been refered to this office.

As far as we have learned, there have been no considered decisions, as a result of negotiations, for stores to desegregate separately. That is to say, all negotiating committees have chosen as their strategy simultaneous desegregation of variety store, drug store, and department store facilities. However, some department stores have agreed to desegregate only their more inexpensive facilities, refusing to open the others to Negroes at this time. (San Antonio, Charlotte.) In San Antonio this argument was advanced: the inexpensive cafeterias are more nearly comparable to variety and drug store lunch counters. These stores apparently fear that their more fashionable restaurants cannot compete with segregated facilities serving food only (and thus far unaffected by the protest movement in most cities). Perhaps this is

the factor accounting for the recalcitrance of Brown's Department Store in Oklahoma City, which adamantly maintains segregation in the face of several years of picketing and general desegregation of other eating facilities in the city. In Baltimore, Md., also a large department store only recently desegregated its luncheon facilities, although desegregation is general practice in the city's variety and drug stores.

Some separate desegregation has occurred, of course, but this does not appear to be the result of pre-planning. In Nashville, Grant's did not desegregate when other drug, variety, and department stores in the merchant's negotiating group did so, but only after almost a month in which boycott activity continued to be directed toward the store.

Probably the fact that desegregation in other Nashville stores was successful and resulted in no financial loss is also quite important here. In San Antonio, and most probably in other cities, several stores desegregated only after a vanguard group showed desegregation could be successful.

In Northern Virginia separate desegregation occurred in a sort of band-wagon movement, initiated by Woolworth's Arlington stores and occurring over a period of some three days. Again, this does not appear to have been planned. (Apparently there were no negotiations in this area.)

In Greensboro, N. C., negotiations by the Mayor's Advisory Committee were halted in early April because merchants engaged in general merchandising business did not think they should be singled out from other food merchants in the city, an indication that simultaneous desegregation of all eating establishments, including restaurants, is, to merchants, the most preferable plan of action. (Text of advisory committee's report enclosed.)

The attached notes provide some information about the circumstances of desegregation in several cities. Reports on Nashville, Tenn., and Austin, Texas, are also enclosed.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/mf
Enclosures

P. S. -- A detailed report on desegregation of eating facilities is scheduled for publication in the near future and you will, of course, be sent copies.

should have read "in Winston-Salem"

Winston-Salem, N. C.

Stores desegregated simultaneously, following negotiation. Lunch counters in major downtown drug and variety stores reopened on an integrated basis, as recommended by the Mayor's Goodwill Committee, on May 25. These stores included S. H. Kress & Co., two F. W. Woolworth Co. Stores, H. L. Green Co., and Walgreen's drug store.

Nashville, Tenn.

Six of the stores involved in the sit-ins agreed to desegregate simultaneously on May 10. Two department stores were among them, Harvey's and Cain-Sloan; others were F. W. Woolworth, McLellan, Walgreen Drug Store, and S. H. Kress. The remaining store which had been involved, Grant's, a variety store, declined to join the others in the settlement which had been reached by negotiation. Negroes agreed to refrain from any further demonstrations downtown "for a reasonable period of time," but the boycott on Grant's was maintained. The store opened its lunch counters to Negroes on an integrated basis a month later, June 8.

San Antonio, Tex.

Agreement was reached among most of the managers participating in negotiations to desegregate simultaneously on March 20. The only large downtown store to ask for more time to consider was a department store, Joske's. It subsequently announced the desegregation of its basement cafeteria (effective at the end of a 30-day period of no action by demonstrators); its more fashionable eating places on the first and second floors were not opened to Negroes. Picketing was later begun in the store. Several additional lunch counters, not a party to the agreement, desegregated separately following the March 20th group action.

Northern Virginia.

Newsclips indicate that for several weeks store officials were saying privately they would desegregate if their competitors did so. F. W. Woolworth's in Arlington's Shirlington shopping area first served white and Negro sit-in demonstrators June 22. Within hours two big chain drug stores, People's and Drug Fair followed suit, and by the next day, a local chain of variety stores (G. C. Murphy) and the three large department stores with Arlington branches - Lansburgh's, Kann's, and the Hecht Company - had followed suit. They were followed by Hot Shoppes, a national chain of medium priced eating places - which ended segregation in its five Arlington facilities.

By June 24 nearly all chain department and drug stores and restaurants had begun serving Negroes as well as whites in Arlington, Alexandria, and Fairfax County.

Charlotte, N. C.

Seven downtown lunch counters agreed to serve Negroes beginning July 9, an agreement announced by the mayor's friendly relations committee. Stores included Woolworth's, McClellans, Grant's, Kress', Liggett's Drug Store, and the lunch counter in Belks and a combined cafeteria-lunch counter in Ivey's Department Store. Ivey's 6th-floor cafeteria and Belk's glass enclosed, very nicely appointed basement cafeteria did not desegregate. Students are not definitely committed to an end to pressure against the latter two. Chairman of the mayor's committee Dr. John R. Cunningham released a report recommending desegregation of the Belk's and Ivey's cafeterias, as reported in the attached news clip, but stating the committee considered it would be a fair arrangement if the cafeterias remained segregated "until such time as such facilities should be opened (to Negroes) throughout the city."

Correspondence

LC sending 20

STATE OF FLORIDA

FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS

CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
L. G. PEEPLES
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
JOHN TURNER

July 25, 1960

The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention Ms. Marge Manderson

Dear Ms. Manderson:

Thank you so very much for the very informative literature which we received today.

We would be very grateful if you could send us 20 copies of the report "Settling a Sit-in" prepared for the Nashville Community Relations Conference.

Your co-operation is very much appreciated.

Very cordially yours,

Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant

SAS/jb

Chatt Times - Pol
Const No. IR

1-2-6

Sec'y Pol
P. 14

6-A
2-B

Very reluctantly

Miami Beach

385 - all hotels?

All Negro convention

Negro transients

September 14, 1960

Mr. Saul Silverman
Commission on Race Relations
State Office Building
Room 313
800 Twigg Street
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Silverman:

From John Morris we have learned that you may be interested in attending the informal meeting of agencies concerned with race relations in the South (Southern Interagency Conference) next week in Atlanta. We would be pleased to have you do so.

The meeting will begin at 2:00 p.m. on the 20th, in the Board Room of the Administration Building of Atlanta University, 223 Chestnut Street, S. W., and will run until approximately 5:30. That evening the group is invited to the Morrises home for dinner. On the morning of the 21st, the meeting will run from 9:30 a.m. to 12 noon. It now appears that some twenty people, representing eighteen agencies, will be present.

Incidentally, Ben Muse will be present. Harold Fleming will be out of the city, though he will be in the office on the morning of the 22nd. If it is possible for you to do so, he would be happy to have you stay over, visit our office, and meet the staff at that time.

If your schedule permits, we shall look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

9/27/60

STATE OF FLORIDA

FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS

CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
L. G. PEEPLES
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
JOHN TURNER

September 26, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Just a note to reaffirm my gratitude for all the help you and your agency have afforded us, as well as your hospitality on my recent visit.

Kindest regards,

Saul A. Silverman

Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant

SAS/jb

Return to HCF

STATE OF FLORIDA

FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS

CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
L. G. PEEPLES
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
JOHN TURNER

October 5, 1960

RECEIVED
OCT 8 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thought you might be interested in the enclosed memorandum covering the meeting with our Occupational Training Advisory Committee and representatives of several large chain stores in Florida.

Kindest regards,

Saul A. Silverman

Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant

SAS/jb
Enc. 1

Return to HCF

October 13, 1960

Mr. Saul Silverman
Staff Assistant
Fowler Commission on Race Relations
State Capitol
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Silverman:

Thank you for the memorandum growing out of the discussion of merit promotion sponsored by the Commission.

This is one of the most cogent and concise statements on the economic aspects of race relations that I have seen. There would doubtless be occasions when we could use it to good advantage as a guide to the thinking of business and other leaders. Is it in the public domain, or would circulation of it by SRC cause any difficulties?

We enjoyed your visit with us recently and hope to see you soon again. Meanwhile, best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Commendation

STATE OF FLORIDA

FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS

CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
L. G. PEEPLES
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
JOHN TURNER

September 1, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you so much for the material and press coverage, as well as the park situation material.

You might be interested to know that the Associated Press Broadcasters asked us for suggestions with regard to press coverage in race relations. We forwarded to them the material in our files which we received from you. They found this of enormous help and plan to draw up their own statement using that material as the principal source and are distributing it to all their members. We have mailed a publication on to our Press Advisory Committee.

Further, your information on desegregation of variety stores was of real value in the negotiations in Miami.

We continue to be in debt for the excellent co-operation of your organization.

Sincerely yours,

Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant

SAS/jb

(To be routed in order numbered)

Date

PLEASE CHECK, DATE AND FORWARD

HCF

PA

MA

LWD

MM

EW

SM

PR

JC

LEC

MET

BC

RHA

PP

WF

MF

FILE

Harold -

I think this ought to be acknowledged - maybe by personal letter to Schiemann since the Comm is through

BH. J.
HF
MET
PA
JC
PR
MM
MA
MF, JB

STATE OF FLORIDA

FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS

CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
JOHN TURNER, VICE CHAIRMAN
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
L. G. PEEPLES

December 29, 1960

The Southern Regional Council Staff
Five Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friends:

In behalf of the Fowler Commission of the State of Florida, I wish to express our deepest appreciation and gratitude for the wonderful and extremely helpful co-operation we have received from you with particular regard to the hundreds and hundreds of facts involved in an understanding of the total picture.

Indeed, we are especially grateful for having received all this help without ever being told what to do.

It is very apparent to all of us that work and help of the kind that we have experienced can be immeasurably helpful in the very difficult task of leadership in the area of race relations.

Gratefully,

Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant

SAS/jb

... There's no need for this now - eh?

Not Sent

Mr. Cody Fowler

Dear Mr. Fowler:

Now that the State Commission on Race Relations has ended its work, at least in its original form, I wish to express on behalf of the Southern Regional Council our great admiration and appreciation for the imaginative leadership which you and your colleagues brought to this challenging effort.

As you may know, we had many opportunities to cooperate with Mr. Saul Silverman in his staff work for the Commission, and we received very generous cooperation in return. Some of the materials && produced by the Commission i&& for the guidance of local leadership are among the very best produced by anyone in this field, and we were grateful for the opportunity to share them with organizations and individuals, including many public officials, in other Southern states. We recognize that this is only one aspect of the Commission's work; its function as a rallying &&& ground for constructive opinion in the state, its activation of leadership through conference and staff work, its stimulation of && local bi-racial committees are impressive evidence of what can be achieved through this kind of officially supported effort.

If we can be of service to you, Mr. Silverman, or any of your associates in the Commission, I hope you will feel free to call upon us.

Sincerely,

January 20, 1961

Mr. Saul Silverman
c/o Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Saul:

I am unforgiveably late in writing you, but the past few weeks have been a frantic time for us.

Both Les Dunbar and I, as well as one or two other staff members, have read with interest your manuscript, which I am returning.

Our feeling is that this summing up of your experience would be of greatest benefit to a readership concerned professionally and organizationally with intergroup relations. Two publications that would meet this condition are the Journal of Intergroup Relations, published by N.A.I.R.O., and Phylon, published at Atlanta University. I should think either of these journals would be pleased to have an article of this sort by you.

You will be getting another letter from me in a few days expressing the appreciation of all

of us at the Council for the fine accomplishments of the Fowler Commission, for which you were so largely responsible. Meanwhile, I hope you will keep me posted on the effort to launch a similar effort in the Miami area.

My very best regards and good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (manuscript)

STATE OF FLORIDA
FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

Rec'd 12-22-60

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
L. G. PEEPLES
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
JOHN TURNER

December 21, 1960

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

I am taking the liberty of enclosing, for your consideration, a copy of an article entitled "Race Relations in the South, and Intergroup Relations in General." It represents a sort of pulling together of some of the crucial learning I have achieved in my work with the Fowler Commission. I would be delighted to have your reaction to same. If you have any suggestions with regard to the possibility of publication, I would be deeply pleased.

With regard to the Fowler Commission, we plan to terminate on December 31. Our major activities at the moment are in the direction of setting up an outstanding professional approach for Miami with extensive feed-back mechanism to the rest of the State and to the South in order to demonstrate what a professional approach can do.

I remain very optimistic in the sense that I feel that a combination of substantial budget, government sponsorship, outstanding leadership, and the utilization of modern knowledge can be extremely successful.

Looking forward to hearing from you.

Kindest personal regards,

Saul A. Silverman

Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant

Yes returned 1/20/61

SAS /jb
Enc. 1

****

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

Southern R[illegible] C[illegible] Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A[illegible] [illegible]ORGIA
[illegible]2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date Jan. 23, 1961

To: LWD & HCF

From: pr

Subject: Florida

I have learned through Bill Williams that Governor Bryant of Florida has asked the legislature for $17,000 to use in the improvement of race relations in the state and that he has also asked Cody Fowler to continue as chairman of the Fowler Commission.

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
COMMISSIONERS' COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
ROOM 208, DISTRICT BUILDING — NA. 8-6000 X723
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

Home: 543-1699
200 S. Carolina Ave S.E.
202

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DR. C. J. NUESSE
BARRINGTON D. PARKER
MRS. BURMA A. WHITTED

February 7, 1963

RECEIVED
FEB 11 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Ed Randall stopped by recently and discussed his desire to obtain more funds to explore what he sees as a major breakthrough in Alabama. It turned out that he was primarily asking me to intercede with Harold Fleming or recommend whether he should approach Harold.

I called Harold and told him of the conversation and gave him my personal opinion that the Alabama program was useful, but that I felt Randall's tapes still contained only some 10 or 12 per cent of human relations material. Randall now claims 20 per cent to me. As I have told you, my only reservation is in terms of this low content.

Harold indicated that he would be willing to explore financial assistance to Randall if SRC so desires, and if SRC might be willing to accept funds for this purpose for transmittal to Friendly World Broadcasting.

Let me know how to proceed on this, if at all. You might want to write Harold directly.

Miggy talked with Wiley by telephone the other night while I was out speech-making. I hope that we will have the opportunity to see you while you are in Washington next week.

I have occasional pangs of nostalgia for my old desk, but I keep too busy for the malady to become serious. Warmest regards to all.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Rilling
Executive Director

PMR/hg
cc: Harold Fleming

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
COMMISSIONERS' COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
ROOM 208, DISTRICT BUILDING
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

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H. GABRIEL MURPHY
DR. C. J. NUESSE
BARRINGTON D. PARKER
MRS. BURMA A. WHITTED

July 29, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

The Program Chairman for the 1964 NAIRO Conference, K. C. Jones, has asked me to arrange one of the major program sessions which will deal with the contributions of protest demonstrations.

We may try to give it a jazzy title on the program, but it will be essentially an evaluation of the contributions, the shortcomings, the potentials, etc. of protest demonstrations past, present and future. We plan to set it up on the basis of a symposium of three speakers, each speaking for approximately 15 minutes. The symposium would be followed by a question period.

I am hoping that you will agree to serve as one of the symposium speakers on this most timely and vital topic. The session is scheduled for 2:30 p. m. on Friday, November 22, 1963, during the NAIRO Conference to be held this year in Cleveland.

I hope you will let me know as soon as possible whether you can tentatively accept at this time. If the specific time poses a problem, we will see if some re-scheduling might be possible. Others invited to serve on the symposium are James Farmer and Roy Wilkins.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Rilling
Executive Director

PMR/hg

August 19, 1963

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Executive Director
Commissioners' Council on Human Relations
Room 208, District Building
Washington 4, D. C.

Dear Paul:

I cannot yet give you a definite answer about the NAIRO meeting, but should be able to within the next week. Have you heard from Wilkins or Farmer?

All the best, and you have my utmost congratulations for the magnificent job of community relations you will have done on August 28.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
COMMISSIONERS' COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
ROOM 208, DISTRICT BUILDING
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

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FRANCIS H. McGUIGAN
H. GABRIEL MURPHY
DR. C. J. NUESSE
BARRINGTON D. PARKER
MRS. BURMA A. WHITTED

September 12, 1963

PA ✓
MJ - file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
SEP 16 1963

Dear Les:

If I don't hear from you by Wednesday, September 18, I will assume that you will be available to speak at our NAIRO program on Friday, November 22, in Cleveland, Ohio at 2:30 p. m. I am sure you do not want some less qualified agency to handle this important analytical effort at this vital national meeting.

Thank you for your kind evaluation of the magnificent job of community relations which we performed on August 28.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Rilling
Executive Director

PMR/hg

Paul - I told him I'll do it. He asked me to tell you both Harry & Shuttlesworth have accepted

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
COMMISSIONERS' COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
ROOM 208, DISTRICT BUILDING
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

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FRANCIS H. McGUIGAN
H. GABRIEL MURPHY
DR. C. J. NUESSE
BARRINGTON D. PARKER
MRS. BURMA A. WHITTED

November 9, 1963

To: Les Dunbar
James Farmer
John Morsell
Will Campbell
Maurice Fagan

This is by way of a reminder of our panel discussion at the forthcoming NAIRO Convention on the topic "An Assessment of the Protest Demonstration."

The discussion will be during a plenary session beginning at 2:30 P.M. on Friday, November 22. We hope that the talks will be analytical rather than repertorial in form. Dunbar, Farmer, and Morsell will each give a fifteen to twenty minute presentation. Fagan and Campbell will then spice up the program with provocative and searching questions prior to general discussion. I will be chairing the session.

For those of you who have not seen publicity on the convention, it will be in session from Wednesday morning, November 20, through Saturday afternoon, November 23. We hope you will be with us for the entire session if possible.

The session will be held at the Hotel Pick-Carter in Cleveland. You can make your own reservations, or let me know if you want me to handle them. I would appreciate knowing when you will be in attendance. The Cleveland committee threatens to exploit some of us for TV and radio publicity.

See you in Cleveland.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul Rilling

PMR/mr

November 13, 1963

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Executive Director
Commissioners' Council on Human Relations
Room 208, District Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Friend:

Mildred has got me booked on a dinner flight to Cleveland on Thursday, November 21, and on a morning flight back on Saturday.

I have not yet decided what I will talk about, but I suppose I'll have something when I get there, not written.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

February 23, 1965

Mr. Paul Rilling
Commissioners' Council on Human
Relations
208 District Building
Washington 4, D. C.

Dear Paul:

When Jesse Hill returned from the Inauguration he told me of seeing you on television, and of how impressed he was by the job you had done on the hotel issue. Reading about it in George Lardner's column prompts me to write my congratulations. Best wishes, and come to see us.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

6-Committee for Ky

June 6, 1949

Mr. Harry W. Schacter
Committee for Kentucky
506 South Third Street
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Schacter:

On somebody's desk in New York the other day I saw a whole flock of your pamphlets about things like labor and agriculture in Kentucky. We've got the labor one around, but that's our latest. Would it break your budget to have someone wrap up one of each and mail to me? I would appreciate it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

6 — Committee for Ky

Committee for Kentucky

A FACTFINDING COMMITTEE WHOSE OBJECTIVE IS THE WELFARE OF ALL OF KENTUCKY . . .

506 S. Third St., Louisville 2, Ky.

June 7, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of June 6. We are pleased to send you, under separate cover, a complete set of the Committee for Kentucky's fact-finding studies.

The Committee's latest report, on taxation, should be off the press within the next week or so, and we shall be glad to send you a copy as soon as it is available.

Cordially yours,

Harry W. Schacter

CA

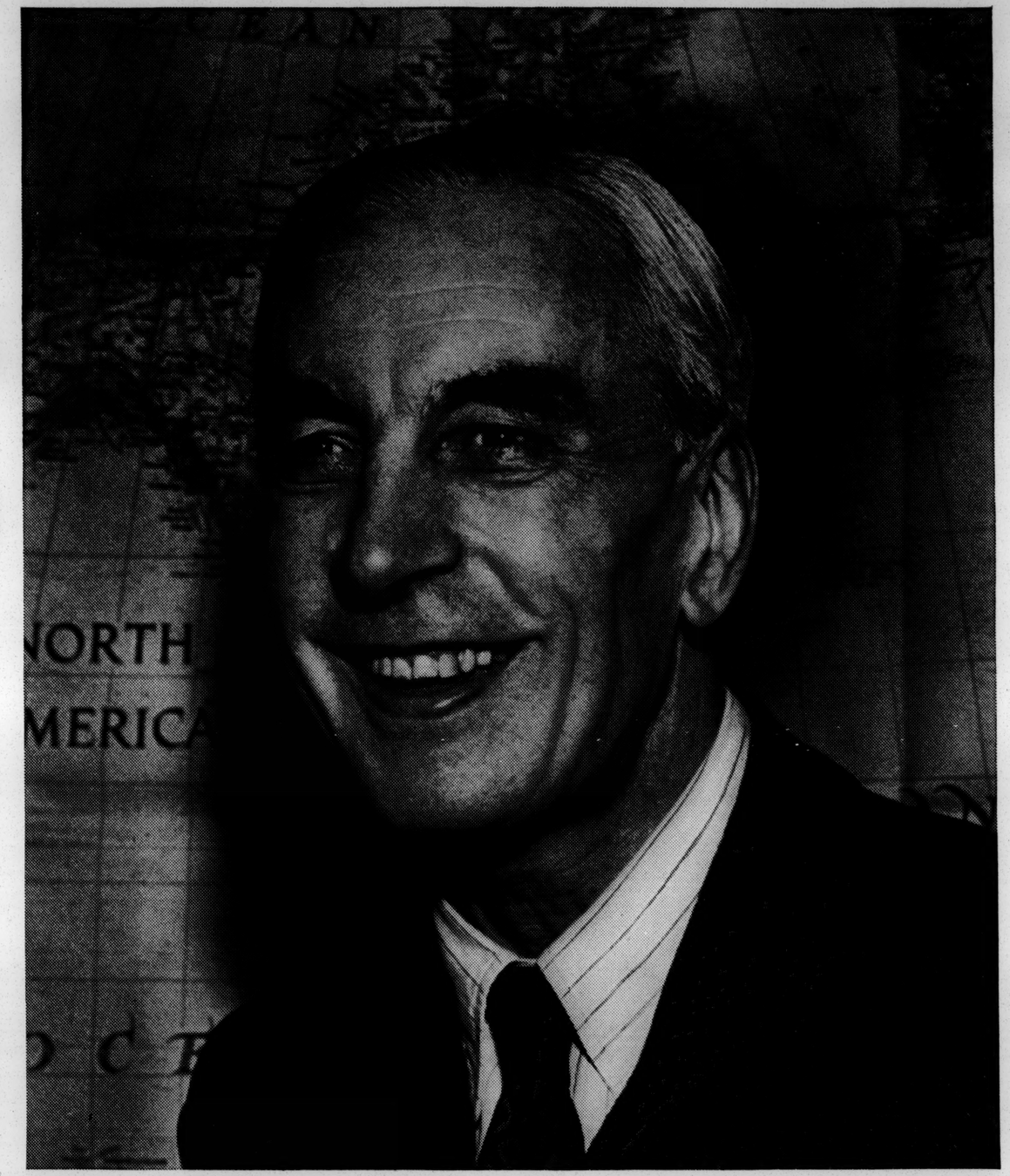
RECEIVED
JUN 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

PRESIDENT: HARRY W. SCHACTER - - - - - - - President, Kaufman-Straus Company, Louisville, Kentucky
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT: JOE BETTS - - - - - - - Director of Information, Kentucky Farm Bureau Federation
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT: DR. R. B. ATWOOD - - - - - - - - - - President, Kentucky State College
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT: MRS. CHARLES T. SHELTON - Former President, Kentucky Congress of Parents and Teachers
SECRETARY: DR. JOHN W. BROOKER - - - - - - - - Executive Secretary, Kentucky Education Association
TREASURER: EDWARD H. WEYLER - - - - - - - - Secretary-Treasurer, Kentucky State Federation of Labor
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR—MAURICE DEITSELL BEMENT
DIRECTOR OF COMMUNITY SERVICE—JAMES W. ARMSTRONG

How to turn the tables on Russia

By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

There will be no shooting war with Russia, says the man widely regarded as the most distinguished living historian. In fact, he declares we can actually turn the Red threat to our own advantage. His hopeful yet sternly realistic program, presented here, will interest everyone who is disturbed by the cold war. This is a condensation of an article from the August COMPANION, now on sale.



NO ONE IS BETTER QUALIFIED to set the cold war in its proper perspective than Mr. Toynbee, the great British historian. His two recent books, "A Study of History" and "Civilization on Trial," are not only best sellers but are also considered the most authoritative and scholarly historical writings of this decade.

A THIRD WORLD WAR seems unlikely to me. In a "shooting war" with the west, Russia would be at an enormous disadvantage. The west's technological superiority is crushing. For as far as one can see ahead, Russia has no prospect of drawing level with us, even if she does manage to get hold of this or that bit of "know-how." So why should Russia ask for trouble by starting a "shooting war," especially when she is already waging another kind of warfare—the "cold war," as we have learned to call it—in which she seems to think that the "know-how" is her own monopoly?

The prospect before us is not a third war of the shooting kind. But if we believe this consoling idea we must also be careful to remind ourselves that a reprieve from catastrophe does not mean release from trouble and anxiety. In our personal lives we may win freedom from fear and want but first-hand experience teaches us that in this mortal life

my, those herrings do come in fresh and the price that they fetch on the market pays for the catfish's toll on them fifty times over."

I am suggesting now that in the herring tank we call the Western World, Russian Communism is the obliging catfish and Providence the resourceful captain. The Russians' providential mission (and for all we know, we westerners are performing the same service for them) is to keep us westerners fresh and lively—to make sure that we carry out alertly and efficiently all kinds of things which we long ago placed on our agenda, things which we may have always meant to do but which—being human—we might not have done so quickly or so thoroughly if Providence hadn't tossed that Communist catfish into our tank.

The joke is that this mission, which looks like Communism's deep historic role, is the opposite of the mission

our time? I should say that it is to go on extending to the whole of society the material and spiritual benefits already

The general improvement we seek for the majority can be provided for partly out of the general increase in our

There will be no shooting war with Russia, says the man widely regarded as the most distinguished living historian. In fact, he declares we can actually turn the Red threat to our own advantage. His hopeful yet sternly realistic program, presented here, will interest everyone who is disturbed by the cold war. This is a condensation of an article from the August COMPANION, *now on sale.*

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The prospect before us is not a third war of the shooting kind. But if we believe this consoling idea we must also be careful to remind ourselves that a reprieve from catastrophe does not mean release from trouble and anxiety. In our personal lives we may win freedom from fear and want but first-hand experience teaches us that in this mortal life there is no hope of winning freedom from worry. This is equally true of public affairs. The worry of the cold war is already with us and we can be sure it will long keep us under a strain. Perhaps we shall have to live with it all our lives and our children through their lives, too. In public, as in private life, we have to learn to live with our troubles. But it does lie in our hands, if we choose, to turn unavoidable worries to good account.

Let us get to grips with our political worries by translating them into familiar terms.

We believe that competition is the life of free enterprise. Well, the Russians have entered the idea market with the offer of a competitive substitute. In competitive business we believe in advertising. Well, advertising is merely the businessman's name for propaganda. Our business experience tells us that the one advertisement that stands all tests is to produce the best goods on the market. And isn't that just what our Russian competitors are forcing us to do?

They wish to impose their way of life on the rest of the world. I don't believe they will succeed. But I do believe that by being there and worrying us they will cause us to do all kinds of things in our own way which will change our way of life, develop it and I hope improve it —and thereby make it quite impossible for the Russians to impose their way of life upon us.

Perhaps I can make my point clear by telling an English story. In England we are herring-minded because we have an inexhaustible herring pond off our east coast in the North Sea. So long as herrings choose to browse there, we shall not starve; but there is all the difference in the world between a fresh herring and a stale one. Our fishermen are always competing with one another to bring their fish fresh to their customers. Dead herrings soon turn flabby and tasteless, so the fishermen took to building tanks into their trawlers and keeping their catch alive till they could bring them into port. Even those tank-trapped herrings, though, came to market the worse for wear. They were prisoners and they felt it. They felt it and turned sluggish. They turned sluggish and lost their savor, almost as if they had been already dead.

Was there no trick for keeping them, not just alive, but lively? Evidence showed that there was. One captain used always to bring his catch in so beautifully fresh that the buyers tumbled over one another in their eagerness to take their herrings from him. What was his secret? One day the successful captain whispered it to a friend of mine.

"It is really very simple," he said. "With every thousand herrings I put into my tank one catfish and that catfish can be trusted to keep the herrings lively. To be sure, he will eat one or two of them on the way to port; but that is the catfish's wages. And he is worth his keep for my, those herrings do come in fresh and the price that they fetch on the market pays for the catfish's toll on them fifty times over."

I am suggesting now that in the herring tank we call the Western World, Russian Communism is the obliging catfish and Providence the resourceful captain. The Russians' providential mission (and for all we know, we westerners are performing the same service for them) is to keep us westerners fresh and lively—to make sure that we carry out alertly and efficiently all kinds of things which we long ago placed on our agenda, things which we may have always meant to do but which—being human—we might not have done so quickly or so thoroughly if Providence hadn't tossed that Communist catfish into our tank.

The joke is that this mission, which looks like Communism's deep historic role, is the opposite of the mission that the Russians have fancied for themselves. What they actually are going to do for us—if we seize the opportunities that the cold war is thrusting into our hands—is to stimulate us to improve our own way of life along our own lines by our own choice. What the Russians want to do, of course, is to impose their Russian way of life on us in place of ours. For the Russians the actual outcome of their activities is going to be exasperatingly disappointing if we take their challenge in the right spirit. It is exasperating to produce great effects which are the reverse of what you intended; but such is life.

What we westerners can do in this cold war which the Russians have started is to let the Russians keep us lively in getting on with our own business. The cold war is a kind of wager. Each of the two competitors is betting that he can make his own way of life so manifestly superior to his rival's that all mankind is bound to become his customer and thereby put the rival firm out of business.

In such a cold war you cannot put your competitor out of action by dynamiting his plant. And your rival cannot prevent you from defeating him by improving your own product to any extent you choose. On your own premises you have a free hand. Your competitor cannot frustrate you. You can go straight ahead. It is up to you, and you alone.

In our democratic social plant we have a free hand in two senses. We are free to do whatever we set out to do, without being exposed to frustration through Russian interference. And we are free from being bound by any uniform blueprint of our own making.

This freedom, within our own family, to pursue common aims in different ways is one of the strong points of our western way of life. It is well illustrated in the Constitution of the United States. Within the framework of the Federal Constitution, each state is free to follow its own policy, enact its own legislation and maintain its own standards. This freedom is the strength of the Union. The lessons of local experience are at everybody's disposal to apply, if he chooses, to his own situation with any necessary modifications. But the unregimented variety in the parts is balanced by an unforced unity in the whole community's way of life.

What is true of the relation between the states and the Union in this country is also true of the relation between the United States and the other countries of the western world on both sides of the Atlantic. Our common way of life and common aims give us mutual understanding, sympathy and confidence. In this spirit we can profit from one another's experience without feeling constrained either to take our neighbor's particular path toward our common goal or to push him into taking ours.

What is the main objective of our western society in our time? I should say that it is to go on extending to the whole of society the material and spiritual benefits already enjoyed by the middle class. We have been moving fairly steadily in this direction for the last hundred or hundred and fifty years and have made such progress that the great majority of people in all classes in all western countries have fixed their hopes on it as an obviously attainable ideal. When people believe that they are going to obtain substantial social justice by agreement, the Communist doctrine of class war does not attract them. The effect that Communism will have on the course of our social evolution in the west can be, not to deflect us into its own path of violence but to keep us on the move along a path of our own—a path we were following in the west before Communism was ever heard of.

The distinctive feature of our western philosophy of social progress is our belief that a humane and Christian end ought to be pursued by humane and Christian means. Good will toward underprivileged sections of the community is ill served, we believe, by vindictiveness toward privileged sections. Our aim is to make our common life better for all without making life impossible for any.

The general improvement we seek for the majority can be provided for partly out of the general increase in our wealth resulting from our continuing advances in technology. Yet even in the United States it also requires adjustments demanding considerable sacrifices from a minority. And this minority, being human, is always likely to be conservative-minded about social reforms that have to be made somewhat at its expense. So if there were no catfish in the herring pond, the pace of social change might be in danger of slowing down to an unwarrantably sluggish rate. The catfish has his use in keeping the herring moving at a maximum velocity. The Russians will stimulate us to put our own house in better and better order.

If we take the opportunity, the future lies in our hands. We shall create a social and spiritual climate in the world which eventually, in a rather undramatic and gradual way, will make one world — not in our lifetime, but in the lifetime perhaps of our children or our grandchildren.

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Committee for Ky

REPORT OF PROGRESS

FROM THE
Committee for Kentucky
506 S. Third St., Louisville 2, Ky.

OFFICE OF THE
PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
25 1949
Council

Number 17 October 17, 1949

It has been almost six months since our last Report of Progress. These have been months of intense activity and important accomplishment, coupled with wider and wider recognition of the Committee throughout the country and overseas. Here are some of the highlights:

Item - Community Caravan. By far the most important activity of the Committee in these past six months has been the work of the Community Caravan, a 33-foot trailer which is carrying the message of the Committee for Kentucky and the need for citizen cooperation in local communities to many Kentucky towns. The reception of the Caravan in practically every community has been most enthusiastic--the reaction of the citizens even better than we had hoped. Jim Armstrong, Maurice Bement, and Bill Armstrong have had some high adventure.

Item - Taxation Report. The Taxation report, which has been printed and distributed, has been a significant contribution to the work of the Committee. It has won recognition throughout the country. Dr. James W. Martin's national reputation as a tax expert would have insured this anyway, but the reception of the report has been even better than anticipated.

Item - Kentucky Dam Conference. A conference of representatives of the Kentucky Chamber of Commerce, the Agricultural and Industrial Development Board, the Bureau of Community Service of the University of Kentucky, the Murray College - TVA community service program, and the Committee for Kentucky was held at Kentucky Dam State Park on June 24-25, with Murray College serving as host. In addition to representatives from these five organizations, approximately 150 leaders from the communities of the Purchase area came to discuss the community work being done in the state. On Friday night, June 24, the group assembled to hear a magnificent address by Gordon R. Clapp, chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority. The title of his speech was "Changes Taking Place in the Tennessee Valley Region."

Item - State Fair. The Community Caravan had a most attractive set up at the State Fair. The officials of the Fair cooperated wholeheartedly and permitted our entire exhibit to be set up without charge as a public service. It attracted great attention.

Item - Finance. We are delighted to inform you that our budget is in balance and that we have enough money to take us comfortably through to March 1, 1950.

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There may be even a small surplus to turn over to the University of Kentucky.

Item - State Government Magazine Article. In a recent issue of the magazine, State Government, there appeared an interesting article on the Committee for Kentucky by the Hon. H. Clyde Reeves, Commissioner of Revenue for the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

Item - Survey Magazine Article. The August issue of the Survey Magazine--the most important magazine in the field of social work--carried as its feature article a piece called "Kentucky Woke Up." This consisted of an editorial foreword and excerpts from three chapters of the book, KENTUCKY ON THE MARCH, together with some very attractive illustrations of Kentucky scenes.

Item - Reader's Digest Article. An article called "Kentucky on the March" appeared in the current (October) issue of Reader's Digest. It is written by Karl Detzer, one of their roving editors. A reprint of this article is attached herewith. It is interesting to note the extent to which the Digest went in its publicity on this article. In the Courier-Journal-Louisville Times issues of September 23, there appeared about a half-column ad of the Digest, featuring about a half dozen articles appearing in the October issue but highlighting in some detail the article on the Committee for Kentucky. On all newsstand copies of the October Digest there is a very attractive band reading "Don't Miss 'Kentucky Shows the Way' - Page 67."

Item - 500 reprints of the Reader's Digest article have been ordered by Ed Weyler for distribution at the convention of the State Federation of Labor in October. An additional 500 have been ordered by John Brooker for distribution to city and county school officials throughout the state. Joe Betts ordered 2,700 copies for distribution to key people in the Farm Bureau Federation.

Item - State Department Documentary Film. On Friday, September 16, a delightful meeting was held in Louisville for Hamilton MacFadden, associate chief of the International Motion Picture Division of the State Department. Mr. MacFadden and Miss Vada Ward, associate producer, came to Louisville to explore the possibilities of a documentary film on the Committee for Kentucky for use abroad by the State Department. After the meeting, Mr. MacFadden showed a recent documentary called "Holtville, Alabama," which the State Department had just finished. We do not know at this writing whether the State Department will make the Committee film, but we do know that its interest is very great.

Item - Through Hamilton MacFadden in New York, your president met Marcus Cunliffe, head of the Department of American Studies of the University of Manchester, England. Mr. Cunliffe was so intensely interested in the work of the Committee for Kentucky that he volunteered to use the materials in his work at the University of Manchester this winter.

Mr. Cunliffe had been in this country for two years studying the American scene and doing considerable work at Yale University. Your president has just received a very interesting letter from him from England, commenting on his visit to America. He said, in part: "After reading your book I am convinced that you have found, not the complete answer for the United States but at any rate the most important answer that has been stated in our time. Your plan makes sense, in economic terms, to all shades of opinion...In spiritual terms it holds out a powerful attraction to men. Its approach

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is steady, secular, unsentimental: all, I feel, right for our times...To turn a nation of joiners into a nation of belongers is a big but worthwhile ambition...I will try to use your story as much as possible in teaching here."

Item - Local Radio Stations. Hitherto WHAS was the one station that primarily concerned itself with the work of the Committee for Kentucky, although others helped along. However, with the publication of KENTUCKY ON THE MARCH, a number of the local stations went all out to help.

Station WAVE had a dramatized program on the book, on which Mark Ethridge and your president appeared.

Station WAVE - TV had a television review of the book by Mr. Hodapp and your president.

Station WLOU devoted the Linda Daly program to a review of the book and the work of the Committee.

Station WKLO had a 30-minute panel discussion on the book and the work of the Committee for Kentucky, under the auspices of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. Ed Weyler and your president appeared on this program with two members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Station WKYW is planning a series of spot announcements of one to two minutes duration intensively advertising the book, without any charge to us, of course.

Other local stations are considering additional programs.

Item - CBS Documentary. Since the last report of progress Werner Michel, Director of Productions, Public Affairs, of the Columbia Broadcasting System, spent several days in Kentucky exploring the possibilities for the documentary broadcast. As a result of his visit, CBS sent Sam Abelow to Kentucky for a ten-day period to collect material for the documentary. We understand that the script is almost finished and that the documentary will be broadcast for a full hour on a coast to coast network before some six million people some time early in November.

Item - Martha Deane Program. On Tuesday, November 8, the Martha Deane program over Station WOR, of the Mutual Broadcasting System, will broadcast a program which will consist of a panel discussion of KENTUCKY ON THE MARCH between five women who have read the book and your president. It should be an interesting broadcast.

Item - Eternal Light Program. One of the very fine religious programs in the country is the "Eternal Light" program which is broadcast over a network of some 88 radio stations every Sunday. The producer of this program read Billy Rose's column and immediately decided that the spiritual implications of the Committee for Kentucky would make an excellent dramatized broadcast. A special writer was employed to do the job, and the program will be broadcast on Sunday, January 8, 1950.

Item - Book. The book, KENTUCKY ON THE MARCH, which tells the story of the Committee for Kentucky, was published on September 7. It had on the jacket a warm endorsement of the book by five distinguished Americans--Vice President

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Barkley, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Gordon Clapp, chairman of TVA, Harold W. Dodds, president of Princeton University, and Marquis Childs, the eminent columnist. On publication date, September 7, Billy Rose devoted his entire column to the book. As a result, the book went into a second printing the very next day. Because Billy Rose's column appears in close to 400 newspapers with a circulation of some 30 million, the mail has been enormous. Billy Rose's column is so interesting that a copy is herewith attached.

Item - Ordway Tead, of Harper and Brothers, who published KENTUCKY ON THE MARCH, told your president that for a book of its kind the sales so far have been "phenomenal."

Item - On Friday morning, October 7, your president had the stimulating experience of being escorted to the White House by Vice President Barkley and presenting a copy of the book to President Truman. The President was most interested in the work of the Committee for Kentucky and said he was going to read the book. It was a very pleasant occasion.

Item - Toynbee Reprint. In the August issue of Woman's Home Companion there appeared an article by Arnold Toynbee, eminent historian, which was digested and reprinted as a full-page advertisement by that magazine. Because the analogy to the work of the Committee for Kentucky is so clear, your president, at his own expense, purchased reprints to enclose with this report of progress.

Item - Pan-American Union. It is with considerable pride that we inform you that we received a letter from Luis Carlos Mancini, of the Pan-American Union, asking for permission to translate some of the Committee for Kentucky reports and materials into Spanish and Portuguese for use throughout the South American countries. We readily granted this permission.

Item - Blueprint Report. All the committees working on the Blueprint Report had their reports in on schedule. The only casualty was the Transportation section. The diversion of opinion as between the railroads, the bus lines, and the truckers was so great that no agreement could be reached, and this committee has been released.

However, instead of a section on Transportation in the Blueprint Report, we are going to have a section on Highways contributed by Lyter Donaldson. Mr. Donaldson, as you know, was State Highway Commissioner of Kentucky for a number of years and is exceptionally well qualified to make this report.

The job of editing all of the reports and cutting them down to size was so tremendous that it was deemed advisable for Mr. Bement to go off by himself for a week to do the job. This is nearing completion and will be presented to the members of the Committee at a meeting in Louisville on Friday, October 14. We think it will be a very significant report.

Item - Your staff is in the midst of converting the Community Caravan to winter operation. On October 17 the Caravan will start out again on its great state-wide tour.

Item - We have received so many inquiries as to what the Community Caravan is like that we are attaching herewith a special report giving the answers to the questions asked most frequently.

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Item - Dr. Howard W. Beers, head of the Department of Rural Sociology of the University of Kentucky, and author of the Committee for Kentucky's report on Welfare is right now in Athens, Greece. He will be there a year as Fullbright Exchange Professor in the Superior School of Agriculture in Athens. It wouldn't surprise us too much, knowing of Howard's charm and persuasiveness, if at the first meeting of the "Committee for Greece" there weren't present members of both the guerillas and the regular Greek government. Howard should have much to tell on his return.

We regret that the lapse of six months has made this report so voluminous. We hope that you will find it of interest.

And now we are on the home stretch, with five months to go and much to be done. But we do have the satisfaction of knowing that Kentucky is on the march.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry W. Schacter

HWS:CA
Enclosure

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PITCHING HORSESHOES
by
Billy Rose

(Column of September 7, 1949)

Today, Harpers is bringing out a book called "Kentucky on the March," and I think everybody and his Aunt Esmeralda ought to read it. It's a simple but somehow inspiring saga of how a group of plain Joes decided to make their state a better place in which to live--and then did it.

The author is Harry W. Schacter, boss-man of a Louisville department store, and the story, as he told it to me in my office some months ago and as he now tells it in his book, goes something like this:

Six years ago, Harry got fed up with the bickerings and dickerings of the politicos at the state capital and registered his protest at a joint conclave of labor, business and farm associations. After a lot of palaver, the end result was another of those "we-view-with-alarm" resolutions.

As the session was about to break up, a farmer sitting in the back of the room got to his feet. "You may not realize it," he said, "but the folks in this hall represent a lot of votes. Instead of passing resolutions, wouldn't it be a better idea to find out what's ailing our state and then go to work and see if we can't cure it? And when I say 'we,' I'm not referring to the legislators in Frankfort--I mean us, our friends, wives and kinfolk."

Well, what happened after that could only take place in a fairy tale or at a meeting of ordinary citizens of the United States. Before the conferees caught their breath and went home, the Committee for Kentucky had been formed, and early the next morning it went to work.

When word got around the state that a lot of plain Joes had banded together and were going to by-pass the politicians, other organizations began to sign up; and before long, eighty-eight groups representing 450,000 citizens--about two-thirds of the voters in the state--were behind the new movement. And although Kentucky is a Jim Crow state, Negroes were invited to participate on the basis of full equality.

What did the committee do first? Well, being plain Joes instead of Joe McGeniuses, it called in a lot of knowledgeable fellows and asked them to put on paper the hundred and one things that were wrong with Kentucky. And the reports, when they came in a few months later, didn't make pretty reading.

To begin with, for fifty years Kentucky had been steadily going downhill. In 1940, it was either at or near the bottom of the forty-eight states in most of the things that make life worth living. It was forty-seventh in illiteracy and forty-sixth in deaths from tuberculosis; two-thirds of its schools didn't have safe drinking water, and some 42,000 farm homes didn't even have a privy. And as Mr. Schacter tells it, the committee could have saved on paper by just putting down what was good and adding, "The rest is bad."

Once the fact-finding was finished, the fact-distributing began. Financed by Joe and his missus, and using newspapers, radio stations, lecturers and traveling exhibits, the committee brought the sorry saga to the attention of everybody old enough to think.

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And from then on, plenty began to happen. Soon towns, villages and whistle stops had set up their own committees and, after several big state-wide get-togethers, the combined thinking of all the Joes was welded into one "People's Legislative Program."

"Mighty fine idea, said the politicians when it was presented to them, "but who's going to pay for it all?"

"That's easy," said the committee's chairman. "The people--through taxes. Whether you think so or not, our folks are more interested in living decently than in lowering the tax rate a few mills."

The legislators did a double-take, thought of the elections coming up, and then passed twenty-six of the thirty-eight planks in the program--at a hoist in the annual budget of $13,000,000.

And that, in short, is how the Blue Grass State began to hoist itself by its own shoelaces. Of course, the job is a long way from being finished, but so much of a revolution has been accomplished in people's thinking that recently, when the mayor of a certain town announced he was going to cut the tax rate, a delegation of business men promptly visited him. "We want to protest this tax reduction," said the spokesman. "What we need is more taxes, not less. How can we get our new power plant and our new recreation hall built if we don't shell out for them?"

At a recent town hall meeting in Henderson, a local committeeman named Jim Anderson presented a credo which is worth repeating:

"The Committee for the City and County of Henderson is more than an organization. It is a faith--a faith in the ideology of democracy. It is a physical embodiment of the belief that men and women can assemble from different interests and occupations, from different racial stocks and religions, from different social and economic conditions, and, by subordinating special interest to general interests, can thereby achieve a richer, fuller community life than is otherwise obtainable."

I'm writing this out-and-out plug for "Kentucky on the March" because it's my belief that the battle for democracy in this country will be won or lost in our small towns. As I see it, at no time in our history has there been so great a challenge to our freedom as today, and I think this freedom can best be preserved by a hard-hitting democracy functioning effectively at the local level in 10,000 American communities.

Moreover, I have no faith in the self-declared geniuses who presume to call the shots for millions of people, and I submit that the history books prove that the wisdom of political supermen, with few exceptions, has been a lot less than super.

"Kentucky on the March," with a foreword by Mark Ethridge, publisher of "The Louisville Courier-Journal," isn't a book for bureaucrats or gentlemen with foreign labels on their underpants. It sets out to prove that there's safety only in the thinking of numbers, and offers a blueprint on how to achieve a state of welfare without the welfare state.

Read it, please, and then pass it on to the fellow who lives next door.

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28TH YEAR The Reader's Digest OCTOBER 1949

An article a day of enduring significance, in condensed permanent booklet form

A labor leader and a department-store executive had a conversation, citizens banded together, the facts they dug up shocked the Blue Grass state out of its dream of the past

KENTUCKY ON THE MARCH

By Karl Detzer

THE LITTLE CAR was chuffing along Kentucky's Shelbyville Pike one evening in 1943 when the driver said: "There's something wrong with this state. Something serious. If we could just find out what . . ."

"Let's try," his companion answered. "And let's tell the people what we find."

That brief dialogue was perhaps the most important bit of conversation held in Kentucky during the past 50 years. The two men and some of their friends did set out to discover what ailed their state. The facts jarred Kentucky out of its charming complacency.

Kentucky is a proud state. It liked to remind itself that it produced the most beautiful women, the mellowest whisky, the fastest horses and the warmest hospitality in the world. It didn't like to talk about its backwardness in such matters as education, public health, farming methods and per capita income. Genial, engaging and slightly shabby, Kentucky chose to forget that 42,000 of its farm homes had neither an inside toilet nor even an outdoor privy.

The two men in the little car that evening were an unusual pair on their way home from an unusual errand. The driver was a big, erudite, soft-spoken carpenter named Ed Weyler who has long served as secretary-treasurer of the state Federation of Labor. Beside him rode Harry W. Schacter, a successful Louisville department-store president. Unlike Weyler, Schacter was no native son; he had been born in New York City, there taught Greek and Latin before he chose merchandising as a career and moved to Louisville more than 20 years ago.

Together this day in 1943 the carpenter and the merchant had gone to the state capitol to argue before a legislature committee against abolishing the state income tax. On the

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A BOOK setting forth in rich detail the origin and workings of the Committee for Kentucky has been written by Harry W. Schacter (*Kentucky on the March*, Harper & Brothers, $3). "It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of this book," declares Vice-President Alben W. Barkley.

way they decided to find out why so much needed legislation was voted down.

A few weeks later Schacter, addressing the state Merchants Association, dropped a few well-placed remarks about conditions at the capitol — the outworn laws, the partisan politics which clouded clear thinking. He concluded with a few statistics on health, education and income, all of which affect merchants.

Schacter shocked his fellow storekeepers into mass action. Letters were dispatched to state legislators and officers, demanding in the names of 3800 merchants that the two branches of government forget political differences and coöperate for the benefit of all the people.

To strengthen their position, the merchants called on other state-wide organizations to meet with them. Business and industry, education, agriculture, union labor, the state Federation of Women's Clubs and professional societies were represented among those who assembled to discuss the crisis. Spokesmen for some 50 organizations, they represented approximately 350,000 voters. Members of both political parties listened hard while the group agreed on joint action to secure for Kentucky its quota of modern, workable laws.

Then young Joe Betts, who represented the Farm Bureau, asked from the floor, "Why don't we form this into a permanent organization to work for all kinds of worth-while things? We represent most of the people in the state and through us they could make their voices heard." Thus was born the Committee for Kentucky.

The Committee moved slowly at first. It offered no panaceas, merely dug for facts. Small volunteer groups, often led by faculty members from the state university, began the weary task of collecting evidence and double-checking statistics. Doctors studied public health; railroad, bus, truck and air-line officials, aided by manufacturers' traffic engineers, took on the stupendous task of discovering what ailed the state's crawling transportation. Teachers and parents worked together, probing the dark areas in education. Others studied the state's natural resources, social welfare, agriculture, manufacturing, the state constitution and its legislative program.

While the Committee for Kentucky was examining the state as a whole, individual communities, large and small, formed local committees and began to survey themselves from cellar to garret. They sought out the reasons for their areas of decay, hunted unused resources within themselves. In the shady streets of many a quiet town, cold realism wrestled with local pride — and nearly everywhere realism won.

The Louisville *Courier-Journal*, one of the nation's great crusading newspapers, early joined the fight, as did its radio station, powerful WHAS. Day after day, week after week, they told the truth about Kentucky. The revelations brought protests from many proud citizens. A few city

Chambers of Commerce and certain bankers condemned the committee for "washing dirty linen in public."

At each new disclosure, thousands of Kentuckians winced. They disliked hearing that the state's per capita income was only 59 percent of the national average, that the population had decreased ten percent in three years, that 4000 public-school teachers earned only $12 a week on a 52-week basis. They were dismayed to learn that only 63 out of 100 Kentucky children had the advantage of an elementary education, against a national average of 95.

Kentucky learned too that the drinking water in two thirds of the state's schools was unsafe, that 13,000 farmers must haul water an average of four miles for their stock. More than half the farms, the committee discovered, earned less than $400 a year. Kentucky stood third highest among the 48 states in tuberculosis death rates.

While the distressing revelations were still pouring out of committee headquarters, Kentuckians rolled up their sleeves and got to work. The legislature, sensing the new unity, harkened closely to the committee's wants. When the committee recommended 38 new bills, 26 of them won. For the first time in generations, party lines didn't mean much at the capitol.

The legislature created a state Agricultural and Industrial Development Board, gave the state university a substantial increase in funds for research and experiment, created an efficient forest service. It voted to supplement rural teachers' pay by three million dollars, supported a program for better medical care for rural people. Five million was allotted to county roads and bridges, $750,000 to a state highway patrol, which has since become a state police force. Negroes may now train for nursing, medicine and surgery in hospitals within the state. At long last it is illegal to employ children under 14 in Kentucky, except as domestic and farm help.

"But we want you to understand," one member of the committee says, "we didn't force these changes. We merely pointed out existing conditions, compared them with other states and created a moral climate which made progress inevitable."

Not only the state but individual towns and counties feel the benefit of this changed "moral climate." One of the first to survey itself and plan its future was the prosperous and pleasant little city of Henderson, with a population of 25,000.

In February 1946, 15 Henderson citizens formed a temporary organization, decided that every group, every creed and color must coöperate if Henderson's self-investigation were to be a success. Shut-ins with telephones at their bedsides were made "town criers" to stir out the populace. Committee members punched doorbells. The town turned out 2500 strong for a meeting and launched its drive. That's equivalent to a mass meeting of 900,000 people in New York City.

One of the committee's first recommendations was a sewer system for its outlying areas which were creating a serious health menace. Taxpayers had long shied away from a bond issue, but a bond issue was approved, and Henderson now has a safe sewer system.

The Committee for Henderson looked into the 15 different fund drives each year, joined them in a community chest, then tackled the juvenile-delinquency problem by proposing a city-wide summer recreation program. Two full-time social-welfare workers were hired.

The city opened a free dental clinic, a baby clinic, a venereal clinic, staffed a civic health center with doctors and nurses. Zoning ordinances restricted the entire river front, with the exception of a small commercial area, to parks and playgrounds, with single-family residences above the bluffs.

"We've got a nice town now," Henderson says, "but just wait 20 years! There'll be nothing like it, anywhere."

These innovations all cost money. The Committee for Kentucky has emphasized that the people will have to pay for what they order. Nearly everywhere taxpayers have been willing, and eager, to pay more in order to get more.

That attitude is part of what Kentucky means by a new moral climate. Henderson was the first community to get a good grip on its bootstraps, but a score of other towns have examined themselves and gone to work.

In village streets and on mountain roads these days the people of Kentucky may expect to see a huge house trailer with the words "Committee for Kentucky" painted on its sides. It belongs to James W. Armstrong, a former university dean, who dedicates all his days and nights to touring his state. He, together with Maurice D. Bement, executive director of the committee, and Bill Armstrong, technician, parks for an hour or a week wherever he can stir up a crowd and with motion pictures and sound recordings tells the story of Kentucky's awakening. Before leaving a community, they confer with a committee of local citizens who have gone to work studying their own needs and planning for the future.

Radio station WHAS has a weekly program which has stirred many a town into action. At the same time, Ewing Galloway, New York photographer and Henderson County farmer, writes a column appearing in more than 100 newspapers. Both the radio show and the column are called "Kentucky on the March." They epitomize what has happened in the land of the blue grass since a carpenter and a storekeeper got to talking in a car one day six years ago on the Shelbyville Pike.

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ATTENTION!

If you are in a Kentucky community the next few months and happen to see a 33-foot aluminum trailer bearing the sign "Committee for Kentucky," we invite you to stop and see the Caravan show in operation.

What Is the Caravan? It is the Committee for Kentucky's mobile unit carrying poster exhibits, cameras, turntable, Selectroslide, and projection equipment for showing black and white and color sound movies, as well as Kodachrome slides of shots taken over Kentucky. The Caravan and travelling personnel are not only telling the story of the Committee for Kentucky, illustrated by pictures, but are also presenting 15-minute sound features, illustrated by Kentucky pictures, on community development and progress in the state of Kentucky. The unit is also presenting motion pictures, basic to the objectives and ideals of the Committee, direct to the people in the communities of Kentucky.

Caravan Trail. The Caravan will travel to approximately 70 communities in every region of the state before March 1, 1950. Obviously not all communities can be reached during this period, but we are making an earnest effort to visit as many towns as possible with populations of 2,500 or more.

What Is the Schedule? The schedule must be kept flexible as some centers demand more time than others; however, here is a tentative schedule showing general regions the Caravan will be travelling for the next few months:

Ashland - Morehead Area (Late October or Early November)

Ashland	Russell
Morehead	Olive Hill
Catlettsburg	

Covington - Northern Kentucky Area (November)

Covington	Ludlow
Newport	South Fort Mitchell
Fort Thomas	Elsmere
Bellevue	Dayton

Lexington - Bluegrass Area (Late November and December)

Lexington	Richmond
Frankfort	Winchester
Lawrenceburg	Mount Sterling
Versailles	Paris
Harrodsburg	Cynthiana
Danville	Georgetown
Nicholasville	

Caravan Personnel. In addition to the daytime poster displays and the night street shows, the Caravan personnel is programming before local service clubs, over the radio, and with any other local groups or organizations desiring programs on the work of the Committee.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

state committee for technical education

1429 SENATE STREET, COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA 29201 • PHONE 758-3171

A. WADE MARTIN
COORDINATOR

CHAIRMAN
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EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS
JESSE T. ANDERSON
COLUMBIA, S. C.
Superintendent of Education

WALTER W. HARPER
COLUMBIA, S. C.
Director, State Development Board

February 4, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I am sending you under separate cover two copies of THE ATTITUDES AND MOTIVATIONS OF SOUTHERN UNDERPRIVILEGED WORKERS, a report on findings of a study conducted during the past year. Also, I am sending a synopsis of the report which is less technical and which clearly sets forth the highlights.

I would like to suggest the name of Dr. Joseph E. Champagne as a consultant in matters pertaining ~~to employment~~ and the labor market. This young man is a product of Fordham and Purdue universities and has been very much involved in labor market research for the past several years that he has been associated with this organization.

I enjoyed meeting with you Wednesday and look forward to another such opportunity.

Sincerely,

John

John E. Hills, Director
DIVISION OF TECHNICAL SERVICES

JEH/lb

March 4, 1966

Mr. John E. Hills, Director
Division of Technical Services
State Committee for Technical Education
1429 Senate Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear John:

Thank you very much for the two copies of the study. They are already being poured over by our Research Department and I am sure they will be very helpful. I believe you also mentioned a study on the true number of unemployed. If any information is available on this subject, we would be grateful for the opportunity of sharing it.

It was good seeing you at the Director's Meeting and I hope we can get together again soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

WELD

Committee for Welfare, Education and Legal Defense

10 COLUMBUS CIRCLE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019
JUdson 2-2825

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS:

National Urban League

Educational Fund of the National Council of Negro Women

N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

Stephen R. Currier
Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Co-Chairmen

Lloyd K. Garrison
Treasurer

Trustees:

James Farmer
James Foreman
Jack Greenberg
Dorothy I. Height
Martin Luther King, Jr.
Roy Wilkins

Wiley A. Branton
Executive Director

5 February, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five Forsyth Street, North West
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

The Committee for Welfare, Education and Legal Defense is pleased to make a tentative grant to the Southern Regional Council in the amount of fifteen thousand dollars to strengthen the program of your Voter Education Project.

Our initial check in the amount of five thousand dollars is enclosed herein and you may expect the payment of another installment about May 1st if not sooner.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

Wiley A. Branton
Executive Director

H 5,000. CR
2/10/64
RHA

WAB:jgb
enc: check

Make folder:
Committee for
Etc

February 19, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Executive Director
Committee for Welfare, Education and
Legal Defense
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Branton:

On behalf of the Council, I acknowledge with deep thanks your letter of February 5, 1964, informing us that the Committee for Welfare, Education and Legal Defense has granted $15,000.00 to our Voter Education Project. Our official receipt is enclosed, covering the one-third of this grant transmitted with your letter.

It would be unnecessary in the extreme for me to comment on the value of the Voter Education Project, or the seriousness of its needs. Not only you but the Committee's officers and trustees are thoroughly expert on both matters.

And so, nothing needs to be said -- except thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)
cc: The Voter Education Project - Atlanta.

RHA please ack

WELD

Committee for Welfare, Education and Legal Defense

10 COLUMBUS CIRCLE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019
JUdson 2-2825

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Educational Fund of the National Council of Negro Women
N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

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Co-Chairmen
Lloyd K. Garrison
Treasurer
Trustees:
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James Foreman
Jack Greenberg
Dorothy I. Height
Martin Luther King, Jr.
Roy Wilkins

Wiley A. Branton
Executive Director

27 April, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We enclose herein a check from WELD in the amount of $5,000.00 representing the second installment of three of the $15,000.00 grant made to the Southern Regional Council for the work of the Voter Education Project.

CK 4/28/64 RHA

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Executive Director

WAB:jgb
enc: one

File: Voter Education
Committee for Welfare, Education & Legal Defense

April 29, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Executive Director
Committee for Welfare, Education
and Legal Defense
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Branton:

Mr. Dunbar asked that I acknowledge receipt of the $5,000. check received April 28, 1964, representing the second installment of three toward the $15,000. grant to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. for work of the Voter Education Project.

The Council's official receipt is enclosed for your files.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/hs
Enclosure (Receipt - $5,000.)

May 1, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Executive Director
Committee for Welfare, Education and
Legal Defense
10 Columbus, Circle
New York, New York

Dear Wiley:

I have had a long interest in the matter of scholarships for the return to school of young people engaged in the direct action movement, and I know that you share this concern. From conversations I have had, both recently and in the past, with several foundation representatives, I can say that there is a considerable amount of interest in the problem among them. There is also, however, a good bit of confusion as to what has been done, what can be done, and what should be done.

Several things have, to my knowledge, been tried.

WELD made a grant to the National Council of Negro Women for this purpose. I understand that this grant has been largely used up.

CORE incorporated a special fund which raised altogether, I have been told, about $25,000. I suppose tax exemption was secured, but I don't know.

The Field Foundation made a couple grants to the American Baptists to administer scholarships for the purpose of returning civil rights workers to school. I believe the latest grant was in 1962-63, and may by now have been exhausted.

SNCC is currently trying to raise $90,000 for scholarships, and is suggesting that the money could be given to the National Council of Negro Women. In conversations with SNCC I have not found any intention to use, in this connection, the Student Aid Society, Inc. established a year or so ago for the purpose of administering scholarships; whether any steps have been taken to secure tax exemption for the Student Aid Society I don't know.

As you know, the John Hay Whitney Foundation has a longstanding program, not specifically for this purpose, but directed at getting scholarships to young Negroes who have displayed leadership abilities.

Recently, the Rockefeller Foundation granted $1,000,000 for scholarships, chiefly for Negro freshmen, to Emory, Tulane, Vanderbilt, and Duke.

And, of course, the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students continues its work.

I think WELD could render a most helpful service if it could collect all the facts on various programs and program possibilities for scholarships to students engaged in the civil rights movement. Perhaps WELD could also develop some ideas and procedures as to how those who wish to help could best do so.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/nmj

File
W.E.L.D.

MEMORANDUM April 21, 1965

To: Wiley Branton

From: Leslie W. Dunbar

I believe W.E.L.D. still owes VEP $5,000?

LWD

$5,000.00
5/10/65
LK

VEP

Recd 5/10/65 lmy

WELD

Committee for Welfare, Education and Legal Defense

10 COLUMBUS CIRCLE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019
JUdson 2-2825

RHA - please

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS:
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James Foreman
Jack Greenberg
Dorothy I. Height
Martin Luther King, Jr.
Roy Wilkins

Wiley A. Branton
Executive Director

April 30, 1965

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

I enclose a check from the Committee for Welfare, Education and Legal Defense, Inc., made payable to the Voter Education Project in the sum of $5,000. This represents payment of the third and final installment of the $15,000 grant approved by WELD several months ago.

The Board of Directors of WELD hopes that this grant has been of some value in the promotion of the Voter Education Project.

Because of the fact that I will be leaving WELD I am requesting that you send the official receipt to Mr. Jack Greenberg who is Secretary of WELD.

Very truly yours,

Wiley

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
enc. 1

See WELD

May 19, 1965

Mr. Jack Greenberg, Secretary
Committee for Welfare, Education
and Legal Defense
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Greenberg:

Mr. Dunbar asked that I acknowledge receipt of the $5,000. check from WELD representing the third and final installment of the $15,000. grant to the Voter Education Project.

The Council is grateful to WELD for this financial support in the promotion of the Voter Education Project. An official receipt is enclosed for your files.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/hs
Enclosure (Receipt - $5,000.)

PROGRAM

CONFERENCE OF EDITORS AND WRITERS OF THE SOUTH

Thursday, December 21, 1944
Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia

* * * * * *

Morning Session 10:00 A. M. - 12:30 P. M.

Mark Ethridge, Publisher,
Courier-Journal, Louisville, Kentucky, Presiding

Opening Remarks — Mr. Ethridge

Statement in Behalf of Sponsors
Nelson Poynter, Publisher,
St. Petersburg Times, St. Petersburg, Florida

Overall Picture
Jennings Perry, Editor, Nashville Tennessean

Review of Voting Restrictions in the Thirteen Southern States

Speakers:

Alabama	- -	Harry M. Ayers, Publisher, Anniston Star
Arkansas	- -	O. E. Jones, State Senator, and Publisher, Batesville Guard
Florida	- -	Nelson Poynter, Publisher, St. Petersburg Times
Georgia	- -	Harry S. Strozier, Attorney, and Contributing Editor, Macon News
Kentucky	- -	Tarleton Collier, Associate Editor, Louisville Courier-Journal
Louisiana	- -	Harnett Kane, Author, New Orleans
Mississippi	- -	Thomas Sanction, Author, Jackson
North Carolina	-	Jonathan Daniels, Editor, Raleigh News and Observer (Now: Administrative Assistant to the President, Washington, D. C.)
Oklahoma	- -	Roscoe Dunjee, Editor, Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City
South Carolina	-	George A. Buchanan, Editor, Columbia Record
Tennessee	- -	Jennings Perry, Editor, Nashville Tennessean
Texas	- -	Carter Wesley, President, Informer Newspapers, Houston
Virginia	- -	George S. Mitchell, Author, Richmond (Now: Regional Director, CIO-PAC, Atlanta)

Afternoon Session 2:30 P. M. - 5:30 P. M.

Open Forum Discussion

HOW WE KEEP PEOPLE FROM VOTING

Why has the south which cherishes the traditions of Jefferson and Jackson and which so largely supports President Roosevelt, fallen so far behind the rest of the country in voting? In the early part of the Nineteenth Century and even at the end of that century the south was one of the most democratic sections of the country.

During this century, however, laws, regulations and administrative practices have reduced voting in the south to such an extent that fewer people vote here than in any other part of the country. The striking contrast is shown in the two parts of the old state of Virginia. In 1940 four out of five eligible people voted in West Virginia, while the corresponding vote in Virginia was one in five.

When it is realized that in the state of Virginia no candidate for the U.S. Senate, for example, has been opposed since 1922, the significance of the waning democratic tradition in southern politics can be appreciated. The machine-control by small, powerful groups is what Jefferson and Jackson fought against throughout their careers. They knew that the best cure was the broad use of the franchise. The same condition confronts us today.

The obstacles to voting are many and varied. From state to state and county to county the regulations and practices differ.

REGISTRATION

In many cases the qualifications to register are so numerous and so personal that great power is given to the registrar, whose discretion is seldom challenged. Limitations with respect to property, employment, morals and education are invoked in many places only when the registrar wishes to disqualify someone.

Three of the five states in the union which require periodic registration are in the south. Atlanta on the other hand has an unusually good system of registration. Once registered a voter is on the rolls until he fails to vote. He then is sent a card which he must fill out and return if he wishes to stay on the rolls without having to register again.

In some states the time and place of registration is inadequate and confusing. In North Carolina this is modified by paying the registrar for each person registered. This incentive helps to overcome the fact that the books are not open for registration all the time at a specified place.

THE POLL TAX

The poll tax required by eight southern states as a prerequisite for voting is a great deterrent to voting. There is of course the financial burden. For many people even a dollar tax is a burden, and in some states the cumulative and penalty features make the tax as high as $36.00. In addition there is the great nuisance which the imposition of such a tax causes. Thirdly the pecuniary value which the poll tax places on the right to vote seems to give an added inducement to bribery and vote-selling. This has served to discredit politics and to decrease participation.

THE PRIMARY ELECTION

In the last twenty-five years with very few exceptions Federal and gubernatorial elections have been won by the Democratic party in the southern states. The Democratic primary has become in fact the final election for most of the south.

In several of the states it has been the practice in the past to prevent Negroes from participating in what was called a "white primary". The recent decision of the Supreme Court with respect to this practice in Texas has made the exclusion of Negroes illegal. The South Carolina legislature has tried to escape the ruling by eliminating all state laws with regard to the primary, even though in so doing the safeguards against fraud and abuse were also discarded.

Local control of voting has meant that in many places the voting in the primary is open. A candidate who has bribed a voter by paying his poll tax or otherwise can stand by and see that the voter marks his ballot the way the candidate wishes. The absence of proper safeguards against corruption tend to discredit the whole practice of voting.

THE GENERAL ELECTION

In general the southern states have laws which do not make it easy to vote. In Tennessee for example the polls are open from 9 to 4, in complete disregard of the thousands of industrial workers in the state who go to work before 9 and leave after 4.

Only two southern states allow workers time off with pay for voting.

Absentee voting is allowed in all southern states but some require unreasonably short time for the receipt of the ballot after receipt of applications; Arkansas ten days, and Florida 15 days for example.

Polling places are shifted from election to election and are often held in unsuitable surroundings instead, as in Louisiana, in public buildings where the people will know where to find them. There have been cases where the polls have not been opened at all. The excuse given was that there was no one avail-

able to man them.

The heavy effect of the poll tax on the electorate is shown in South Carolina, the only state to impose the tax on the general election and not on the primary. This state was the only state in the 1944 Presidential elections to have a higher vote in the primary than in the general election.

Ces Américains!

Stars & Stripes, which already had three French editions, has started a new one at Dijon in Burgundy. Inspired by its appearance, Editor Henri Anger of *La Bourgogne Républicaine* rushed into print with a rapturous front-page disquisition on the methods of U.S. journalism. Excerpts:

"Lord, how those austere offices of *Le Progrès* have changed! The typewriters fire like so many machine guns, the teletype rolls off news at a dizzy pace. You have to go back to prewar American films to match the hectic rhythms which fairly take away the breath of a French spectator.

"American and French newspapers have this in common, that one works on them more feverishly and in joyous disorder. But the resemblance stops there. French journalists belong to the era of the pen, a pair of scissors and two good legs. American newspapermen, on the other hand, are veritable pianists. They play their typewriters as Menuhin plays his violin. Some of them from time to time use a pencil, but it is only to begin an exercise in virtuosity: the writing of a headline. The headlines in *Stars & Stripes* are strictly G.I. It is impossible to translate them satisfactorily into French.

"Conciseness, which is an article of faith to them, leads American journalists to invent new words, to forge a vocabulary which lends a most vivid new hue to their argot. In this way the American language is transformed and enriched under this vigorous impulse.

"The growth of language in the United States shows without a doubt that the American, contrasted with the Frenchman, does not live on bread and wine but is nourished on milk, meat and newsprint. . . ."

Unhappy Triumph

It will be a long time before any U.S. parent forgets last fortnight's scarifying news picture of a little boy lying dead at his mother's feet on an Omaha street after a truck had crashed into his sled (TIME, Dec. 25). J. Harold Cowan, the man who took the picture, will never forget it.

Newsman Cowan, 34, a shy, stocky, serious Omaha *World-Herald* reporter-photographer who covers the police run on weekends, was sitting in Omaha's detective bureau when the accident call droned in over the radio. Racing down two flights of stairs to the pressroom, he grabbed his camera, ran for his car. Too rushed to put on his tire chains, he set off behind the police ambulance (which had chains) in a skidding, hair-raising, 75-block chase over slippery roads, through red lights, down an icy hill. At the bottom of the hill lay the boy. As the mother backed away from his bleeding body and another badly hurt boy was carried screaming to the ambulance, Photographer Cowan carefully focused his camera,* shot the picture.

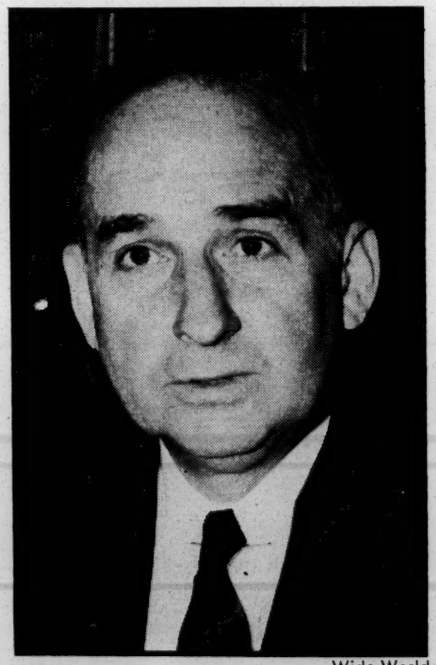
John S. Savage

J. HAROLD COWAN
He wished he hadn't been there.

Next day his photograph, distributed by A.P. wirephoto, was printed throughout the U.S., becoming a likely candidate for the 1944 Pulitzer Prize. But Cowan was far from happy. Editors and fellow reporters showered him with congratulations. Said Cowan: "I wish I hadn't been there."

Only a few days before, Reporter Cowan had gone coasting with his own two children, Jimmy, 4, and Nadine, 7, near the scene of the accident, and the sled had broken under his weight. Last week the broken sled was still in the repair shop. Said Father Cowan: "I think I'll leave it there."

* When the *World-Herald's* Photographer Earle L. Bunker took his famed 1943 news picture of a soldier's homecoming, Harold Cowan stood beside him, snapped the same picture. Result for Bunker: a Pulitzer prize. Result for Cowan, who had failed to focus properly: an unprintable blur.



Wide World

MARK ETHRIDGE
He aired some dirty linen.

Southern Humiliation

Southerners generally resent any Federal infringement on their State-right to solve their own problems: they have also been prone to leave those problems unsolved. Last week an extraordinary meeting took place in Atlanta, Ga. Its purpose: to prod Southerners into airing some of their dirty linen before the Federal Government steps in and washes it for them.

The meeting was called by the Committee of Editors and Writers of the South in anticipation of Congress' reviving the anti-poll tax bill. The conferees—eight of the 51 were Negroes—were against the poll tax, deprecated other Southern devices for depriving the Negro of his Constitutional right to vote. The editors and writers mingled affably and called each other "Mr." with an ease that surprised both races.

Some of the highlights:

¶ Writer George S. Mitchell, Southern director of the C.I.O.-P.A.C., told how a white woman in a small Virginia town encouraged "white supremacy" and discouraged Negro would-be voters from registering by making the registration booth the parlor of her home in an all-white district while a husky husband and large dog looked on.

¶ Author Harnett Kane of New Orleans told of Louisiana elections held in white bars or bordellos, which no Negro dared enter. He recalled Huey Long's remark after the Legislature repealed Louisiana's poll tax in 1934: "The white primary will take care of the nigger."

¶ Of the findings in general, Louisville *Courier-Journal's* Publisher Mark Ethridge concluded: "A complete denial of the democratic process and a complete humiliation of all people who profess any faith in democracy."

Honest Journalism

Reporting news of a local boy in Italy, the Rothsay, Minn. *Enterprise* printed his picture, with this caption: "Shown here is Sergeant Vernon G. Ostlund, 26, stirring up a vat of soup for his coworkers." But the picture showed Sergeant Ostlund only from the knees up, with a few inches of what might or might not have been the handle of a soup ladle in his hand. At the end of the story was appended the following explanation:

"(Editors's Note: The original photograph of Vernon, stirring a soup pot, also showed the kettle, but the engravers cut the picture so short that the kettle doesn't show, all of which detracts much from the picture.)"

We the People

of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect U
insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessing
and our Posterity, do Ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article. I.

"...no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges of citizens of the United States"

Section. 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist
of Representatives.

Section. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the sev
in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a
and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, a
Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of
not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the
and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives
thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of
entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut fi
eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment

Section. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature there
Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may
of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the
Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignati
Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legisla
such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the
not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he
President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or
of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the M

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold a
Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Jud
according to Law.

Section. 4 The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in e
thereof, but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in Decem
appoint a different Day.

Section. 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority
Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attenda
such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

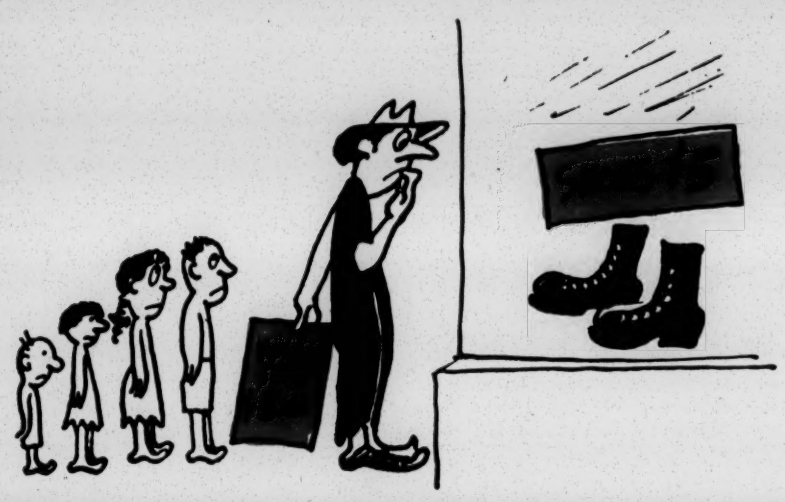
Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Con
Member.

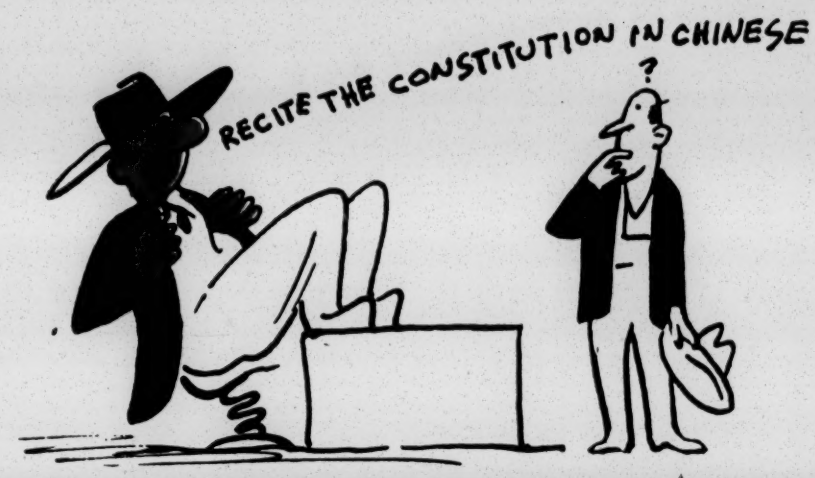
14TH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as m
Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be ent

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three da
than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, an
the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during
Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, n
[illegible]





. . . BUT MOST STATES DO . . . !

The ballot is the cornerstone of a democracy.

Anything that interferes with a free and unfettered ballot is anti-democratic and contrary to the objectives for which we fight.

Two Southerners, Jefferson and Jackson, among our Nation's greatest democrats, recognized this principle.

The cornerstone of our democracy needs strengthening. Too many obstacles to the exercise of the right to vote have been raised, and nowhere is this more true than in the Southern states.

Some of these restrictions upon the franchise are:

1. Time and place of registration: In many cases the time and place of registration is a mystery to the majority of people. Too often the periods of registration are limited (15 days in Alabama) and the places to register inconveniently located. Regulations vary not only from state to state but from county to county.

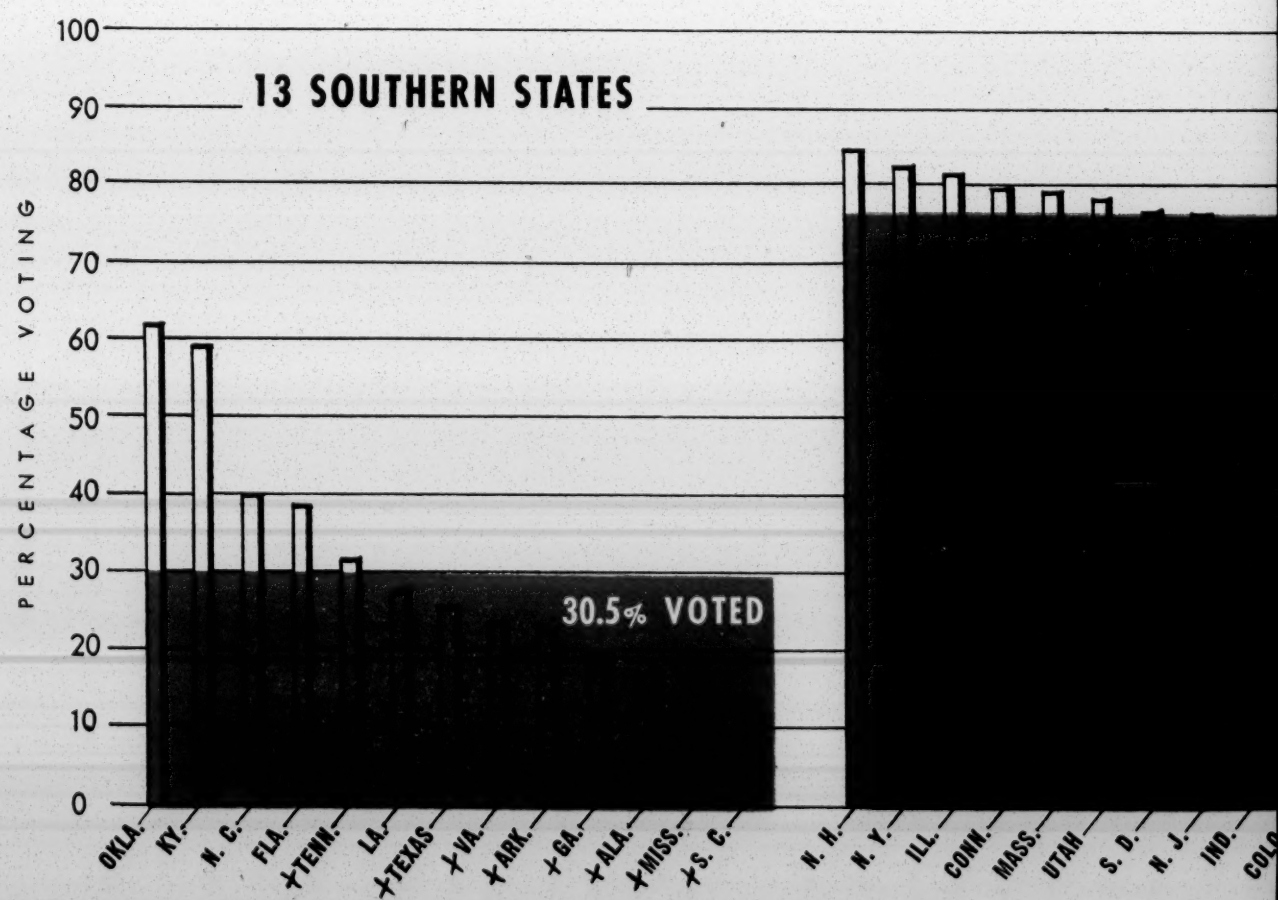
2 Residence requirements: Excessive residence requirements have kept many war workers and sharecroppers from voting. The two-year residence requirement is particularly hard on the 66% of the Nation's tenants who live in the South, of whom one-third change their residence every year.

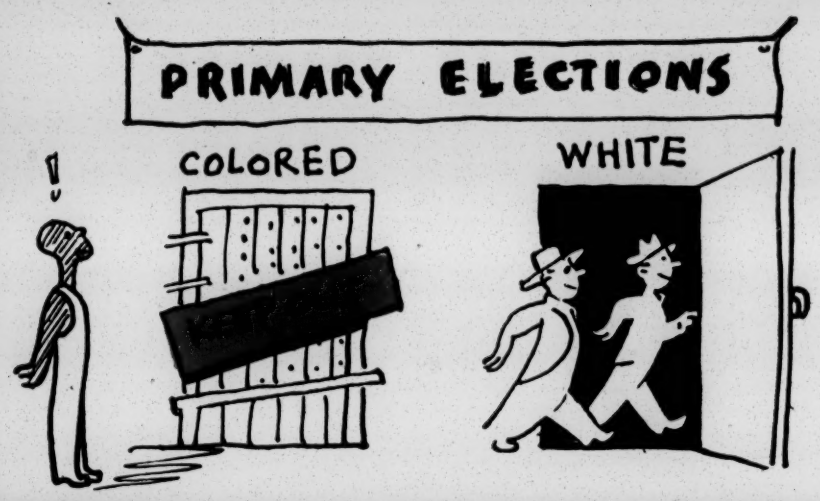
3. Power of registrar: The administration of literacy tests by registrars generally gives these

VOTING

in the 1944 presidential election

SHOWING THE PERCENTAGE OF POTENTIAL VOTERS CASTING BALLOTS IN THE 1944 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION





HERE ARE BARRIERS RAISED IN SOME SOUTHERN STATES

officials excessive discretionary powers and enables them to disqualify many who are politically uninformed. The limitations of the laws with respect to literacy, employment, residence and even property qualifications help increase these discretionary powers.

4. The poll tax: Levied in 8 Southern states, this annual tax is a great deterrent to voting. In West Virginia where there is no poll tax, four out of five potential voters went to the polls in 1940, while in the neighboring poll tax state of Virginia only one out of five potential voters actually cast ballots in 1940.

5. Primaries: Most elections in Southern states are settled in the Democratic primaries. In seven of the Southern states Negroes have a limited participation in the primaries of the Democratic Party, but in six states there is a "white primary," which effectively disfranchises about one-third of the population of these states.

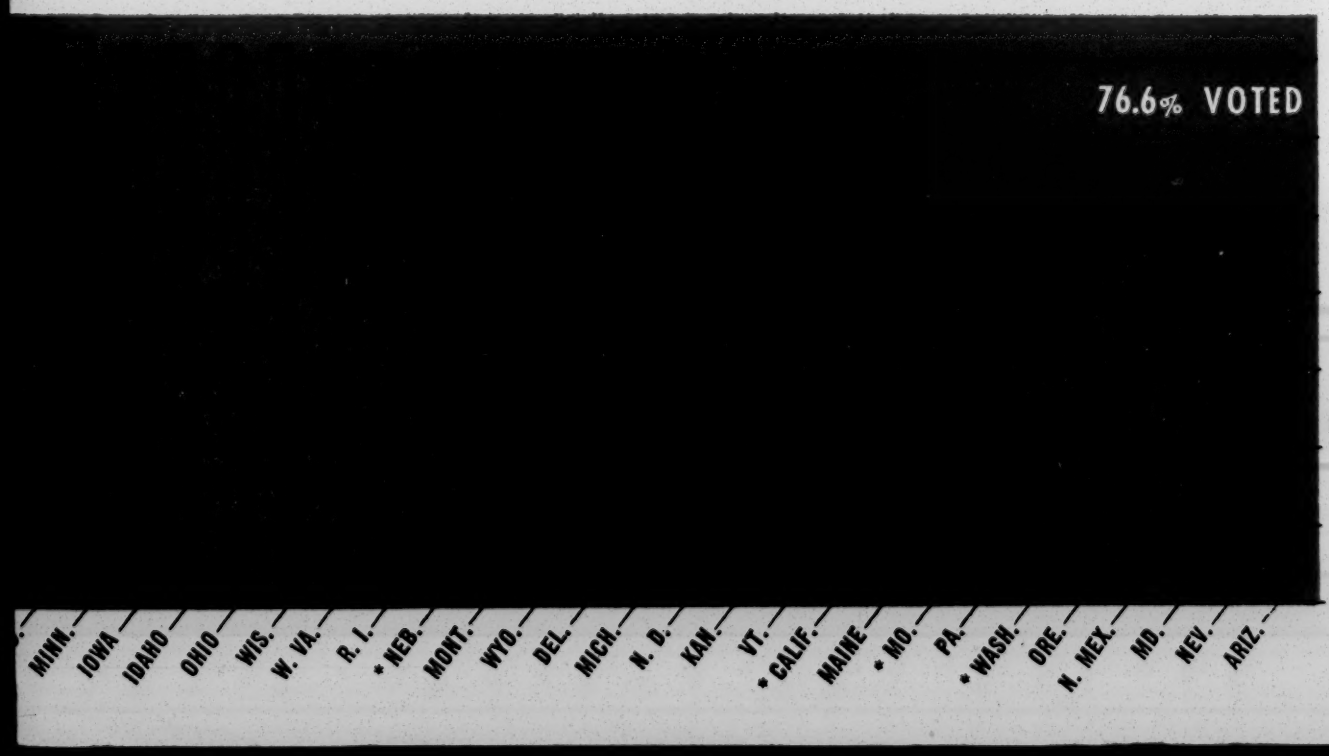
6. General elections: The limited hours for voting keep many working people from the polls. In Tennessee the polls are open from 9 to 4.

Fifteen states provide time off with pay for voting. Only 2 of these, Texas and Kentucky, are in the South.

Not all Southern states provide for an absentee ballot.

Few give the opportunity for write-in choices.

THE OTHER 35 STATES



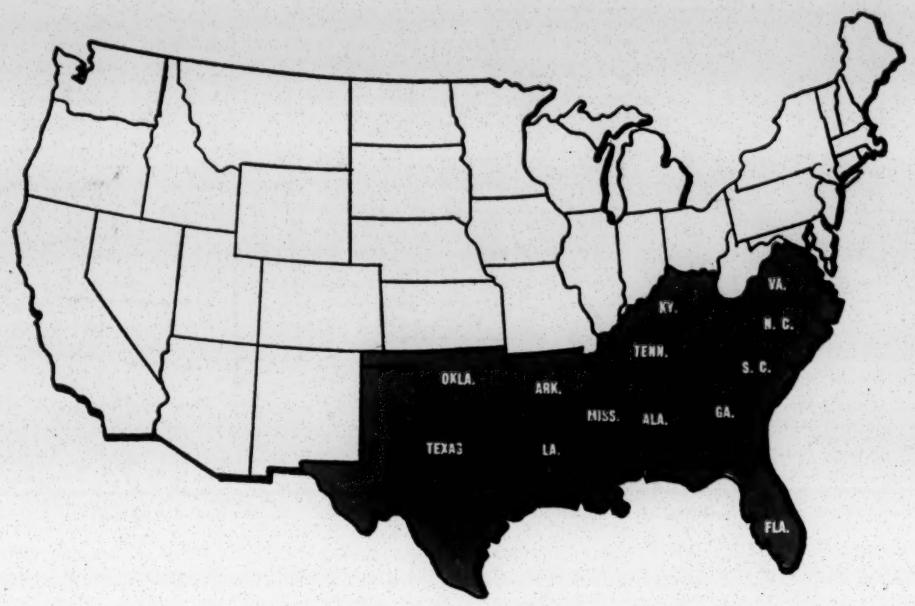
NOTES

X Poll tax states

* Soldier vote not included

22.8% of potential voters voted in 8 poll tax states

In one state, S. C., the primary vote (26%) was greater than the vote in the general election (13.8%).



These state constitutions say...

Alabama . . . All . . . citizens possess . . . equal, civil and political rights.

Arkansas . . . The equality of all persons before the law is recognized and shall ever remain inviolate, nor shall any citizen ever be deprived of any right, privilege, or immunity, nor exempted from any burden or duty, on account of race, color, or previous condition.

Florida . . . Guaranteeing equal civil and political rights to all.

Kentucky . . . All elections shall be free and equal.

North Carolina . . . All men are created equal.

Oklahoma . . . No power, civil or military shall ever interfere to prevent the free exercise of the right of suffrage by those entitled to such right.

South Carolina . . . All elections shall be free and open and every inhabitant of this State possessing the qualifications provided for in this Constitution shall have an equal right to elect officers and be elected to fill public office.

Tennessee . . . Elections shall be free and equal.

Texas . . . All free men . . . have equal rights, and no man or set of men, is entitled to exclusive separate public emoluments or privileges, but in consideration of public services.

Virginia . . . All men are by nature equally free and independent.

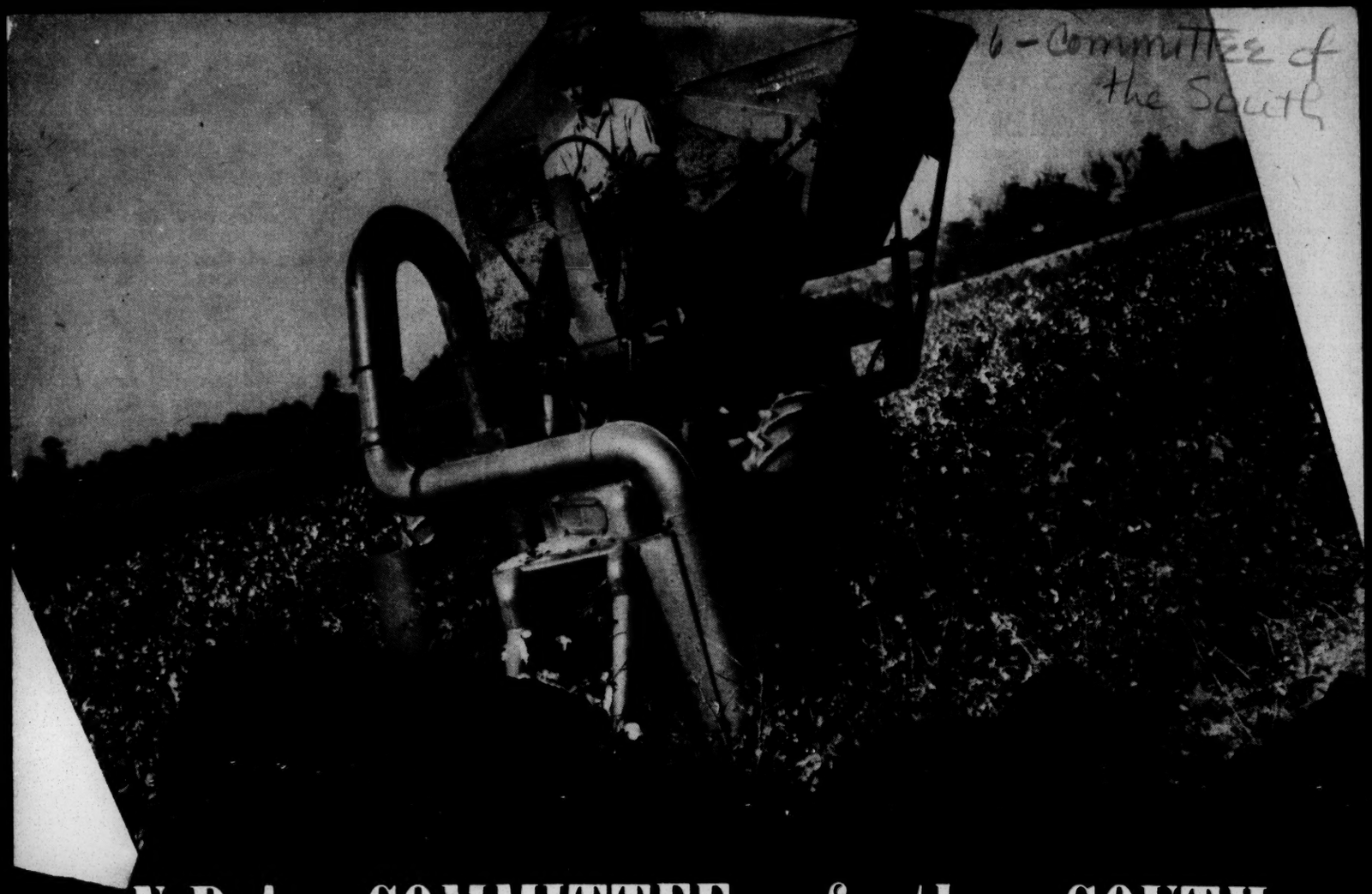
For Additional Copies Write to

MARGARET FISHER, Executive Assistant

COMMITTEE OF EDITORS AND WRITERS OF THE SOUTH

939 PIEDMONT AVENUE, N.E., ATLANTA, GA.

6 - Committee of the South



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INITIAL MEETING BIRMINGHAM, NOVEMBER 21, 1946

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Frank J. Welch, Dean, School of Agriculture, Mississippi State College, State College, Miss.

☆ - Deceased

By H. CHRISTIAN SONNE, Chairman, NPA Board of Trustees; President, Amsinck, Sonne and Company

In the belief that the development of the South is a matter of major national policy, the National Planning Association has initiated the Committee of the South. This group, composed exclusively of Southern leaders, met for the first time November 21, 1946, in Birmingham, Alabama.

Representative Southerners such as these members of the Committee recognize the interdependence of economic groups and geographical areas in the nation. They are best equipped to state the goals and point out the private and public action required for full development of the South's potential.

The South still has a great domain of undeveloped resources, untapped markets, and manpower available for jobs in new industries and businesses. The nation cannot attain its goals of continuing high-level employment and production with rising standards of living unless that reservoir is opened. However, national policies and programs must provide a favorable environment if the South, along with other regions, is to achieve vigorous, rapid expansion.

The Committee is fortunate in having as Chairman former Governor J. Melville Broughton of North Carolina, and as Director of Research Calvin B. Hoover, Dean of the Graduate School and Chairman of the Department of Economics of Duke University.

From all reports, the first meeting of the Committee of the South in Birmingham was one of the most informative meetings of this kind ever held in the South or in any other section of the nation. I doubt if any important committee in the history of economic study ever had a larger percentage of acceptances from very busy people. Therefore we are all heartened by the prospects.

Radio Broadcast Over WTNB, Birmingham
Left to right: Dr. Calvin B. Hoover, J. Melville Broughton, Ozburn Zuber, E. J. Coil, Dr. Raymond Paty.

By J. MELVILLE BROUGHTON, Chairman, Committee of the South; Former Governor of North Carolina

It was early in 1946 that the National Planning Association, a non-political, non-profit organization of American business, labor and agricultural leaders initiated a program for Southern economic research and development.

It is the view of the Association, shared by its eminent board of directors, that an adequate study of economic conditions of the South, expertly conducted, under the general supervision of a Southern Committee of agricultural, business, labor and educational leaders, would be of inestimable value to the South and, indeed, to the nation as a whole. The Association has been willing to implement this conviction by allocating from its available funds an adequate sum for the purpose of such economic study and survey.

With this background and for these purposes there has been created this Committee of the South. The Committee is made up wholly of Southerners, active in the various fields involved in the proposed study. Sixty-seven persons were invited to serve and only twelve found it impossible to accept, and all of these expressed keen interest in the proposal.

The Committee will have no "axes to grind" and no purposes of propaganda to serve. It will not concern itself with controversial management-labor relationships, nor will it be involved in racial problems as such. It will attempt objectively and in a wholly non-political and unemotional manner to conduct a study and survey that may at least point the way to better economic conditions throughout the South.

The Committee will certainly have no interest in simply adding to the long and largely unread list another volume of statistics, charts and vague observations. Rather it is hoped that the contemplated studies and surveys will constitute a blueprint for constructive action, a program for an improved economy throughout the South.

The nation needs a strong, economically prosperous South. Only the South can give an adequate response to this challenge.

It is obvious that much of the economic future of the South lies in the field of industrial and agricultural research. At long last we are beginning to substitute the research laboratory for the wailing wall. A comprehensive study of the present research facilities in the South, a program for co-ordinating and mobilizing these facilities, as well as enlarging and increasing them, could prove immensely stimulating to the whole economy of the South.

The Committee will endeavor to keep its program of research and planning within reasonable and appropriate limits. It will be evident that the Committee cannot solve all of the problems of the universe or even of the South, but an earnest effort will be made to do a good job and to make available to every state and community in the South the results of these studies in such form and manner as may be exceedingly helpful in meeting the challenging future that lies ahead of this great Southern Region of America.

THE PRESS WELCOMES THE N.P.A. COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH-

Chattanooga TIMES

NEW GROUP CHARTS SOUTH'S EXPANSION

Leaders in Many Fields Form Committee—Would Prepare for Era of Progress

BIRMINGHAM, Nov. 20 (AP)—Initial steps were taken here today toward establishment of the Committee of the South, an organization which will devote itself to speeding the development of the region's vast resources.

J. Melville Broughton, former governor of North Carolina, will serve as chairman of the organization and its membership rolls will be open to southern leaders in fields of agriculture, labor, ed

New York JOURNAL OF COMMERCE

Committee for South Named For Resources Development

(Bureau of Journal of Commerce)

WASHINGTON, Nov. 20.—Fo... a Committee for ... up of Southern ... ut private a... fo...

WATERBURY, CONN., DEMOCRAT

Bakersfield, Cal., Californian

South

Burlington, Vermont NEWS

Knoxville, Tennessee NEWS-SENTINEL

SPEED E...
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...Melville Brough... ...olina, heads the ...g Association's ...of the South' to ...ms for speeding ...of the south's ...and agricultural ...mmittee is com... ...therns prominent

New York TIMES

NEW COMMITTEE OF SOUTH

Fifty Prominent Persons Aim to Speed Region's Development

WASHINGTON, Nov. 20

The National Planning Associ... anounced tonight the form... of a Committee of the South ...d by former Gov. J. ... Broughton of North Caro... work out programs for ... up the development of th... vast resources."

The fifty members o... mittee—to be expand... work progresses—are ... prominent in business ... education, finance, ... labor and the pre... meeting will be hel... Birmingham, Ala.

Mr. Broughton s... tee intended to po... of its members ... vate and public ...

"We have ... studies on the ... information on ... in the war ye... on our needs, ...

BIRMINGHA...

SOUTH IS TO... BAR TO TRA...

BY CAROLYN HOWARD

There need be no apprehension that recent political trends may tend to isolate the South, declared J. Melville Broughton, former governor of North Carolina, and chairman of the Committee of the South which held its charter meeting here yesterday to form an organization aimed at speeding the development of the South. The meeting was held at the Thomas Jefferson Hotel.

The committee's formation was announced by the National Planning Association, and the members of the committee are Southern leaders, widely known in business, agriculture, education, finance, government, labor and the press.

"The committee will certainly have no interest in simply adding to the long and largely unread list another volume of statistics, charts and vague observations," Chairman Broughton said. "Rather it is hoped that the contemplated ... and surveys will constitute ...nt for constructive action ...n for an improved econ... ...ghout the South."

...ion Fear Discount... ...ghton said ther... fear t... recent ...

THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS THURSDAY, NOV. 21, 1946

Committee Of South' Blueprints For Future

The South's economic problems can be solved only by creation of new types of rural industries and services, Paul Chapman, dean of the College of Agriculture, University of Georgia, flung that statement at an organization meeting of the committee of the South in the Thomas Jefferson Hotel today.

Dean Chapman emphasized that the only way to increase the per capita income of the South permanently is to change the occupational pattern of the South.

"We have too many people on farms in the South and these farms are too small," Dean Chapman said.

"Until agriculture is mechanized 100 per cent, we can't reach parity income with other agricultural ... of the nation. High wages ... will bring about that ...

"THE COUNTY SEAT towns in... the South must establish agricul... tural industries and services to stop ... migration of workers from the ... South."

Meeting under auspices of the ... National Planning Association, the ... group named their organization the ... Committee of the South, chose M... Melville Broughton, former gover... nor of North Carolina, as their ... chairman, and agreed that the ... South faces many hurdles in the ... years ahead.

Broughton assigned the or... ...tion such tasks as finding ... means of increasing in... the promotion ... financing of ... ...ment of use...

...oh McGill... ...stitution, A... ...mer, preside... ...ess, Kingspor... ...Dr. Frederick ... ...nt, Tuskegee I... ...a; Dr. Ray... ...ent, Universi... ...caloosa, Ala.; ...editor, The ... ...aleigh, N. C.; ...esident, Alab... ...deration, ...l D. Sanders, ... Planter, ...eo E. Shor... ...s Farm B... ...ley, Ark.; ... ...arleston, M... Spaulding, ... Mutual ...rham, N. ...nancier o... ...n Raymo... Commerc... ...ge, Stillw... secretary, ... League,

The Mobile Register

OFF-THE-FARM JOBS HELD SOUTH'S NEED

Too Many People on the Land Research Committee Told by Georgia Educator

BIRMINGHAM, Nov. 21 (AP)—Dean Paul Chapman of the University of Georgia declared today that "we have too many people on farms in the South and these farms are too small."

Addressing the newly formed Committee of the South, the dean of the college of agriculture at Georgia said an additional 5,000,... ...000 off-the-farm jobs were needed ... South.

...is mechanized ... "we can't ...

To... In... Birm... of the U... too man... too smal... Addre... of the Col... off-the-far... "Until ... can't reach ... the nation. "The c... ndustries ... outh."

...ibus, Georgia
LEDGER

Too Many People On South's Farms, Official Declares

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Nov. 22—(AP)—Dean Paul Chapman of the University of Georgia declared today that "we have too many people on farms in the South and these farms are too small."

Addressing the newly formed Committee of the South, the dean of the College of Agriculture at Georgia said an additional 5,000,000 off-the-farm jobs were needed in the South.

"Until agriculture is mechanized 100 per cent," he said, "we can't reach parity of income with other agricultural regions of the nation.

"The county seat towns in the South must establish agricultural ...

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

'Committee of the South' To Chart Dixie Progress

WASHINGTON, Nov. 20—(UP)—The National Planning Association Wednesday night announced formation of a "C... South," headed by former Gov. J. Melville Brou... Carolina, to work out programs for "speeding up ... of the South's vast resources."

The 50 members of the Com... mittee—to be expanded as the work progresses—are Southerners prominent in the field of business, agriculture, education, finance, government, labor and the press. The first meeting will be held Friday in Birmingham, Ala.

Included in its present membership are Editor Ralph McGill, of The Atlanta Constitution; Gov. Robert S. Kerr, of Oklahoma; Chanc... elect Raymond R. Paty, of th... Georg... bins...

Broughton intends to p... its members ... and public ...

"We ha... studies on ... information ... ing the wa... on our n...

"The Com... cate that ...

"We wi... formation ... find out ...

Norfolk, Virginia
VIRGINIA PILOT

Broughton to Head Committee of South

Birmingham, Ala., Nov. 20.—(AP)—Initial steps were taken here today toward establishment of the Committee of the South, an organization which will devote itself to speeding the development of the region's vast resources.

J. Melville Broughton, former Governor of North Carolina, will serve as chairman of the organization and its membership rolls will be open to Southern leaders in the ...

M AGE-HERALD

LD PLANNING DE ISOLATION

for coordinating and mobilizing these facilities, as well as enlarg... South. "If the South with it's matchless advantages of soil, climate, raw materials and human resources is willing to face realistically its economic facts of life and plan its future with intelligence and courage, it will experience no isolation from any source. The nation needs a strong, economically prosperous South. Only the South can give an adequate response to this challenge."

Mr. Broughton assigned the organization such tasks as finding ways and means of increasing industrial expansion; the promotion of industrial research; financing of new industries; development of rural industries, based on agricultural raw materials; expansion of vocational engineering and business administration training; formulating programs for absorption of workers displaced by the mechanization of cotton production.

Research Is Urged

"It is obvious that much of the economic future of the South lies in the field of industrial and agri... research. A comprehen...

THE NEWS AND OBSERVER, RALEIGH, N. C.

Broughton Appointed Head Of Southern Survey Group

Washington, Nov. 20.—(U.P.)—The National Planning Association to-night announced formation of a "Committee of the South" headed b... former Gov. J. Melville B... of North Carolina, to work ... grams for "speeding up th... opment of the South's ... sources."

The 50 members of th... —to be expanded as the ... gresses—are Southerners ... in the field of business, ... education, finance, gove... bor and the press. The ... ing will be held tomorr... mingham, Ala.

Present membership in... tor Ralph McGill of th... Constitution, Gov. Rober... of Oklahoma, President ... R. Paty of the Universit... bama, Editor Charles G. ... the Montgomery Advert... President Frank P. Graha... University of North Caro...

Broughton said the com... tends to pool the knowled... members to work out pri... public programs.

"We have many basic-dat... on the South's resources; ... tion on developments ... war years and ...

need. Broughton said. "The committee will not duplicate that work."

"We will sta... with available in...

Springfield, Illinois STATE JOURNAL

Development Of South Is New Committee Aim

Group Formed To Speed Up Expansion Convenes In First Phase Of Extensive Program.

Washington, Nov. 20. (UP)—The National Planning association tonight announced formation of a "committee of the south" headed by former Gov. J. Melville Broughton of North Carolina, to work out programs for "speeding of the development of the south's vast resources."

The 50 members of the committee expanded as the work ... ...erners prom... ...ber... ...ll of ... Gov. ... Pres. ... Univer... ...arles G. ... ...ry Ad... ...P. Gra... ...f North ... committee ...wledge of ...ut private ... basic ...

of per capita income and non-agricultural employment in the south show more rapid gains in recent years than in any other region of the nation.

Yet there are gaps to be filled, new developments which need to be tied more closely to each other and clear possibilities of accelerated healthful trends. Also current changes—for example, mechanization of cotton—present some difficult problems which must be solved through positive action."

In announcing the committee, H. Christian Sonne, chairman of N.P.A.'s board of trustees, emphasized that his organization believes development of the south "is a matter of major national policy."

"The south still has a great reservoir of undeveloped resources, untapped markets and manpower available for jobs in new industries and business," he said. "The nation cannot attain its goals of continued high level employment and production with rising standards of living unless that reservoir ... opened."

Brough...

St. Louis, Missouri
POST-DISPATCH

COMMITTEE TO AID DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTH FORMED

WASHINGTON, Nov. 21 (UP)—The National Planning Association last night announced formation of a "Committee of the South" headed by former Gov. J. Melville Broughton of North Carolina, to work out programs for "speeding up the development of the South's vast resources."

The 50 members of the committee—to be expanded as the work progresses—are Southerners prominent in the field of business, agriculture, education, labor and ...

Included in its ...

ship are Edit... the ...

Rob...

Louisville, Kentucky COURIER-JOURNAL

o Many On Small Farm South, Committee Tol

...ingham, Ala., Nov. 21 (AP)—Dean Paul Ch... University of Georgia declared today that "w... y people on farms in the South and these fa... ."

...ssing the newly formed Committee of the South ...ege of Agriculture at Georgia said an additiona... m jobs were needed in the South.

agriculture is mechanized 100 per cent," h... parity of income with other agricultura... . . .

...unty-seat towns in the South must establis... nd services to stop migration of wor...

E. J. COIL, Director, National Planning Association:

"The National Planning Association is built on the principle that people must make their own plans and not have plans made for them. NPA places the responsibility on those who have the option of policy making, but it does believe that workable policies and programs cannot be made by separate, isolated groups—there must be some interchange, some common agreement on objectives and on the ways and means of meeting those objectives.

'This Committee grew out of the interest of the NPA Agriculture Committee in the future of cotton. As we investigated further, however, we quickly recognized that the economic development of the South is of vital national concern. In order for this nation to have continuing high production and high employment there must be capital investment and there must be an increase in the consumption of the products of that new investment. By vigorous economic expansion the South can help itself and help the nation. The South is not the number one 'problem area', but rather it is the number one "opportunity area' in the nation.

"In starting this undertaking we did not envision the drawing up of a plan in Washington, but rather having the work done in the South and by Southerners. Therefore, we call it the Committee *of* the South.

"A preliminary meeting was held earlier in the year in Atlanta. One of the first steps was to select a Chairman. A sub-committee, composed entirely of Southerners, unanimously agreed after a careful survey that ex-Governor Broughton of North Carolina is the man to head this work."

PRICE C. McLEMORE, Waugh, Alabama (Inventor of the Flame Cultivator):

"The work that this Committee has set out for itself is certainly going to be of the essence and of the utmost importance to the South. As you have gathered from the meeting here, the problem of our section is not going to be solved by mechanization of our agriculture alone; it will require the entire coordination of our entire efforts—educational, industrial, and finance facilities, and every fiber of the South—in order that this great work may be done."

F. D. PATTERSON, President, Tuskegee Institute:

"The meeting here was certainly a most important experience. I was pleased to note the enthusiasm and down to earthness of the discussions regarding industry in the South. I am sure great good will come from the deliberations of this group."

L. P. GABBARD, Head, Division of Farm and Ranch Economics, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas:

"I do not believe one could have attended the meeting at Birmingham without being enthusiastic and optimistic about the possibilities of the Committee of the South. If I properly understand the objectives of the Committee, even though it does much each year, its work will never be completed. As we accomplish more and more our goals will advance ahead of us and new stakes will be set for greater accomplishments. I do hope, however, that it will be possible from year to year to make a rather complete inventory of accomplishments."

Standing, left to right: **Thad Snow,** Farmer, Charleston, Mo.; **Nathaniel Dyke, Jr.,** President Dyke Bros., Little Rock, Ark.; **Dr. L. P. Gabbard,** Chief, Division of Farm and Ranch Economics, Texas A. & M. College, College Station, Texas; **Raymond Thomas,** Dean, School of Commerce, Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater, Okla.; **Walter J. Brown,** Vice President and General Manager, Station WSPA, Spartanburg, S. C.; **John Miller,** Assistant Director, NPA.; **Marcel J. Voorhies,** Secretary, American Sugar Cane League, New Orleans, La.; **Hon J. Melville Broughton,** former Governor of North Carolina; **Charles H. Gillman,** Congress of Industrial Organizations, Atlanta, Ga.; **William Davlin,** NPA staff consultant to the Committee of the South; **Charles G. Dobbins,** Editor, Montgomery Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala.; **Edgar B. Stern,** New Orleans, La.; **William O. Dobbins,** Jr., Director, Alabama State Planning Board, Montgomery, Ala.; **C. B. Funderburk,** the Cotton Producers Association, Atlanta, Ga.; **E. J. Coil,** Director, NPA; **Frederick Patterson,** President, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.; **Price C. McLemore,** Farmer, Waugh, Ala.; **Paul Chapman,** Dean, College of Agriculture, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.; **A. W. Dent,** President, Dillard University, New Orleans, La.

Sitting, left to right **Thomas W. Martin,** President, Alabama Power Co., Birmingham, Ala.; **Evelyn Hicks,** Vice President and General Manager, Station WTNB, Birmingham, Ala.; **Dr. Harriet Elliott,** Women's College, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, N. C.; **Loula Dunn,** Commissioner, Alabama Department of Public Welfare, Montgomery, Ala.; **Dr. Raymond Paty,** Chancellor, University System, Atlanta, Ga.

PAUL CHAPMAN, Dean, College of Agriculture, University of Georgia:

"It is most fortunate that the NPA Committee of the South has been organized at this time. I am sure that through its efforts we will be able to speed up developments that have been taking place so rapidly in the South during the war years. My own particular interest in this matter deals with those possibilities that are related to the agricultural development. In the first place, we know that our farms will be mechanized rather rapidly in the future, but we know that this will add to the income of our farmers and help to raise the level of the earning power of the South through the diversification of agriculture. We know, too, that if we will process our products and put them in the forms in which they are purchased by the ultimate consumers, we will create a great number of jobs. In this way we will be able to care for persons displaced through mechanization of our farms. We look forward to the future with great hopefulness, feeling that we are on the verge of another period of great progress."

THOMAS W. MARTIN, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Southern Research Institute:

"Many persons at this meeting have indicated that they are fully aware of the fundamental importance of scientific research if we are to move along as we should in this Southland of ours. I want to assure you that the Southern Research Institute is making its contribution. Some thirty-six scientists are at work on various problems which have arisen in industry, from Virginia to Louisiana. As time goes on this force will be increased, industries will bring more of their problems here to be examined, and the results will greatly contribute to the economy and welfare of the South."

CALVIN B. HOOVER, Director of Research, Committee of the South; Dean, Graduate School, Duke University:

"I am glad you refer to this as an action program because people do not usually think of research in that category. But we are determined that in every possible way, the research will be pointed at carrying out the action program which has been developed by this Committee. As Governor Broughton has said, the central purpose is to devise ways and means by which incomes in the South can be increased.

"We are very much concerned that the research problems on which we will work as technicians will be formulated by members of the Committee. I have been tremendously heartened and encouraged this afternoon by the great value of the suggestions that we made. A large range of subjects were mentioned. I think some of the most important ones were in connection with the developmental corporations and in the industrial development work of the state planning commissions. Besides these, there were a whole list of proposed studies of the effects of the AAA programs of the past and how some better agriculture programs might be developed for the future.

"I repeat that we hope that we can develop research results which will be of the greatest use in carrying out a truly action program."

DOUGLAS HUNT, Birmingham News:

"I want to say that the press of Alabama and of the whole South is, of course, wholeheartedly in favor of the objectives of this Committee of the South and will do all it can by means of publicity to see to it that the people of the region know what is going on, so that they may help and cooperate in this very important job that has been outlined to you today."

RAYMOND R. PATY, Chancellor of the University System of Georgia:

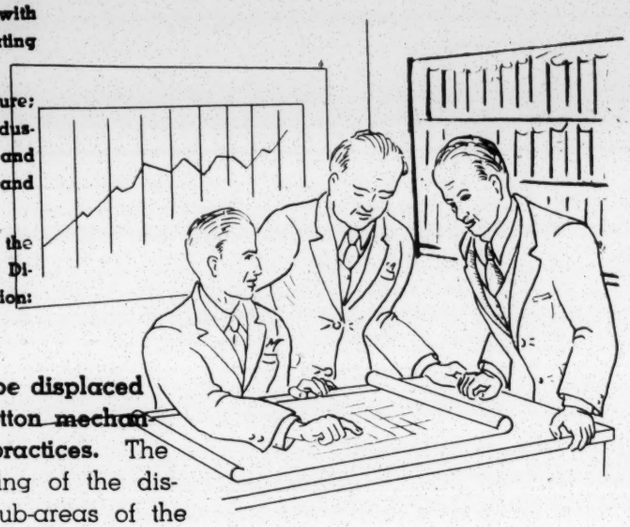
"I represent those who are charged with the training of leadership in the Southern area. I am very much heartened to find that we have men from all over the South, representing its broader leadership, who are willing to take time to participate in the initial organization of this Committee's work. I believe that the momentum gained here will not be lost as the work of the Committee gets under way. I am confident that much can be gained through the combined efforts of this group."

Left to right: **Dr. Calvin B. Hoover, J. Melville Broughton, Dr. Raymond Paty, Thomas W. Martin, E. J. Coil.**

The NPA Committee of the South will collaborate with existing Southern agencies and institutions in formulating action programs, private and public, which will:

(1) Accelerate the diversification of Southern agriculture; (2) Expand non-farm employment through increased industrialization and more service enterprises; (3) Increase and extend facilities and services in such fields as health and education.

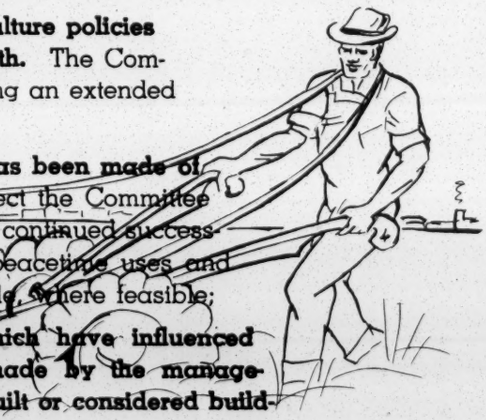
Acting on suggestions made at the initial meeting of the Committee, the Chairman has authorized the Research Director to schedule the following projects for early completion:



1. **A survey of the number of farm workers to be displaced from Southern agriculture as a result of cotton mechanization and other changes in land-use practices.** The survey will include estimates of the timing of the displacement and its probable effect on sub-areas of the South;

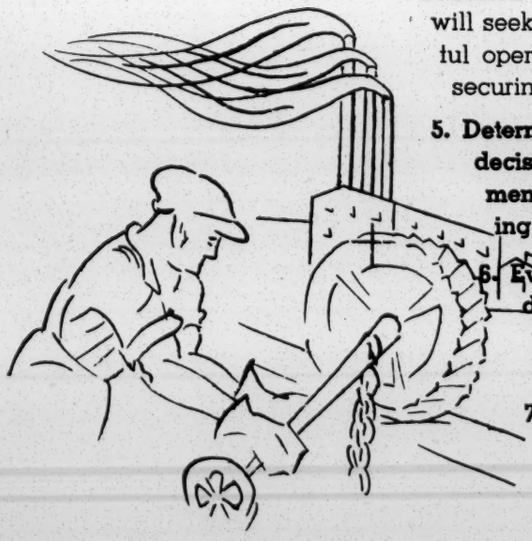
2. **A study of the feasibility of various types of rural industries for the South.** The Committee believes that it can develop practical suggestions for types of small new industries which will not only increase non-farm job opportunities but also provide markets for the food and raw material products of a diversified agriculture;

3. **Preparation of information on Federal agriculture policies and programs and their impact on the South.** The Committee will use this information in beginning an extended review of those policies and programs;



4. **An inventory of the disposition which has been made of Southern war plants.** Through this project the Committee will seek ways and means of assuring continued successful operation of plants converted to peacetime uses and securing conversion of those now idle, where feasible;

5. **Determination of actual factors which have influenced decisions on industrial location made by the management of companies which have built or considered building Southern plants;**



6. **Evaluation of the experience of community and other industrial development corporations.** The Committee will undertake to develop model plans for the organization and operation of such corporations in the South;

7. **An analysis of population movement out of the South over recent years;**

8. **A survey of Southern research facilities and activities in the industrial and general economic field.** On the basis of these findings the Committee will seek to determine additional research needs and will foster the systematic interchange of ideas and information among Southern research workers.

NATIONAL PLANNING ASSOCIATION
800 Twenty-First Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Charge to the account of Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave. N. E. $

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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

November 22, 1946

Hon. J. Melville Broughton
Thomas Jefferson Hotel
Birmingham, Alabama

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL SENDS GREETINGS TO COMMITTEE OF SOUTH AND OFFERS COOPERATION IN YOUR SPLENDID PROGRAM

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

November 26, 1946

Hon. J. Melville Broughton
Raleigh
North Carolina

Dear Governor Broughton:

It is with keen interest and immense satisfaction that I have read of your selection for the chairmanship of the Committee of the South. The fact that you are to head this committee is sufficient proof that somebody wants some tangible results from its efforts. The changes that are taking place in our regional economy and the impact of these changes on human relations within the region will undoubtedly provide the most important problems that we face for the present and future.

I was president of the State Teachers College at Elizabeth City, N. C. during your administration as governor of that great state and I have first handed knowledge of the statesmanlike administration which you gave it. I am therefore encouraged and hopeful in facing the future under your leadership.

With every good wish and highest personal regard,
I am

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg,
Associate Executive Director

HLT:ms

J. MELVILLE BROUGHTON
ATTORNEY AT LAW
1101-2-4 SECURITY BANK BUILDING
RALEIGH, N.C.

C. WOODROW TEAGUE
ASSOCIATE

November 29, 1946

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

I thank you very much indeed for your cordial letter of November 26th concerning the COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH.

I recall most pleasantly the association I had with you while I was governor of the State and you were President of State Teachers College in Elizabeth City.

I trust that you are finding your new work entirely satisfactory.

Very truly yours,

J. M. Broughton

JMB:h

The South* Amer's Oppor #1
Economic Value of the N to the S
#5
#6
#7

Dig'
5/19/46

Corr. Thursday

December 19, 1946

The Hon. J. Melville Broughton
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Governor Broughton:

The Southern Regional Council was delighted to learn of the formation of the Committee of the South and of your election as chairman. We sent a message of greetings to your meeting in Birmingham last month but, on account of a newspaper error concerning the date of your meeting, our message arrived too late for delivery.

We want to offer our cooperation in the work of the Committee of the South. We have published several researches which must be of interest to you. Under separate cover we are sending copies of our publications dealing with the economic problems of the South. If you would like to have copies of any or all of these to distribute to the members of the Committee, we shall be glad to make them available.

With highest regards and best wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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LDB13 GA DH DM

ATLANTA GA NOV 23 1946

GUY B JOHNSON, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NE ATLA

YOUR TELEGRAM NOV 23RD HON J MELVILLE BROUGHTON THOMAS JEFFERSON HOTEL BIRMINGHAM ALA IS UNDELIVERED. TELEGRAM RETURNED BY HOTEL UNCALLED FOR.

WESTERN UNION WA 2100 EXT 227.

830P

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

J. MELVILLE BROUGHTON
ATTORNEY AT LAW
801-803 INSURANCE BUILDING
RALEIGH, N.C.

C. WOODROW TEAGUE
ASSOCIATE

January 18, 1947

RECEIVED
JAN 21 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I have your letter of the 15th and am pleased to enclose herewith a list of the members of the Committee of the South. I shall very much appreciate your putting these names on your mailing list.

Very truly yours,

J. M. Broughton

JMB:h

November 21, 1946
Birmingham, Alabama

RECEIVED
JAN 21 1947
Southern Regional Council

NPA COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH (Initial Membership)

(44)

801-803 Lawrence Bldg.,

* ~~Hon. J. Melville Broughton, Chairman,~~ Raleigh, North Carolina

~~Dr. Will Alexander, Julius Rosenwald Fund, Chapel Hill, North Carolina~~
Frank Bane, Executive Director, Council of State Governments, 13 East 60th St. Chicago, Illinois
* Gould Beech, Editor, The Southern Farmer, Montgomery, Alabama
William Rhea Blake, Executive Vice President, National Cotton Council, Memphis, Tennessee
* Lloyd C. Bird, President, Phipps & Bird, Inc., Richmond, Virginia

* D. W. Brooks, General Manager, The Cotton Producers Association, Atlanta, Georgia
* Walter J. Brown, Vice Pres. & Gen. Mgr., Station WSPA, Spartanburg, South Carolina
* Dean Paul Chapman, College of Agriculture, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia
~~Donald Comer, President, Avondale Mills, Sylacauga, Alabama~~
Rush S. Dickson, President, R. S. Dickson & Company, Charlotte, N.C.

* ~~Dr. A. W. Dent, President, Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana~~
* ~~William O. Dobbins, Jr., Director, Alabama State Planning Board, Montgomery, Ala.~~
* Dr. Clarence Dorman, Director, Miss. Agricultural Experiment Sta., State College, Mississippi
* Miss Loula Dunn, Commissioner, Alabama Department of Public Welfare, Montgomery, Alabama
* Charles G. Dobbins, Editor, Montgomery Advertiser, Montgomery, Alabama

* Nathaniel Dyke, Jr., President, Dyke and Company, Little Rock, Arkansas
* Dr. Harriet Elliott, Womens College, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, N.C.
* Dean Cherry L. Emerson, College of Engineering, Georgia School of Technology, Atlanta, Georgia
* Dr. L. P. Gabbard, Chief, Div. of Farm and Ranch Economics, Texas A. & M. College, Aggie Sta. Tex.
* ~~Charles H. Gillman, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Atlanta, Georgia~~
Mr. Marion Folsom, Eastman Kodak Co., Rochester, N. Y.
* George L. Googe, American Federation of Labor, Atlanta, Georgia — Hurt Bldg.
~~Dr. Frank P. Graham, President, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.~~
John Temple Graves, ~~author and columnist~~, Birmingham, ~~Alabama~~ Age-Herald, Bham. Ala.
* Felix Grisotte, Director, North Carolina State Planning Board, Raleigh, N.C.
Robert M. Hanes, Pres., Wachovia Bank & Trust Company, Winston-Salem, N.C.

S. T. Henry, Asst. to the President, McGraw-Hill, Inc., Spruce Pine, N.C.
* Mrs. Evelyn Hicks, Vice Pres. & Gen. Mgr., Station WTNB, Birmingham, Alabama
George Watts Hill, ~~financier of~~ 111 Corcoran St., Durham, North Carolina
Luther H. Hodges, Vice Pres. & Gen. Mgr., Manufacturing Division, Marshall Field & Co., 88 Worth St., New York City, N.Y.
The Hon. Robert S. Kerr, Governor of Oklahoma, Oklahoma City, Okla.

* Dr. David A. Lockmiller, President, University of Chattanooga, Chattanooga, Tenn.
* ~~Dr. Roscoe Martin, Director, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Ala.~~
~~Frank McCallister, Director, Georgia Workers Education Service, Atlanta, Georgia~~
* Price C. McLemore, ~~farmer of~~ Waugh, Alabama
* ~~Ralph McGill, Editor, The Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta Georgia~~
Thomas W. Martin, Pres., Alabama Power & Light Co., Birmingham, Ala.

E. W. Palmer, President, The Kingsport Press, Kingsport, Tennessee
* ~~Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, President, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama~~
* ~~Dr. Raymond R. Paty, President, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Alabama~~
Dr. Clarence Poe, Editor, The Progressive Farmer, Raleigh, North Carolina
Walter L. Randolph, Pres., Alabama Farm Bureau Federation, Montgomery, Alabama

Paul D. Sanders, Editor, The Southern Planter, Richmond, Virginia
Romeo E. Short, President, Arkansas Farm Bureau Federation, Brinkley, Arkansas
* Thad Snow, ~~farmer of~~ Charleston, Missouri
~~C. C. Spaulding, Pres., North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co., Durham, N.C.~~
* ~~Edgar B. Stern, financier of New Orleans, Louisiana~~

* Dean Raymond D. Thomas, School of Commerce, Oklahoma, A. & M. College, Stillwater, Oklahoma
* Marcel J. Voorhies, Secretary, American Sugar Cane League, New Orleans, Louisiana
* Dean D. W. Watkins, Clemson College, Clemson, South Carolina
A. L. M. Wiggins, President, The Bank of Hartsville, Hartsville, South Carolina
M. L. Wilson, Director, Agricultural Extension Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

* Present

Others Present:

E. J. Coil, Director, National Planning Association, 800 Twenty-First St., N.W. Washington, D. C.
Dr. Calvin B. Hoover, (~~Research Director for the Committee of the South~~), Dean of the Graduate School and Chairman of the Economics Department, Duke University, Durham, N.C.
John Miller, Assistant Director, National Planning Association, 800 - 21st St N.W. Washington, D.C.
~~William Davlin, NPA Staff Consultant to the Committee of the South, Washington, D. C.~~ National Planning Association, 800 - 21st N.W. Washington D.C.

###

Dear ——:

We believe that as a member of the Com. of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems.

Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

We shall be glad to send you additional publications from time to time.

Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

EBG

Send this to all except Broughton and Dowlin, I'll write them a different note.

Committee of the South

January 28, 1947

Mr. Frank Bane, Executive Director
Council of State Governments
1313 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Mr. Bane:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

We shall be glad to send you additional publications from time to time.

Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:mp

Committee of the South

January 28, 1947

Mr. Gould Beech, Editor
The Southern Farmer
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Beech:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the socio-economic problems of the region. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

We shall be glad to send you additional publications from time to time.

Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:mp

January 28, 1947

Mr. William Rhea Blake,
Executive Vice President,
National Cotton Council,
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Blake:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

We shall be glad to send you additional publications from time to time.

Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

January 28, 1947

Mr. Lloyd C. Bird, President,
Phipps & Bird, Inc.,
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Bird:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

We shall be glad to send you additional publications from time to time.

Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

January 28, 1947

Mr. D. W. Brooks,
General Manager,
The Cotton Producers Association,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Brooks:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

We shall be glad to send you additional publications from time to time.

Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:k

January 28, 1947

Mr. Walter J. Brown,
Vice Pres. & Gen. Mgr.,
Station WSPA,
Spartanburg, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Brown:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the socio-economic problems of the region. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

We shall be glad to send you additional publications from time to time.

Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

January 28, 1947

Dear Paul Chapman,
College of Agriculture,
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Mr. Chapman:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

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Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

January 28, 1947

Mr. Donald Comer, President
Avondale Mills,
Sylacauga, Alabama

Dear Mr. Comer:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the socio-economic problems of the region. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

We shall be glad to send you additional publications from time to time.

Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

K

January 28, 1947

Mr. Rush S. Dickson, President,
R. S. Dickson & Company,
Charlotte, N.C.

Dear Mr. Dickson:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

We shall be glad to send you additional publications from time to time.

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

January 28, 1947

Mr. Charles G. Dobbins
Editor,
Montgomery Advertiser,
Montgomery, Alabama

Dera Mr. Dobbins:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

We shall be glad to send you additional publications from time to time.

Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

January 28, 1947

Miss Louia Dunn, Commissioner,
Alabama Department of Public Welfare
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Miss Dunn:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

We shall be glad to send you additional publications from time to time.

Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

January 29, 1947

Mr. Nathaniel Dyke, Jr., President,
Dyke and Company,
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Dyke:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

We shall be glad to send you additional publications from time to time.

Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

January 29, 1947

Dr. Harriet Elliott
Womens College
University of North Carolina
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Elliott:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

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Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

January 29, 1947

Dean Cherry L. Emerson
College of Engineering
Georgia School of Technology
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dean Emerson:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

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Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

January 29, 1947

Mr. Marion Folsom
Eastman Kodak Company
Rochester, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Folsom:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

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Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

February 7, 1947

Dr. Calvin B. Hoover
Dean of the Graduate School and Chairman
of the Economics Department.
Duke University, Durham, N. C.

Dear Dr. Hoover:

We believe that in your connection with the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

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Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

January 29, 1947

Mr. Thomas W. Martin, President
Alabama Power & Light Company
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Martin:

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Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

January 29, 1947

Dr. L. P. Gabbard, Chief
Division of Farm and Ranch Economics
Texas A. & M. College
College Station, Texas

Dear Dr. Gabbard:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

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Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

January 29, 1947

Mr. George L. Googe
American Federation of Labor
Hurt Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Googe:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

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Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

January 29, 1947

Mr. Felix Grisotte, Director
North Carolina State Planning Board
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Grisotte:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

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Yours for a better South!

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GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

January 29, 1947

Mr. John Temple Graves
Girmingham Age-Herald
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Graves:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some our our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

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Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

January 29, 1947

Mr. Robert M. Hanes, President
Wachovia Bank & Trust Company
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Hanes:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

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GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

January 29, 1947

Mr. S. T. Henry
Assistant to the President
McGraw-Hill, Inc.,
Spruce Pine, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Henry:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

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Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:K

January 29, 1947

Mrs. Evelyn Hicks
Vice President & General Manager
Station WTNB
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Hicks:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

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Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

January 29, 1947

Mr. Luther H. Hodges,
Vice President & General Manager
Manufacturing Division
Marshall Field & Company
88 Worth Street
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Hodges,

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

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Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

January 29, 1947

The Honorable Robert S. Kerr
Governor of Oklahoma
Oklahoma City, Okla.

Dear Governor Kerr:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the socio-economic problems of the region. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

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Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

January 29, 1947

Dr. David A. Lockmiller, President
University of Chattanooga
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Dr. Lockmiller:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

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Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

January 29, 1947

Mr. Price C. McLemore
Waugh, Alabama

Dear Mr. McLemore:

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Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

Comm. of the South

THE COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS

1313 EAST SIXTIETH STREET, CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED
FEB 1 1947
Southern Regional Council

January 30, 1947

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Johnson:

Thanks very much for your letter of January 28.

We shall look forward to receiving the publications that you mentioned and we hope that you will keep us continually posted.

With best wishes, I am

Very sincerely,

Frank Bane

Frank Bane
Executive Director

FB:en

GEORGIA SCHOOL OF TECHNOLOGY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE DEAN
OF ENGINEERING

January 30, 1947

RECEIVED
FEB 1 1947
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Att'n Mr. Guy B. Johnson,
Executive Director.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thanks very much for your kindness in sending me the pamphlets. These have been received, and I have found them most interesting.

Again thanking you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Cherry Emerson

C. L. Emerson
Dean of Engineering

STATE OF ALABAMA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE
421 SOUTH UNION STREET
MONTGOMERY 5, ALABAMA

January 30, 1947

LOULA DUNN
COMMISSIONER

RECEIVED
FEB 1 1947
Southern Regional Council

Doctor Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of January 28th together with your several publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. I appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending me this material and am sure I will find it not only interesting reading but material which will be of real value to me in my work here in Alabama and as a member of the Committee of the South.

Sincerely yours,

Loula Dunn
Commissioner

LD/f

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE
ATHENS, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

RECEIVED
FEB 1 1947
Southern Regional Council

January 31, 1947

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Allow me to thank you for the bulletins which I received from you this morning. These are very attractive. I shall read them with very great interest. Also, I shall appreciate it if you will put my name on your mailing list, as promised, to receive copies of any publications that you may issue in the future.

I would be very happy indeed at some time which I trust is not too far in the future to have the privilege of sitting down and talking with you about the work of the Southern Regional Council. In fact, I am making a memorandum to call you at your office sometime soon when I am in Atlanta.

Very truly yours,

Paul W. Chapman

Paul W. Chapman, Dean

WACHOVIA BANK AND TRUST COMPANY

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C. CHARLOTTE, N.C. RALEIGH, N.C
ASHEVILLE, N.C. HIGH POINT, N.C. SALISBURY, N.C.

RECEIVED
FEB 3 1947
Southern Regional Council

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.
February 1, 1947

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am indebted to you for your letter of January 28th advising that you are sending me some of your publications. I shall look forward to receiving these pamphlets and shall read them with great interest.

With all good wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

R M Hanes

R. M. Hanes
President

RMH:S

UNIVERSITY OF CHATTANOOGA
CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

Office of the President
DAVID A. LOCKMILLER

RECEIVED
FEB 3 1947
Southern Regional Council

February 1, 1947

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you very much for the material which you sent to Dr. Lockmiller. He was greatly interested in it and after reading it, he turned it over to the University Library where a greater number of people may benefit from it.

Cordially yours,

Mary E. Past

Mary E. Past,
Secretary to the President

p

February 7, 1947

Mr. E. J. Coil
Director
National Planning Association
800-21st Street, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Coil:

We believe that in your connection with the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

We shall be glad to send you additional publications from time to time.

Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:K

Feb[redacted] 7, 47

Mr. John Miller
Assistant Director
National Planning Association
800 - [redacted]st Street, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.,

Dear Mr. Miller:

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Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

February 7, 1947

Mr. E. W. Palmer,
President,
The Kingsport Press,
Kingsport, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Palmer:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

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Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:K

February 7, 1947

Dr. Clarence Poe, Editor
The Progressive Farmer,
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Poe:

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Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

February 7, 1947

Mr. Walter L. Randolph
President
Alabama Farm Bureau Federation
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Randolph:

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Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ;k

February 7, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Sanders
Editor
The Southern Planter
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Sanders:

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Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

February 7, 1947

Mr. Romeo E. Short
President
Arkansas Farm Bureau Federation
Brinkley, Arknasas

Dear Mr. Short:

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Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

February 7, 1947

Mr. Thad Snow
Charleston, Missouri

Dear Mr. Snow:

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Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

February 7, 1947

Dean Raymond D. Thomas
School of Commerce
Oklahoma A. & M. College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Dean Thomas:

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Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

February 7, 1947

Mr. Marcel J. Voorhies
Secretary
American Sugar Cane League
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Voohies:

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Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

February 7, 19[illegible]

Dean D. W. Watkins
Clemson College
Clemson, South Carolina

Dear Dean Watkins:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

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Yours for a better South!

Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

Comm. of the South

February 7, 1947

Mr. A. L. M. Wiggins
President
The Bank of Hartsville
Hartsville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Wiggins:

We believe that as a member of the Committee of the South you will be interested in some of our publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. Under separate cover we are sending copies of several pamphlets with our compliments.

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Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:k

February 7, 1947

Mr. M. L. Wilson
Director
Agricultural Extension Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.,

Dear Mr. Wilson:

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Cordially,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:fk

March 7, 1947

Mr. E. J. Coil, Director
National Planning Association
800 - 21st Street N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Coil:

Through an error on my part the publications of the Southern Regional Council about which Dr. Guy B. Johnson wrote you some time ago were never mailed. We are sending them today under separate cover, with apologies for the delay.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Price
Publications Division

March 7, 1947

Mr. George Watts Hill
111 Corcoran Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Hill:

Through an error on my part the publications of the Southern Regional Council about which Dr. Guy B. Johnson wrote you were never mailed. We are sending them today under separate cover, with apologies for the delay.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Price
Publications Division

March 7, 1947

Dr. Calvin B. Hoover
Dean of the Graduate School
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

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Margaret Price
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Comm. on South

March 7, 1947

Mr. John Miller, Assistant Director
National Planning Association
800 - 21st Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

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The Kingsport Press
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March 7, 1947

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Margaret Price
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March 7, 1947

Mr. Marcel J. Voorhies
Secretary, Sugar Cane League
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Voorhies:

A week or so ago Dr. Guy B. Johnson wrote you that he was sending you a number of the publications of the Southern Regional Council. Through an error on my part these were never mailed. We are sending them today under separate cover, with apologies for the delay.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Price
Publications Division

March 7, 1947

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Clemson College
Clemson, S. C.

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March 7, 1947

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March 7, 1947

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Agricultural Extension Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

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Sincerely yours,

Margaret Price
Publications Division

NEW YORK OFFICE
1 EAST 57TH STREET

CHICAGO OFFICE
325 WEST HURON STREET

coming of the South

Kingsport Press, Inc.

Complete Book Manufacturers

KINGSPORT
TENNESSEE

March 10, 1947

Communication

MK
copied
3-17 vv

RECEIVED
MAR 12 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you for sending me the publications relating to the South's socio-economic problems. They came at a very opportune time, as I am to make a talk, "Southern Industry and It's Future Development," on April 1 and much of the material will be useful.

Cordially yours,

E. W. Palmer

E. W. Palmer
President

EWP:bg

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, TRAINING AND
RESEARCH IN RACE RELATIONS

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15 · ILLINOIS

RECEIVED
JUL 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

July 3, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The program for the Monday morning session of the Conference on Research in Race Relations has now been arranged. You will serve as chairman; Alex Rosen, Research Associate, Cornell Field Research Office, as discussant representing the research point of view; and Charles Livermore, Executive Director of the Board of Community Relations of the City of Buffalo, representing the action point of view. We are asking Dr. Long to send a copy of his paper directly to each of the discussants as soon after July 15 as possible.

Enclosed you will find a copy of the questions which have been submitted beforehand for discussion at the Conference. Perhaps you will find them useful in preparing your remarks.

We have asked the two discussants and Dr. Long to send biographical sketches of themselves directly to you for use in introducing them at the session.

The program for Saturday has been changed somewhat, so that now the Conference will not begin officially until Saturday afternoon. A copy of the new schedule is also enclosed.

If you have any question about the arrangements, please do not hesitate to write.

Sincerely yours,

Helen

Helen E. Amerman
Co-chairman, Conference
Committee

NOTICE OF CHANGE IN PROGRAM

Conference on Research in Race Relations
July 26-30, 1952
University of Chicago

New Schedule for Saturday, July 26:

10:30 AM - Meeting of NAIRO Conference Committee, 108 Social Science Building

1 PM - Conference Registration, Lobby, Social Science Building

1:30 PM - Meeting of race relations officials, 2 Rosenwald Hall

1:30 PM - Meeting of research workers, 122 Social Science Building

3 PM - Joint meeting of research workers and practioners, 122 Social Science Building

The balance of the schedule is as shown on the complete program.

Location of buildings:

Social Science Building, 1126 East 59th Street
Rosenwald Hall, 1101-11 East 58th Street
Quadrangle Club, 1155 East 57th Street

7/2/52

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED FOR DISCUSSION AT THE CONFERENCE ON RESEARCH IN RACE RELATIONS

Fred Chusid, Director, Department of Employment, Chicago Commission on Human Relations:

1. Race relations in the work setting--industrial sociology and race relations.
2. Research on integration in industry.
3. Research in the voluntary association and race relations--especially community organizations.

Wilbur B. Brookover, Associate Professor, Social Research Service, Michigan State College:

1. Dynamics of prejudice.
2. Prejudice or intergroup behavior in relation to social role and social situation.
3. Education in the modification of prejudice.

Rebecca Chalmers Barton, Director, Governor's Commission on Human Rights, Wisconsin:

1. Distinction between fact-finding and research--is it necessary in order to be technically accurate?
2. Popularization of research materials for "consumers."
3. Relationship of research to audio-visual aids.
4. The role of research in a dynamic program of public relations.

William C. Bradbury, Assistant Professor of Sociology, The College, University of Chicago:

1. Experience with, and practicability of, close teamwork between genuine social science research (i.e., not mere inventory of practices and resources) and action agencies.

Clarence Senior, Chief, Migration Division, Government of Puerto Rico Department of Labor:

1. The Puerto Rican as the newest of the newcomers to northern industrial cities.
2. Relations between Puerto Ricans and other groups in the lowest income levels.

Morton Deutsch, Assistant Professor, Research Center for Human Relations, New York University:

1. It would be desirable if some of the discussion in each session could be oriented toward (a) identifying the nature of the obstacles to progress; (b) identifying the strategy and tactics of the organized opposition, if any, to progress; and (c) identifying the strategy and tactics for overcoming the obstacles to progress.

John M. Gandy, Research Associate, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago:

1. What changes in racial and/or cultural attitudes occur as the result of individuals having been members of inter-racial or intercultural groups in settlement houses, having attended camps that have campers of various races, religions, nationalities? What are the factors in these situations that make for a lessening of hostility? What are the factors that operate to intensify hostility?
2. Attitudes of Negroes toward using professional services provided by members of their own group, i.e., physicians, dentists, lawyers, social workers, etc.

3. Factor affecting the use of social services i.e., family agencies, homes for the aged, institutional care for children, child welfare services, clinic services, etc., by Japanese-Americans. This is thought of in terms of the organization of the Japanese family and the cultural factors operating in the Japanese family.

4. In institutions i.e., homes for the aged, children's institutions etc., under what conditions has it been possible to have an inter-racial population? Especially in those sectarian institutions where racial groups comprise the membership of the sponsoring religious group?

Olive Diggs, Assistant Director, Illinois Commission on Human Relations:
1. The effect integrated housing has on property values.
2. What techniques are effective in avoiding instances such as Cicero?
3. The experience insurance companies have had with Negro insurees either with regular policy holders or those under the assigned risk program.

Edward Howden, Executive Director, Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco:
1. Limitations and dangers of attitude testing in advance of situation changes, e.g. before non-white family moves into neighborhood or before minority worker is hired... What about before-and-after attitude testing?
2. General opinion polling in re civil rights and minority questions: requisites for validity; impact of the polling act itself.
3. What has been done in the semantics of prejudice and anti-discrimination work?
4. If other operating agency people are like myself, there is a need for one near-the-beginning session in which a panel of top research supervisors summarize scope and approximate status of major fields of research affecting our field. Assume that many of us, regrettably, have not kept up with the Inventory, or even so, that a competent over-view, or progress report isneeded. Compartmentalized researchers, if there be such, might find it good too.

Harry W. Roberts, Head, Department of Sociology, Virginia State College:
1. The use of personal documents in the study of attitudes in race relations research.
2. Frontiers of research or significant areas of needed research in race relations.
3. Differences between race relations and group relations research.

Mrs. George Robinson, LaGrange Fellowship:
1. How to get the dentists of LaGrange to accept Negroes on the same basis as whites?

B. T. McGraw, Deputy Assistant to the Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency:
1. Nonwhite residential dispersion within locality housing supplies after the May 1948 decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court prohibiting judicial enforcement of racial covenants--inventory and analysis of the extent and characteristics, property and neighborhood conditions, acquisition and financing terms, significant approaches and oppositions, and results.
2. Current experience and results in supplying new sales and rental housing to racial minorities for open and for segregated occupancy--with special reference to volume and character of housing supplied in relation

to extent and nature of the effective market demand and experience record with minorities as regards credit risks, property maintenance and tenancy, investment profitability and soundness.

3. Facts and myths about the effects of nonwhite occupancy upon property values--needed documentation and evaluation of traditional allegations.
4. Needed locality studies of evolving experience with slum clearance and urban redevelopment projects--careful documentation and appraisal of facts and factors throughout the process, including conditions in the project area before and after it is cleared and redeveloped, and specifically related to the people involved and what happens to them stage by stage in the evolving process of transformation in the project area.

Leo Shapiro, Director, Department of Education, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith:

1. Research on Intergroup Attitudes in Earliest Grades.
2. Research on Age Level at which Consciousness of Difference First Evidences Itself.
3. Role of PTA in Intergroup Action Program.
4. Collaboration of Faculty and PTA Groups in Human Relations Studies.
5. Research on Influence of High School Fraternities and Sororities in School and Community.
6. Research on Degree of Awareness Among Teachers About the "Essential Facts" of the Community in which They Teach.
7. Effort be made to look into the gowing problem of youth tension.
8. A. Research into the use of audio-visual materials. This might include searches for the answer to these kinds of questions:
   (1) What motivated the teacher to use an audio-visual aid?
   (2) How did she hear about the materials?
   (3) How did she obtain them?
   (4) How long must she plan in advance?
   (5) Is equipment easily available, who runs it?
   (6) What difficulties does she have getting the right materials at the right place at the right time.

   B. Research into the effectiveness of audio-visual materials in human relations. Some of the questions that might be answered in this area are:
   (1) Is there, generally speaking, a particular approach that's most helpful -- i.e., documentary didactic or fact giving expositions or, dramatic narratives, etc?
   (2) How is the material presented -- in what context?
   (3) How effective do you judge it to be? Why?

Actually the question posed in "B" provides 2 possibilities for a research. The first, inquiring into actual practice to the judgment of the practioneers; the second, testing in control situations.

9. An inquiry into the value of "guest speakers" in the classroom.
10. What research findings are available as to the special limitations and capacities of the mass media in the field of intergroup relations? What audience is reached? What effects are achieved? What corrective measures can be taken to increase effectiveness? These questions would apply not only to mass media produced by human relations agencies but also to Hollywood movies, like "No Way Out"; articles in national magazines like Bernstein's "What the Jews Believe" in Life; television programs like "The Goldbergs."

11. Similarly, what is known about the effectiveness of intercultural education programs such as those carried out in schools, or the workshops for teachers, community leaders, police, etc? That is, what is the most effective way of working with various groups?
12. From time to time national opinion surveys have been carried out dealing with intergroup tensions and attitudes toward minority groups. Can we make any inferences as to the general trend of intergroup tensions, or as to some of the social factors underlying an increase or decrease in intergroup tensions?

13. A survey made in 1949 has assessed discriminatory practices in college admissions on the undergraduate level. What do we know about admissions practices with respect to graduate and professional schools?

7/2/52

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, TRAINING AND
RESEARCH IN RACE RELATIONS

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15 · ILLINOIS

August 29, 1952

RECEIVED
SEP 4 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

Enclosed is the check to pay for the balance of your expenses incurred in attending our Conference on Research in Race Relations.

I am sorry that you have had to wait so long, but we had to get the other bills in before we knew where we stood financially. It now appears that we are well within our budget. I shall be able to give a full report to the Committee next month when I return from the second installment of my vacation about the 10th.

Sincerely yours,

Helen

Helen E. Amerman

Encl.

Am

September 4, 1952

Miss Helen E. Ameman
The University of Chicago
Committee on Education, Training, &
Research in Race Relations
4901 Ellis Ave.
Chicago 15, Ill.

Dear Helen:

Hey! You and the Committee were mighty kind to turn loose that check, which completely covered on the Council's books the cost of the trip up. That was a big help to us.

The whole meeting was a good one. My warmest praise to you personally for shoving it through.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, TRAINING AND RESEARCH IN RACE RELATIONS
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15 · ILLINOIS

RECEIVED
OCT 22 1952
Southern Regional Council

October 20, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

Two weeks ago I had dinner with a Dr. Sheila Van der Horst, who is a board member of the South African Council on Race Relations in this country on a field trip in connection with her work as a professor of economics at one of the South African universities. She had been referred to me by Maxwell Hahn.

Dr. Van der Horst is going to be in Atlanta October 27-30 and would like an opportunity to talk to you about race relations in the South. I know she would find it a most profitable experience, and I hope you will have a little time to spare her.

See you in Washington,

Sincerely yours,

Helen

Helen E. Amerman

P.S. Dr Van der Horst will phone you on her arrival.

April 21, 1958

Mr. Glenn Brooks
Commission on Government and
Higher Education
108 W. 39th Street
Baltimore 10, Maryland

Dear Glenn:

I am enclosing an article from the Charleston News and Courier which I think may be of interest to you and the Committee. I am also enclosing a copy of New South in which Margolis' article appeared.

All good wishes.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

(Dictated by Mr. Routh, but signed in his absence.)

Enclosures.
FBR:fcl

June 17, 1958

Mr. Glenn Brooks
Commission on Government and
Higher Education
108 W. 39th Street
Baltimore 10, Maryland

Dear Glenn:

Here we go again. Knowing of your interest in the role of state government in higher education, I felt you would be interested in the enclosed editorial from the Charlotte Observer. The L. S. U. situation looks like a case celebre of government interference with collegiate administration and academic freedom.

If we can be of any further help, feel free to call on us.

Warm personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure: reprint from Charlotte Observer

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT AND HIGHER EDUCATION

108 West Thirty-Ninth Street • Baltimore 10, Maryland

July 9, 1958

DR. MILTON S. EISENHOWER
Chairman
A. BOYD CAMPBELL
FATHER JOHN J. CAVANAUGH
DR. MARGARET CLAPP
DR. CHARLES W. COLE
DR. JAMES B. CONANT
DR. ARTHUR S. FLEMMING
CLINTON S. GOLDEN
DR. VIRGIL M. HANCHER
DR. J. L. MORRILL
HON. HERBERT R. O'CONOR
R. SARGENT SHRIVER, JR.
EDGAR W. SMITH
J. RUSSELL WIGGINS
ALFRED H. WILLIAMS

STAFF
Director
DR. MALCOLM MOOS
Assistant Director
DR. FRANCIS E. ROURKE
Research Associate
GLENN BROOKS
LEO REDFERN
Secretary
JOAN MURRELL

Mr. Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I have been looking through my files without success to find the name of the fellow at Southern School News you said would be helpful to our efforts. Would you refresh my memory? Was it Don Shoemaker, the executive director? The News itself is a very fine publication, and we have made good use of it from time to time.

How are things down in the southland now that the Arkansas federal judge has upheld the true faith?

Sincerely,

Glenn

Glenn Brooks

GB:jcm

July 21, 1958

Mr. Glenn Brooks
Committee on Government
and Higher Education
108 West 39th Street
Baltimore 10, Maryland

Dear Glenn:

The man I suggested you contact at the Southern School News was indeed Don Shoemaker, but unfortunately Don is leaving the paper to assume new duties with the Miami Herald. He is being replaced by Ed Ball, who was with the AP for a good number of years.

The Southern Education Reporting Service which publishes the Southern School News will supply objective, factual information to any reputable group. They occasionally open their files to interested people who visit Nashville. I would suggest that you write them for such information as you may want, or to explore the possibilities of visiting Nashville.

I trust you are keeping close tab on the developments at LSU and elsewhere in Louisiana. I note that the state legislature has ordered investigation of "pro-integration sentiment" at at least nine state colleges.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT AND HIGHER EDUCATION

108 West Thirty-Ninth Street • Baltimore 10, Maryland

July 23, 1958

DR. MILTON S. EISENHOWER
Chairman
A. BOYD CAMPBELL
FATHER JOHN J. CAVANAUGH
DR. MARGARET CLAPP
DR. CHARLES W. COLE
DR. JAMES B. CONANT
DR. ARTHUR S. FLEMMING
CLINTON S. GOLDEN
DR. VIRGIL M. HANCHER
DR. J. L. MORRILL
HON. HERBERT R. O'CONOR
R. SARGENT SHRIVER, JR.
EDGAR W. SMITH
J. RUSSELL WIGGINS
ALFRED H. WILLIAMS

STAFF
Director
DR. MALCOLM MOOS
Assistant Director
DR. FRANCIS E. ROURKE
Research Associate
GLENN BROOKS
LEO REDFERN
Secretary
JOAN MURRELL

Ph-
Belmont, 5-7636

Dear Fred--

Thanks for your note about Don Shoemaker. As a matter of fact, the day after I wrote you my boss asked me to make a hurry-up trip to Nashville. I gave you a ring, and finding you were gone talked to Harold Fleming, who set me straight on whom to see.

I had a nice day and a half with Shoemaker and Company, went through their files, and found a number of items that were of interest. Of course their materials are almost entirely on integration, but they have done a magnificent job of filing and cataloging. Did you know that they were putting all their files on microfilm and offering them for sale (only $1000 a shot).

The Louisiana case has our full attention. And I am giving a good bit of personal attention these days to the Texas governor's campaign. I figure, for no particularly sound political reasons, that Price Daniel will win without a runoff and Gonzalez will trail behind O'Daniel. Also pick Yarborough over Blakely.

Cordially,

Glenn

Glenn Brooks (typed by hand)

July 25, 1958

Mr. Glenn Brooks
108 West Thirty-Ninth Street
Baltimore 10, Maryland

Dear Glenn:

Many thanks for your letter (typed by hand) of July 23. Glad to hear that Harold gave you a lead on Don Shoemaker. Your trip to Nashville and going through their files sounds most interesting. Yes, we know that they are putting their files on microfilm and in all probability will purchase a set.

I am interested in your Drew Pearson-like closing paragraph - predictions of things to come.

All good wishes.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

June 12, 1944

Mr. John E. Ivey, Jr.
Personnel Department
Training Division
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear John:

A few minutes after you called I had a letter from David N. Howell, Secretary of the Knoxville Interracial Commission. He seems to think that I am three people. On Thursday morning he hopes to arrange "visitations" on summer school classes at Knoxville College and the University of Tennessee; at 12:30 there is a talk to some Negro business and professional men; in the afternoon there are plans for a conference with city officials, and another one with TVA officials; at night there is to be a meeting of the members and friends of the Interracial Commission.

Mr. Howell did not mention anything definite about dinner arrangements, so it may be that we could sneak off and have dinner together. I certainly hope so. Anyway, I will get in touch with you as soon as I arrive. I am to have a room at the YMWA, 605 West Clinch Street.

Looking forward to seeing you and Melville,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION

of the

American Council on Education

Offices at the University of Tennessee

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Maurice F. Seay, Chairman
Gordon W. Blackwell
John E. Brewton
George F. Gant
G. D. Humphrey
Edgar L. Morphet
Homer P. Rainey
Roy W. Roberts
George F. Zook, ex officio

July 12, 1944

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

As you know, on September 6-12, the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education will hold its annual Gatlinburg Conference for educators and research specialists who are interested in the more effective educational use of research related to the resources and problems of the southern United States. The first Gatlinburg Conference, held during the summer of 1943, went far toward identifying the specific problems involved in achieving more effective research translation on public school, higher education, and adult education levels. A copy of the Conference report is being sent to you under separate cover.

Perhaps the most salient point to grow out of the Conference is the belief that effective translation of research on southern resources can be accelerated by a region-wide effort based on new and closer cooperative relationship among regional and State research and educational agencies. The participants at the first Gatlinburg Conference agreed that there was a great need for the creation of some facility whereby research and educational specialists from all over the South might come together to discuss possible means of achieving greater mutual assistance among regional and State agencies interested in research translation to facilitate more effective southern resource development. The annual Gatlinburg Conference is offered by the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education as a means of creating a medium for projecting this needed and desired interagency cooperation.

The Southern Regional Council has been identified as forming a vital link in the chain of southern institutions working with or interested in southern resource development through the application of scientific research to resource use problems. Therefore, we are inviting your agency to be represented among fifty or more southern research and educational leaders who will gather at Gatlinburg, Tennessee, this summer. Around twenty-five regional organizations will be represented, and there will be two or more persons from each of the fourteen southern

Mr. Guy B. Johnson July 12, 1944

States. A pamphlet is enclosed which contains the organizational plans and agenda for the Conference, as well as a statement on the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education.

From this Conference each organization present should be able to (1) become better acquainted with the general programs and policy of other regional and State agencies as their efforts are related to research translation for educational use; (2) identify some specific procedures for making its efforts more effective through closer cooperation with other regional and State organizations; and (3) advise with the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education concerning the most effective means of executing four or five specific projects which were suggested by the first Gatlinburg Conference as being real needs in the field of educational use of research on resources of the South.

Since there will be such a large number of participants in the Conference, the Committee is requesting that each regional organization bear the expenses of its representative. This would amount to about $35.00, plus travel expenses. If, however, it is impossible for your organization to participate in the Conference without financial assistance, the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education will be glad to consider the possibility of making some financial contribution toward defraying the expenses of your representative.

We should appreciate receiving from you at your earliest convenience an indication of your interest in the Conference, the name of the representative from your organization, and the financial arrangement for your participant. We are hoping that both you and Dr. Ira Reed will be with our group in September. Upon receipt of your reply, we will take the responsibility, if you so desire, for making hotel reservation and obtaining information on travel schedule. I shall be happy to provide other information by letter or telephone.

Cordially yours,

John E. Ivey, Jr.

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Enclosure - Pamphlet

July 18, 1944

Mr. John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary
Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Ivey:

I am glad to have your letter of July 12 concerning the conference of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education at Gatlinburg on September 6 to 12. The Southern Regional Council is, of course, greatly interested in the work of your Committee, and I am sure that either Dr. Ira Reid or I can attend the Conference.

My own plans are a bit uncertain since it is quite possible that I shall be in the midst of moving my family and getting settled in a new home at the time of the Gatlinburg Conference. I hope the moving can be done in August, but it depends upon several factors beyond my control. At any rate, I shall let you know at the earliest possible moment whether or not I can attend the Conference.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ/j

Greetings to you and Melville, and thanks for a swell evening when I was in Knoxville

GBJ

COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION

of the

American Council on Education

Offices at the University of Tennessee

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Maurice F. Seay, Chairman
Gordon W. Blackwell
John E. Brewton
George F. Gant
G. D. Humphrey
Edgar L. Morphet
Homer P. Rainey
Roy W. Roberts
George F. Zook, ex officio

July 24, 1944

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

We were delighted to learn from your letter of July 18 that either you or Dr. Reid will attend the Gatlinburg Conference in September. We will make a hotel reservation for one person from Southern Regional Council, Incorporated, beginning on September 6. We will hope, however, that both of you may find it possible to attend the Conference.

You will note on Page 3 of the pamphlet containing the organization plans and agenda for the Conference that we are asking each regional agency to give us a memorandum on its program as it is related to the preparation of educational materials for resource education. We are not sure how much work you are planning to do in producing educational materials. The Southern Frontier and the small pamphlets which were put out by the Interracial Commission are, in our opinion, a type of educational material which tries to get certain basic scientific facts and scientific points of view regarding racial relationships and other problems to the people in the South. Therefore, we should appreciate your preparing a statement along the general lines indicated on Page 3 of the pamphlet; this memorandum should be in our hands by August 1, or as soon thereafter as possible, in order that it may be hectographed and sent to all Conference participants for study prior to coming to Gatlinburg.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

John

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

MEMORANDUM TO: JOHN E. IVEY, JR. August 1, 1944

FROM: GUY B. JOHNSON

SUBJECT: EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS PREPARED BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

The Southern Regional Council, which began operation as an organized body in February, 1944, and which has taken over the work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation as one phase of its broad program for Southern regional development, is definitely interested in the preparation and distribution of factual material on a popular level.

The Commission on Interracial Cooperation made a fine contribution in this direction, Although many of their pamphlets and leaflets were primarily of an inspirational nature, some of them were designed to disseminate factual knowledge about human and cultural resources and inadequacies in the South. For example, it published such pamphlets as "The Mob Still Rides," "The Changing Character of Lynching," "School Expenditures in Black and White," "Understanding Our Neighbors," and "America's Tenth Man." The Commission also began to publish, in 1940, a small monthly paper, the SOUTHERN FRONTIER, which combines factual data with a suggestion for needed social action.

The Southern Regional Council will not only continue this program, but will enlarge it and improve upon it. The SOUTHERN FRONTIER has a circulation of nearly 3,000, and is widely used by editors, ministers, teachers, and others throughout the United States. As we build up our staff, we hope to enlarge the SOUTHERN FRONTIER and to broaden its coverage to include more articles outside of the sphere of race relations.

In our pamphlet program, our aim is to publish a continuing series of substantial pamphlets based upon accurate research and covering many phases of the cultural, economic, and racial aspects of Southern life. Some subjects which we hope to develop into pamphlets in the near future are: the poll tax, better housing for the South, the police and race relations, murder in the South, the small loan racket, public school finances, freight rates, fair standards in household employment, and employment in the post-war period. We hope that within the next five years we can publish 25 or 30 pamphlets on these and other subjects.

We are very much interested in the techniques of getting authentic pamphlet material of this sort utilized to the best advantage. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation, through a subsidiary organization, the Conference on Education and Race Relations, made considerable headway in getting its materials into the public schools and colleges. We want to enlarge this use as much as possible. Indeed we are willing to cooperate in the sponsorship of special texts and reading materials designed for use on various educational levels.

August 1, 1944

Mr. John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary
Committee on Southern Regional Studies
and Education
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Ivey:

I am sorry to be a little late replying to your letter of July 24. I hope that the enclosed statement will be of some use to you in preparing the materials for participants in the coming Gatlinburg conference.

I am still hoping that either Dr. Reid or I can attend the conference. Perhaps I should ask you at this point whether Dr. Reid will encounter any embarrassment about accommodations in case he comes. He had to cancel one engagement recently because of the difficulty of arranging any place to sleep and eat.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

P. S. I have loaned your pamphlet to Dr. Reid and can't lay hands on it right now in order to refresh my memory about what was on page 3. However, I hope that the enclosed memorandum will come close to filling the bill.

COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION
of the
American Council on Education
Offices at the University of Tennessee
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

COMMITTEE MEMBERS
Maurice F. Seay, Chairman
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John E. Brewton
George F. Gant
G. D. Humphrey
Edgar L. Morphet
Homer P. Rainey
Roy W. Roberts
George F. Zook, ex officio

August 31, 1944

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

The roster of participants for Gatlinburg Conference II has grown so much that in order to secure living accommodations for the entire group we will have to use all of the available space in three of the hotels in Gatlinburg and some cabins. It has also been necessary to assign two people to each room which has twin-bed accommodations.

Assuming that we now have acceptances from all of those who will join us in Gatlinburg, the hotels have been requested to make definite room assignments according to arrival date. You hold a single room reservation at the New Gatlinburg Inn to be available on September 10.

The New Gatlinburg operates on the European Plan, but its dining room facilities are available to all hotel guests. In addition, there are a number of tea rooms and taverns in Gatlinburg which serve meals.

We are certainly looking forward to having you work with the Conference group this year and will be expecting you in Gatlinburg on September 10.

Sincerely yours,

John

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Hope you have gotten the family comfortably settled!

September 5, 1944

Mr. John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary
Committee on Southern Regional Studies
and Education
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear John:

Thanks for your letter of August 31. I am planning to arrive at Gatlinburg sometime on September 10.

My family is now settled in Atlanta, and our house is beginning to look something like a home.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

GATLINBURG CONFERENCE II

COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION

Gatlinburg, Tennessee

September 6-12, 1944

PERSONNEL OF CONFERENCE

REPRESENTATIVES FROM REGIONAL AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

L. C. Bird, President of Southern Association of Science and Industry, c/o Phipps and Bird, 601 East Byrd Street, Richmond, Virginia.

H. C. Brearley, representative of Southern Rural Life Council, Department of Sociology, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee.

J. L. Blair Buck, representative of Southern Conference on Teacher Education, Director of Teacher Training and Certification, State Department of Education, Richmond, Virginia.

T. S. Buie, Regional Conservator, Soil Conservation Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Spartanburg, South Carolina.

L. L. Durisch, Chief, Government Research Division, Department of Regional Studies, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee.

L. H. Griffin, representative of Arkansas Valley Conference, Bowie County Superintendent, Boston, Texas.

Helen Harris, Chairman, Tennessee Valley Library Council; c/o Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville 010, Tennessee.

Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Incorporated, 710 Standard Building, Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Roscoe C. Martin, Director, Regional Program for Training in Public Administration; Director, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, University, Alabama.

R. M. Nelson, Acting Director, Appalachian Forest Experiment Station, Asheville, N.C.

Fred C. Smith, representative of Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools; Dean of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

A. W. Susott, Chief, Regional Division of Information, Soil Conservation Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Spartanburg, South Carolina.

W. S. Taylor, representative of Organization of Deans and Heads of Departments of Education in State Universities and Land Grant Colleges of the Southern States; Dean of the University of Kentucky, Department of Education, Lexington, Kentucky.

Theo Vaughan, Regional Leader, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Little Rock, Arkansas.

STATE REPRESENTATIVES

Alabama

John A. Dotson, Assistant Director, Alabama Educational Survey Commission, Montgomery, 4, Alabama.

Sam T. Doughty, Alabama Agricultural Extension Service, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Alabama.

Ralph B. Draughon, Director of Instruction, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Alabama.

J. C. Ford, Alabama Agricultural Extension Service, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Alabama.

Mary C. Henderson, Supervisor of High Schools, Talladega County School System, Talladega, Alabama.

Paul Irvine, Professor of Education, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Alabama.

Eloise Keebler, Supervisor Elementary Schools, Talladega County School System, Talladega, Alabama.

E. A. McBride, Superintendent, County Board of Education, Talladega, Alabama.

W. Morrison McCall, Director, Division of Instruction, State Board of Education, Montgomery, 4, Alabama.

M. L. Orr, Head of Education Department, The Alabama State College for Women, Montevallo, Alabama.

Russell S. Poor, Dean of the Graduate School, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Alabama.

R. E. Tidwell, Dean, Extension Division, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

C. R. Wood, Dean, Jacksonville State Teachers College, Jacksonville, Alabama.

Lillian Worley, Assistant Professor of Geography, The Alabama State College for Women, Montevallo, Alabama.

Arkansas

C. O. Brannon, Director, Bureau of Research, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas.

L. A. Henry, Engineer-Director, State Planning Board, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Florida

E. B. Browning, President, Florida Educational Association, Madison, Florida.

M. W. Carothers, Coordinator for Florida Resources Education Project; c/o Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee, Florida.

Dewey Hooten, Executive Secretary, Florida State Planning Board, Tallahassee, Florida.

W. S. Jacobs, Assistant State Forester, Florida Board of Forestry, Tallahassee, Fla.

Georgia

O. C. Aderhold, Director, Education Panel, Agricultural and Industrial Development Board, Athens, Georgia.

George H. Boyd, Dean of Graduate School, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

Jane Franseth, Director, Education of Supervisors, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.

J. E. Greene, Educational Panel Staff, Agricultural and Industrial Development Board, Athens, Georgia.

Sara Jones, Assistant Director, Textbook and Library Service, State Department of Education, Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

L. M. Lester, Director, Division of Teacher Education and Certification, State Department of Education, Atlanta, Georgia.

James Stokes, Georgia State College for Women, Milledgeville, Georgia.

K. R. Williams, Dean of Education, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

Kentucky

Harold Browning, State Commissioner of Conservation, Frankfort, Kentucky.

F. C. Grise, Dean, Western State Teachers College, Bowling Green, Kentucky.

R. E. Jaggers, Director, Division of Teacher Training, State Department of Education, Frankfort, Kentucky.

W. C. Jones, Dean, Eastern State Teachers College, Richmond, Kentucky.

W. C. Lappin, Dean, Morehead State Teachers College, Morehead, Kentucky.

W. G. Nash, Dean, Murray State Teachers College, Murray, Kentucky.

Louisiana

Joseph E. Gibson, Director of Higher Education, State Department of Education, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

S. M. Jackson, Supervisor of Vocational Agriculture, State Department of Education, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

John B. Robson, Supervisor of Mathematics and Science, State Department of Education, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Mississippi

Dorothy Lee Black, Manager, Delta Council, Stoneville, Mississippi.

James R. Clark, Officer, Mississippi Forestry Association, Crosby, Mississippi.

Frank J. Welch, Head of Department of Agricultural Economics, State Agricultural Experiment Station, State College, Mississippi.

North Carolina

W. E. Bird, Dean, Western Carolina Teachers College, Cullowhee, North Carolina.

Mary Sue Fonville, representative of the North Carolina Council for the Social Studies, Apartment 8, Hillsboro Apts., Raleigh, North Carolina.

Russell M. Grumman, Director of Extension Division, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

H. Arnold Perry, Division of Instructional Service, State Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh, North Carolina.

South Carolina

Marguerite Tolbert, Adult Education Division, State Department of Education, Columbia.

Tennessee

B. O. Duggan, State Superintendent of Education, Nashville, Tennessee.

Baxter E. Hobgood, Research Worker, Tennessee Education Association, Nashville, Tenn.

N. E. Fitzgerald, Dean, College of Education, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.

R. Lee Thomas, Supervisor, Division of Elementary Schools, Department of Education, Nashville, Tennessee.

Fred E. Wankan, Educational Supervisor, State Department of Conservation, Nashville, Tennessee.

E. A. Waters, Director of Research, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Texas

Paul W. Schoen, Chief, Division of Forest Management, Texas Forest Service, Agricultural & Mechanical College, College Station, Texas.

Virginia

Clarence W. Newman, Director of Research, Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, Richmond, 19, Virginia.

Alfred L. Wingo, Supervisor of Conservation Studies, State Board of Education, Richmond, 16, Virginia.

George B. Zehmer, Director of Education, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.

Special Speakers

H. A. Morgan, Director, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Howard W. Odum, Head, Sociology Department, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Consultants from TVA Training and Educational Relations Staff

W. J. McGlothlin, Chief, Training and Educational Relations Staff, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Ira N. Childes, Principal Education Officer, Eastern Area, Training and Educational Relations Staff, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee.

E. S. Christenbury, Principal Education Officer, Training and Educational Relations Staff, Tennessee Valley Authority, Bank of Andrews Building, Andrews, North Carolina.

Virginia White James, Specialist in Educational Methods, Training and Educational Relations Staff, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Mary U. Rothrock, Specialist in Library Service, Training and Educational Relations Staff, Tennessee Valley Authority, Bankers Trust Building, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Clifford Seeber, Principal Education Officer, Training and Educational Relations Staff, Tennessee Valley Authority, Murray, Kentucky.

Planning Committee of Tennessee Valley Library Council Which Met Concurrently with and Participated in Gatlinburg Conference II

Helen Harris, Chairman, Tennessee Valley Library Council; c/o Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, 010, Tennessee.

Bethel Fite, Regional Librarian, Murray State Teachers College, Murray, Kentucky.

C. R. Graham, Librarian, Louisville, Kentucky.

Lucile Nix, Regional Librarian, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Mary U. Rothrock, Specialist in Library Service, Training and Educational Relations Staff, Tennessee Valley Authority, Bankers' Trust Building, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Velma Shaffer, Associate Professor of Library Service, Department of Education, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Visitors and Consultants from Outside the Region

Raymond G. Bressler, Director, Agriculture and Conservation, The Capital, Providence, Rhode Island.

Mayhew Derryberry, Chief, Field Activities in Health Education, U. S. Public Health Service, Bethesda, Maryland.

H. H. Giles, Director, Education Division, American Council on Race Relations, 32 West Randolph Street, Chicago, 1, Illinois.

W. D. Heydecker, Secretary-Treasurer, Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Commission, State Office Building, Annapolis, Maryland.

Cyril O. Houle, Assistant Professor of Education, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Fred J. McCuistion, General Education Board, 49 West 49th St., New York, New York.

Helen K. Mackintosh, Senior Specialist in Elementary Education, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, 25, D. C.

A. R. Mann, Director, General Education Board, New York, New York.

H. B. Masters, Educational Director, W. K. Kellogg Foundation, Battle Creek, Mich.

A. B. Moehlman, Editor, The Nation's School, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Floyd W. Reeves, Professor of Administration, The Department of Education, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Paul B. Sears, Professor of Biology, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.

Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education

Maurice F. Seay, Chairman of the Committee; Director of Bureau of School Service and Head of Department of Educational Administration, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

Gordon W. Blackwell, Director of Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

John E. Brewton, Dean of the Graduate School, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee.

George F. Gant, Director of Personnel, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tenn.

G. D. Humphrey, President of Mississippi State College, State College, Mississippi.

Edgar L. Morphet, Director of Administration and Finance, State Department of Education, Tallahassee, Florida.

*Homer P. Rainey, President, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

*Roy W. Roberts, Head, Department of Vocational Teacher Education, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas.

George F. Zook, ex officio member of the Committee; President of the American Council on Education, Washington, D. C.

John E. Ivey, Jr., Executive Secretary of the Committee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

*Unable to attend Conference.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1220

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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QA31

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1944 SEP 18 PM 5 34

Q.KVB374 DL PD=KNOXVILLE TENN 18 345P

DR IRA REID ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=
1710 STANDARD BLDG ATLA=

MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION WOULD LIKE TO HAVE YOU MEET WITH THEM IN ATLANTA GA ON NOV 14TH TO DISCUSS PROBLEMS OF MUTUAL INTEREST AND CONCERN AS RELATED TO RESOURCE EDUCATION AND RESEARCH TRANSLATION WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR ADVISING WHETHER OR NOT IT IS POSSIBLE FOR YOU TO MEET WITH COMMITTEE AT THAT TIME IF SO WE WILL WRITE YOU IN THE NEAR FUTURE SUGGESTING AGENDA AND ARRANGEMENT FOR MEETING=

JOHN E IVY JR.

Exec. Sec'y
Committee on Southern Regional Studies & Education
U of Tennessee
Knoxville

14.

Reply
Pleased to meet with committee on date suggested
9.18.44

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

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R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

September 19, 1944

Mr. John E. Ivy, Jr.
Executive Secretary
Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

REID PLEASED TO MEET WITH COMMITTEE. NOVEMBER 14 TENTATIVELY O.K. WITH ATLANTA UNIVERSITY BUT I SUGGEST YOU LET PRESIDENT RUFUS E. CLEMENT KNOW AT ONCE SIZE OF GROUP AND DETAILS AS TO MEALS OR OVER NIGHT SERVICES.

Guy B. Johnson

PAID

Charge to Southern Regional Council, INC.
710 Standard Building,
Atlanta, Ga.

COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION

of the

American Council on Education

Offices at the University of Tennessee

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Maurice F. Seay, Chairman
Gordon W. Blackwell
John E. Brewton
George F. Gant
G. D. Humphrey
Edgar L. Morphet
Homer P. Rainey
Roy W. Roberts
George F. Zook, ex officio

September 19, 1944

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

This is to confirm our telephone conversation of September 18. We are making plans to hold a meeting of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education November 12-14. The last day of the meeting, September 14, we are inviting to meet with the Committee President F. D. Patterson, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Dr. J. Herman Daves, President Horace Mann Bond, and Dr. Ira Reid. I think perhaps your suggestion that we hold our meeting with the Negroes at Atlanta University will be a much more satisfactory arrangement than to try to meet at the Biltmore and have the difficulty of arranging for lunch. If you will do some further preliminary exploration, we can make our final decisions when I see you Thursday, September 28.

NOV.

We certainly do appreciate your attending the closing sessions of the Gatlinburg Conference. Members of the Committee were glad to have the opportunity to know you better. You may be sure that we are going to want your counsel on and participation in our efforts to infuse resource education and research translation into Negro educational programs.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

John

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

CC:

George F. Gant
Maurice F. Seay
Gordon W. Blackwell
J. Herman Daves

September 23, 1944

Mr. John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary
Committee on Southern Regional Studies
and Education
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear John:

This is to confirm my telegram which, I think, clears up the matters mentioned in your letter of September 19. Dr. Clement seemed quite glad to have the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education meet at Atlanta University on November 14, but he wanted to have the details as to the size of the group, accommodations needed, etc., so that he could make proper arrangements.

I am looking forward to seeing you here on September 28. If there is anything else I can do in the meantime to facilitate your plans, please wire me.

I enjoyed the Gatlinburg Conference, and I only wish that I could have found the time to be there through the whole period.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

September 29, 1944

Dr. Walter N. Ridley, President
The American Teachers Association
c/o Virginia State College for Negroes
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Ridley:

I have returned to the office to find your telegram of September 23. We are delighted to find out that it may be possible for you to meet in Atlanta November 14 with several outstanding Negro leaders and with the members of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education.

As you know, for nearly two years the Committee has been working with leaders in education and research throughout the South in an effort to devise more effective means for the educational use of research on resources and problems of the South. It has been realized by the Committee that this job can be successfully accomplished only by working through and with existing educational and research agencies on the regional and State levels. It is now the desire of the Committee to explore more fully, in consultation with Negro representatives of regional organizations in the South, how a total program of resource education and research translation can be carried out in the region. Under separate cover we are sending you a copy of Channeling Research Into Education, a report which more fully explains the work we have done and our plans for the future.

To the meeting in Atlanta the Committee has invited Drs. Charles S. Johnson, J. Herman Daves, Ira Reid, Horace Mann Bond, and F. D. Patterson. We have received acceptances from all of these gentlemen except Dr. Johnson, who has been out of his office for the past two weeks.

After receiving from you an indication of your interest in this conference

and an acceptance of the invitation to meet with us and work on this vital problem, we will forward to you a suggested agenda for the meeting and detailed information on the arrangements. We will be happy to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

CC:

George F. Gant
J. Herman Davis
Guy B. Johnson
Ira Reid

COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION
of the
American Council on Education
Offices at the University of Tennessee
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

COMMITTEE MEMBERS
Maurice F. Seay, Chairman
Gordon W. Blackwell
John E. Brewton
George F. Gant
G. D. Humphrey
Edgar L. Morphet
Homer P. Rainey
Roy W. Roberts
George F. Zook, ex officio

September 30, 1944

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Dr. Ira Reid, Associate Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Reid:

Confirming our conversation of Thursday, September 28, I am enclosing a copy of my letter to President Clement.

It was certainly a pleasure to meet you and I am looking forward to getting better acquainted with you as our work progresses. Thank you for your many kindnesses in helping us arrange for our November 14 meeting.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

J. E. Ivey, Jr.

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

CC:

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Dr. J. Herman Daves

September 30, 1944

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear President Clement:

I was disappointed that we did not make connections in Atlanta on Thursday, September 28. I did, however, have the opportunity to talk quite at length with Dr. Ira Reid.

As you know, for somtime the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education has been attempting to schedule a meeting with outstanding Negro leaders in the region. From my talk with Dr. Reid and his comments regarding earlier talks with you, it seems that you have done the Committee a great service in helping to make excellent arrangements for the meeting November 14. We certainly appreciate your assistance.

Dr. Reid and I agreed that perhaps the following arrangement would be the most effective procedure for holding our meeting on November 14:

9:30 A.M. Beginning morning meeting, Biltmore Hotel Conference Room . . . .

12:30 P.M. Adjourn for lunch . . . . . .

1:00 P.M. Luncheon meeting at Atlanta University

2:30 P.M. Afternoon conference, Atlanta University

There will be present the ten members of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education, Dr. Fred McCuistion of the General

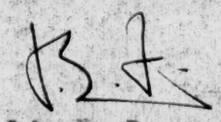
Education Board, Dr. Ira Reid representing the Southern Regional Council, Incorporated, Dr. Horace Mann Bond representing the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes, Dr. F. D. Patterson representing the Southern Conference of Negro Land Grant College Presidents, Dr. J. Herman Daves of the Tennessee Valley Authority, Dr. Charles S. Johnson representing Negro research interests in the South, and Dr. Walter N. Ridley representing the American Teachers Association. From the last two we have not received definite acceptances but expect to do so in the very near future. Within the next two weeks we will know whether or not any of our Negro conferees will need accommodations the evenings of November 13 or 14 and will inform you accordingly.

The Committee would hope that you could join the group for the luncheon meeting and, if your time permits, sit with the group during the afternoon session. We are certainly looking forward to our meeting in Atlanta and believe that some constructive programs will be developed from the deliberations of the group.

Under separate cover, we are sending you a complimentary copy of Channeling Research Into Education, which will serve as a means to bring you more up to date on our past activities. Thank you again for your kindnesses.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,



John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

CC:

Maurice F. Seay
George F. Gant
Guy B. Johnson
Ira Reid
J. Herman Daves

October 2, 1944

TO PARTICIPANTS IN GATLINBURG CONFERENCE II:

Among the Gatlinburg Conference participants there was a widespread feeling that a brief digest of the work done by the various committees and by the Panel would be helpful in assisting the development of prompt follow-up programs in each of the southern States. Accordingly, the committee and Panel chairmen were asked to submit digests of their group work. This material is attached and, in most cases, has received no editorial attention.

Plans are well under way for the production of a monograph which will bring together the findings of Gatlinburg Conference II, materials gathered prior to the Conference, the papers submitted by Drs. Morgan, Sears, and Odum, and the statement prepared by the Tennessee Valley Authority. It is hoped that this report will be ready for distribution early in 1945.

Meanwhile, it has been suggested by many people throughout the region, and by persons in other regions as well, that every effort should be made to stimulate the wide reading of Channeling Research Into Education. Not only does it define problems which you worked on at Gatlinburg this year, but the bibliography of materials, so we are told, is proving to be a very helpful guide to teachers in the public schools, school administrators, college personnel, and research specialists. Attached you will find a sample leaflet, prepared for distribution.

Channeling Research Into Education can be made to serve as a lever to get State groups oriented to the experience shared by only a few in your area. The Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education will welcome your suggestions with regard to procedures for stimulating wider interest in the book and its theme.

Your contribution to Gatlinburg Conference II was most helpful in furthering this region-wide effort. The Committee hopes that it can have the opportunity of working more closely with you during the coming year.

Sincerely yours,

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Attachments

Prepared for the use of Conference participants only

Digest of

GATLINBURG CONFERENCE II

Sponsored by

COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION

Gatlinburg, Tennessee

September 6-12, 1944

Gatlinburg Conference II, sponsored by the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education, was held in Gatlinburg, Tennessee, September 6-12, 1944. The Conference brought together educational and research specialists from twelve southern States and fifteen regional agencies for the purpose of developing specific procedures to implement special projects in the field of resource education and research translation. The Conference was organized so that each participant could take part in three major types of activities:

1. Receiving evaluation of and consultation on specific projects, either in operation or proposed, relating to the field of resource education and/or research translation into educational materials. Representatives of regional agencies reported on (1) their activities in these fields; and (2) policies and procedures for (a) use of research and educational personnel in program and materials evaluation, and (b) policies and procedures for cooperation with other regional agencies and with State agencies. State groups reported on and received technical consultation regarding their operating or proposed programs in research translation and in resource education. In many cases, they used these discussions as a basis for planning their future programs.

2. The development of some specific projects in research translation and resource education which should be executed on the State and regional levels.

3. A general summary of the Conference and discussion of future activities.

In order to follow this organization, four procedures were used: (1) review and consultation on regional and State activities was conducted by a special panel of consultants; (2) development of specific projects was carried on by small committees which worked with a chairman; (3) meetings were held by the various State groups from time to time during the Conference period to make plans for programs in the respective States; and (4) a general summary session was called for the last day of the Conference at which time the conclusions of the Panel and the special Conference committees were reported. The chairmen of each committee and the Panel have prepared summaries of these reports and they are presented here for the use of Conference participants in advance of the publication of the complete report of Gatlinburg Conference II.

REVIEW AND CONSULTATION ON REGIONAL AND STATE ACTIVITIES

One of the major features of the Conference was the work of a panel which was placed at the disposal of State and regional groups and agencies to assist them in perfecting more effective procedures for executing their operating or planned programs of research translation and resource education. The Panel consisted of a chairman and three other persons: a member of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education, a representative from a regional organization, and a representative from a State agency. Paul B. Sears, Professor of Biology at Oberlin College, served as a special consultant, and other members of the Conference were available from time to time as technical consultants in the Panel work. In setting up the schedule for Panel activity, the chairman obtained from State representatives (1) advice as to whom they would like to participate in their discussion as consultants, and (2) an indication as to which of the other State-programs they would like to hear reviewed or discussed.

As the various conferees were scheduled to serve on the Panel, they left their committee projects. Except when working with the Panel, or with some other group working on some problem of common interest, the conferees participated in the projects which their special committees were developing.

A digest of the conclusions reached by the Panel follows:

Panel for Consultation on State and Regional Programs

Members of the Panel:

George F. Gant, Chairman

Edgar L. Morphet — Paul B. Sears
W. S. Taylor — R. E. Tidwell

The Panel met with representatives of the several regional agencies on Thursday afternoon, September 7, and, in five additional half-day sessions, with representatives of agencies and projects in twelve southern States. At each session, representatives of two or three State programs described their work in resource-use education, after which their questions, and the questions of the Panel, were the subject of discussion.

One of the primary interests of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education, and of Gatlinburg Conference II, is in the methods of bringing to a focus the efforts of the several educational agencies, and the agencies with resource use knowledge, in the preparation and use of instructional materials on resource use for schools and other educational programs. In the community school, with a curriculum based upon the problems and opportunities of the community, the teacher must know how to study the community and how to prepare or adapt teaching materials for the local situation. At the same time, as Dr. Morgan and Dr. Sears pointed out in this conference, there are inalterable laws of cause and effect governing the use of resources which should become a part of the knowledge of the community. Resource-use education should be rooted in the community situation; it should also be based upon and instill

a knowledge of scientific principles which underlie the use of all resources. Otherwise, this part of the educational program would either perpetuate the traditional pattern of resource use, or it would not provide the understanding or motive for any change in the use of resources. The community educational program is the point at which the research of the scientist and the experience and needs of people are fused.

The panel discussions were largely devoted, therefore, to two major questions: First, are the several educational agencies within the State cooperating with the agencies of research in resource use to provide the teacher with up-to-date materials and adequate facilities for adaptation to the specific teaching program; and, secondly, are the teachers educated in the minimum knowledge of scientific principles which govern resource use and are they trained to prepare and adapt instructional materials in the application of such principles to community resource problems and opportunities? (The word "teacher" is used here to include not only the school teacher, but the county agent and all others engaged in community educational programs.)

The panel discussions revealed a great many excellent projects designed to improve resource-use education, many of them having their origin in the first Gatlinburg Conference or in other efforts of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education. Among these are the Research Interpretation Council at the Alabama Polytechnic Institute; the program of resource-use education proposed by the North Carolina Council for the Social Studies; the Arkansas Valley Project; and the emphasis on resources in the programs of the Kentucky Advisory Committee on Teacher Education, the Florida Teacher Education Advisory Council, and the Georgia Teacher Education Council. But the panel discussions also revealed many needs and opportunities for strengthening resource-use education and concerning which the Panel draw the following conclusions:

1. Although some States, particularly through the Teacher Education Councils or Committees, have an organization to secure cooperation and coordination, many do not. As a result, much of the resource education reported consists of sporadic and scattered projects rather than of a State plan. The Panel felt that in general the State departments of education should exercise far more agressive leadership in this field, and be strengthened for that purpose.

2. State educational agencies should accelerate their beginning efforts to utilize the services and the information of research and other agencies with knowledge of resource development.

3. Teachers are not being adequately prepared in basic scientific principles of the natural and social environment.

4. Adequate teacher instruction in this respect depends upon the acceptance of teacher college faculties and of State departments of education of their responsibility to provide sounder instruction in the natural laws of cause and effect in resource use. A remedy of this deficiency requires a reorientation of teacher college personnel and a readjustment of relationships between the several departments and colleges within the teacher training institutions.

5. Far more teacher instruction should be off-campus in character. Many States have been able to follow the very desirable practice of sending their educational and technical specialists directly to the community.

6. Resource-use education must not be permitted to be one segment of the curriculum competing for attention with other segments. It is, rather, an attitude toward man's relationship to his natural environment, based upon scientific principles, which provides a means of integrating the several fields of application such as forestry, health, wildlife, minerals, soils, etc.

7. Teachers have a need for more facilities for and more assistance with the selection, adaptation and preparation of instructional materials from up-to-date information about resource use.

The attendance of a large number of representatives of regional agencies at this Gatlinburg conference is further indication of the widespread interest in improved resource-use education. It is also a mark of the leadership and assistance which is available to the State agencies as they work in this field. There were three types of regional agencies whose programs were discussed with the Panel:

1. Organizations of officials, such as the Southern Conference on Teacher Education, and the Tennessee Valley Library Council

2. Regional federal agencies, such as the TVA and the Appalachian Forest Experiment Station

3. Planning and promoting organizations such as the Southern States Work Conference, the Southern Association of Science and Industry, and the Southern Rural Life Council

These regional agencies, among which should be listed the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education, provide a basis for inter-state collaboration in the exchange of experience and information and for purposes of mutual assistance. In addition, the several State agencies, individually, will find many of these organizations prepared to assist them with particular problems or programs.

Finally, the Panel examined itself, and, not without reservation, found itself good. This judgment is not in terms of the individual contribution of its members, but in terms of the atmosphere of appraisal and stimulation which resulted from the use of the panel method of consultation. The members of this year's Panel enthusiastically recommended its use again next year because they felt that agency representatives have had some help in thinking through their problems and that they have been stimulated to rethink their plans. The Panel made the following recommendations:

1. Although the three-hour sessions were too long, not enough time was available for the consideration of each program. A larger number of sessions in a longer conference or a division of the Panel into sections will be required to remedy this deficiency.

2. Those who plan the conference should develop a more specific guide to the agencies who present their programs for review, both in terms of the particular phases to be emphasized and the questions to be considered. The agencies should be asked to transmit their own questions and problems well in advance of the conference.

3. Each State should have its own "Gatlinburg Conference", both to capture the spirit and suggestions of this conference and relate plans to other State educational plans, and to prepare for Gatlinburg Conference III.

4. Gatlinburg Conference III should include more generous representation of college and university presidents, State superintendents, and scientists and resource use specialists. And finally,

5. The Panel commends to your attention the Committee report, "Channeling Research Into Education, and Dr. Sears' statement, "Man and Nature in the Modern World." The former, particularly, contains analyses and suggestions which many are finding useful in appraising and redirecting their programs. Its extensive, topical bibliography contains references to a substantial body of pertinent material of use to teachers and administrators on Southern resources.

DEVELOPMENT OF SPECIFIC PROJECTS BY SPECIAL COMMITTEES

Each member of the Conference, with the exception of special consultants who were on hand for short periods during the entire session, was asked to accept the responsibility of working on a specific project which was suggested for group evaluation and development. An attempt was made to assure that each committee had adequate representation of research and educational specialists. Assignment of membership to specific committees was made in consultation with the Conference participants.

There were six special committees working on such projects, and summaries of their conclusions have been developed by the committee chairmen for the use of Conference participants.

Committee on Procedures for Publishing, Distributing, and Utilizing a Source Book on Regional Resources and Problems for Secondary Schools

Gordon W. Blackwell, Chairman

In order to provide a common understanding among the group as to the terms used, the following definitions were arrived at by the committee as a whole:

a. By "resources" is meant natural resources, human resources in terms of quantity and quality of the population, and social resources including institutions, capital wealth, and technology.

b. The term "resource-use education" comprehends (1) a philosophy relative to the relationships between natural, human, and social resources as involved in the satisfaction of human needs; (2) facts and problems relating to resources, their use and conservation; and (3) motivation and methods for working toward optimum use of resources.

After a discussion of the general problem, this committee then divided up into four subcommittees, each of which developed and reported on a particular topic.

1. Subcommittee on procedures for cooperative action of research and educational specialists in completing first drafts of manuscripts

L. L. Durisch, Chairman

C. O. Brannen
M. W. Carothers
Sam T. Doughty
Dewey Hooten
Clarence W. Newman
Russell S. Poor
Paul W. Schoen
Frank J. Welch
W. S. Jacobs

It was the concensus of the subcommittee that the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education is especially well equipped to undertake the preparation of educational materials relating to resources in the South. It was recommended that this organization establish a committee on the Preparation of Materials for Resource-Use Education. This committee should be composed of from twelve to eighteen educators and persons actively engaged in research and planning for the use of resources. The membership of the committee should represent, insofar as possible, the various aspects of education and a variety of research and planning fields related to resources and should be chosen from various parts of the South.

It was recommended that the committee establish an editorial board and secure the assistance of editors and visual aid specialists in the preparation of materials for educational use. Educational agencies, as well as research and development agencies in the area, should be consulted in order that materials prepared shall meet regional needs insofar as is possible.

The major functions, which it was recommended that the Committee on Preparation of Materials for Resource-Use Education undertake, are stated as follows:

a. The preparation of a source book on regional resources and their use.

b. Preparation of additional materials of regional scope and importance on the subject of resource use.

c. Advise with subregional, State, and local groups and otherwise assist in the preparation of materials for resource-use education by such groups.

It was felt that all of the suggested functions are of major importance, with the extension of advice and other assistance to subregional, State, and local groups capable of becoming a most significant part of the work of a Committee on the Preparation of Materials for Resource-Use Education.

2. Subcommittee on procedures for tryout, evaluation, and revision of material.

H. H. Giles, Chairman

S. M. Jackson
W. C. Jones
E. A. Waters
A. L. Wingo

In order to make recommendations concerning procedures for the tryout, evaluation, and revision of materials, the subcommittee found it necessary to make certain assumptions regarding the nature of the materials. Briefly, it was assumed that the materials would be directly related to local and regional problems of resource use in the southern area, and that they would appear in a number of forms such as source books, films, handbooks, pictures, slides, maps, charts, dramatizations, and educational programs.

The recommendations of the subcommittee were organized around the following ideas:

a. Who, in terms of institutions and organizations which should be invited to work out detailed plans for procedures in tryout, evaluation, and revision.

b. What, in terms of accuracy and appropriateness of content and in terms of its organization.

c. How, in terms of general procedures and techniques which should be employed in the evaluation of the materials.

The subcommittee felt that State departments of education, State and federal agencies directly concerned with resource-use education, teacher-education institutions, and agencies conducting research in education should be invited by the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education to cooperate in the use and evaluation of the materials.

It was believed that the materials should be factually accurate and functionally organized so that man's dependence upon natural resources and the possibilities for a more intelligent use of them are clearly shown.

It was further suggested that all evaluations of the materials in use should employ the following operational principles:

a. Emphasis should be placed upon the collection of evidence to show the effects upon attitudes and ways of acting related to the use of natural resources.

b. Evidence showing the extent and quality of participation in planning for and using the materials should constitute a significant aspect of all evaluations of the materials.

3. Subcommittee on procedures for obtaining State adoptions, with adaptability for peculiarities of the various States.

G. D. Humphrey, Chairman
John B. Robson H. Arnold Perry

The subcommittee on procedures for obtaining State adoptions of the contemplated source book and other materials considered its duties intensively and extensively. Because of the impossibility of securing accurate and complete information from the personnel of Gatlinburg Conference II regarding textbook adoptions in the States comprising the southern region, the subcommittee devised a questionnaire to be submitted to the State superintendents of the southern States for the purpose of gathering the desired data. It was proposed that these questionnaires be distributed by the subcommittee chairman immediately following the close of Gatlinburg Conference II and that he compile the returns therefrom for early submission to the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education.

The subcommittee asked for a reasonable extension of time to collect and compile the information referred to above.

In addition to the activity just reported on, the subcommittee made two recommendations, as follows:

a. That the contemplated source book, and other materials suitable for State adoptions, be published by a reputable publisher of textbooks and presented to the several States through regular channels for adoption.

b. That the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education, through professional means, promote the adoption of the source book in the several States.

4. Subcommittee on procedures for executing State-wide plans for teacher education in resource-use education.

K. R. Williams, Chairman

E. B. Browning J. E. Greene
J. L. Blair Buck R. E. Jaggers
Ira N. Chiles Eloise Keebler
John A. Dotson W. C. Lappin

L. M. Lester

The subcommittee felt that all teachers need preparation for resource-use education but that, because of content specialization, certain teachers have more direct responsibility and opportunity than do others. In order to secure teachers who have the basic understandings, attitudes and techniques relating to resource-use education, the pre-service program of teacher education must be characterized by two features, namely: (See page nine)

a. Effective orientation of the faculties of institutions educating teachers.

b. The specific teacher-education curricula designed to develop the desired understandings, attitudes, and techniques. An intelligent inter-play of content and procedure in resource-use education must be maintained in each of the following aspects of the pre-service program: (1) general education, (2) specialized subject areas, especially the social and natural sciences, and (3) professional education courses.

The basic assumptions underlying pre-service education programs in regard to resource-use education pertain likewise to in-service programs of teacher education. It is especially important in developing techniques of in-service programs for effective resource-use education that, insofar as possible, all persons who are to be affected by the program are guaranteed the opportunity to participate in its planning and execution. As many teachers as possible should be involved in the planning and execution of the in-service program. Experiences should be provided for teachers to engage in activities which will result in their sensitivity to conditions now existing regarding the utilization of our resources. Moreover, opportunities should be provided whereby teachers may study procedures which have been successfully used in improving conditions in communities similar to their own. Conferences, workshops, institutes, tours, work experience, field courses, and other activities will give teachers direct experiences in resource-use education. If in-service programs of teacher education in resource-use education are to be effective, there must be responsible supervisory leadership and there must be developed an organizational pattern of work which will utilize all of the agents and agencies concerned with resource-use education.

It was felt desirable to attempt to establish criteria for determining the effectiveness with which teachers use a source book and other resource-use materials. The subcommittee proposed four criteria, namely:

a. Does the teacher know what type of information the source book contains?

b. Does the teacher understand the significance of the materials for personal and community living?

c. To what extent has the source book led to an effective use of other materials?

d. To what extent and in what particular ways is the teacher using the materials of the source book as a means of effecting improvements in the conservation and use of resources for a higher quality of living of the people concerned?

The subcommittee suggested types of evidence which may be secured with respect to the criteria, and these types of evidence are detailed in the complete report of this subcommittee.

The subcommittee recommended that State groups organize to translate into action programs of resource-use education. It was suggested that a preliminary State-wide conference representative of all agencies and groups having an interest in resource-use education be held to effectively marshal public sentiment behind the program and to

ascertain the role which each agency may best play in the total program. Following the initial conference, various conferences of groups of agencies with common roles should be held to plan their contributions to the program. Similar conferences would be suggested at the regional level and at the local level in order that the program in all of its aspects might become effective at community level.

Committee on Review and Evaluation of Proposals for Establishment of State and Regional Materials Services

Paul Irvine, Chairman

H. C. Brearley	E. A. McBride
Bethel Fite	Lucile Nix
Helen Harris	Mary U. Rothrock
Baxter D. Hobgood	Clifford Seeber
Sara Jones	Velma Shaffer

This committee identified a critical need for making resource materials available to teachers, to workers in formal and informal educational programs, and to citizens generally. A materials service that will meet this need is one of several tools to be forged for regional development.

It was recommended that in each southern State immediate consideration be given to the organization of a State Materials Service. It was believed that such a service in each State would serve the local communities in terms of their needs and would promote initiative in local resource education more effectively than a central regional service alone.

The State Materials Service should be set up primarily to perform an information function, serving to provide: (1) information about available and suitable resource materials; (2) stimulation and promotion of the use of these materials; (3) coordination of existing resource materials services; and (4) identification of areas needing translation. The additional functions of (5) loan and exhibit service and (6) distribution service may well be left to existing agencies or to future developments of need and facilities.

The agency chosen to develop a State Materials Service should be determined by a survey of such factors as: (1) legal authority of the agency to engage in such activity; (2) long-time interest of personnel; (3) present and potential effectiveness of agency on a State-wide basis; (4) present or potential ability to obtain cooperation from other agencies which produce and distribute materials; (5) facilities available, such as space, staff, ready access to catalogs, indexes, and other educational materials; and (6) long-time budgetary support.

To perform its function as a clearing-house of information, the agency should: (1) from a representative State Advisory Committee to decide policies, evaluate materials, and suggest areas needing translations; (2) collect and organize materials pertinent

to resource education; (3) give counseling service to agencies concerned with resource education; (4) stimulate development of local materials services; (5) coordinate information among regional and State agencies.

To promote use of materials the service should: (1) stimulate the formation of county and local Materials Advisory Committees; (2) publicize resource materials; (3) provide displays for group meetings, workshops, etc.; (4) cooperate in teacher-training programs; and (5) participate in conferences relating to State and regional development.

On the county level, a policy-making group, representing all interested agencies, should set up a central materials service of information and distribution in direct contact with local units of distribution and provide means for promotion of the use of materials on resources.

To aid in the development of State Materials Services, the committee urged the immediate organization of a Regional Materials Service. In addition to its advisory and promotional function, such a service would render valuable assistance as a clearing-house of information on regional and national aspects, as a counseling agency to State materials services, and as a coordinator of research and translation throughout the region.

Committee on Techniques in Resource Education

Cyril O. Houle, Chairman

Mary Sue Fenville	Virginia White James
Jane Franseth	Helen K. Mackintosh
L. H. Griffin	W. Morrison McCall
F. C. Grise	W. G. Nash
Mary C. Henderson	Lillian Worley

This committee took as its responsibility a consideration of techniques, methods, and operational procedures in resource education. In a general fashion, it was thought that the work of this committee dealt with "how to teach" rather than "what to teach."

After much discussion, a set of basic assumptions was developed. It was emphasized that resource education should be treated as an evolving aspect of a total educational program. In the absence of a clear definition of resource education, that term was defined generally; it being made clear, however, that any particular community or State would need to develop much more precise statements of aims and emphases. The group agreed as well that the ultimate effectiveness of resource education will depend upon the philosophy of the school, the ability of the teachers, the quality and attitude of the school administrator, the relationships of the school and community, and the availability of local resources.

In terms of these basic assumptions, a working procedure was developed for introducing or extending programs of resource education in particular agencies. The attempt here was to indicate just how the individual worker might proceed in working out such a program. It was believed that the steps developed are applicable to any agency of education and are sufficiently flexible to meet almost any situation.

As a third project, the group analyzed a number of ways and means for developing professional and lay leadership in resource education. These were placed in broad categories, and included both old and new techniques.

Finally, the committee, as a result of its discussions and the analysis of the problems, made several recommendations to the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education. It was pointed out that: the committee should seek wider representation of lay interest in the possibilities of resource education by the use of techniques not now being used; it should lay more stress on procedures, methods, and techniques by means of which resource education may best be developed; it should be vigilant to avoid certain pitfalls which might be present in the development of resource education; and it should consider the feasibility of developing a center whereby persons interested in resource education might come to know more about its subject matter.

Committee on Procedures for Improvement of Educational Materials Used by Non-School Agencies

George B. Zehmer, Chairman

Dorothy Lee Black	J. C. Ford
T. S. Buie	L. A. Henry
James R. Clark	W. J. McGlothlin
Mayhew Derryberry	R. M. Nelson

Marguerite Tolbert

This committee emphasized the fact that the production of materials of instruction is not an end in itself, but merely one means to the real purpose of bringing about the wise conservation and use of the resources of the South. However, it felt that is is very desirable at this time in the South's history and development to emphasize the importance of resource-use education. Accordingly, it endorsed the program initiated by the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education and offered the following recommendations:

a. That instructional materials for non-school agencies on resources and their use be prepared in all of the media of instruction, including those of the motion picture, film strip and slide, radio script, charts, cartoons, exhibitions, etc., as well as that of print.

b. That materials in these several media be prepared (1) for general purposes and for general consumption throughout the South, (2) for more specific purposes and for more restricted areas of the South, and, (3) also, for different educational levels.

c. That criteria as guides to the preparation of materials of instruction be established.

d. That steps be taken to assist in identifying persons and institutions qualified to prepare the materials needed.

e. That assistance be given in the distribution of materials with special reference to disseminating information on materials available, on effective methods being used in the distribution of materials, and methods for getting volunteer help in the distribution of materials.

f. Finally, that among other services which the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education might render, the following should be considered:

(1) Provide for constant exchange of ideas and information among agencies.
(2) Facilitate joint (cooperative) production of materials.
(3) Provide for exchange of materials.
(4) Provide a consultation service.
(5) Inform agencies of apparent needs for materials of instruction.

Committee on Production and Distribution of a Newsletter on Research Translation for Southern Resource Education

R. Lee Thomas, Chairman

C. R. Graham
Russell Grumman
A. B. Moehlman
A. W. Susott
Thee Vaughan
Fred E. Wankan

M. L. Orr

As one means of stimulating throughout the South the more effective use of scientific research on resources and problems of the region, it was recommended that the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education publish a monthly newsletter bearing the title, SOUTHERN RESOURCES; subtitle: "Newsletter in the Interest of Resource-Use Education in the South."

The following recommendations were made with reference to organization, form, content, and distribution of the newsletter:

a. That a supervisory editorial board be appointed to consist of not more than five southern leaders who have distinguished themselves in regional development and that one person be selected in each State as an associate editor.

b. That the newsletter be printed and that each issue contain at least five pages, 8½" x 11".

c. That the newsletter include the following: summary statements of research, research translations, educational programs in action, activities of the Committee, and other field notes from the region.

d. That the mailing list of the newsletter include participants of the Gatlinburg Conferences and other conferences having similar purposes; State, regional, and national governmental and private agencies; organizations interested in resource use; city and county school superintendents; and newspaper editors.

Committee on Procedures for Introducing Resource Education Into Institutions of Higher Learning

Ralph B. Draughon, Chairman

W. E. Bird
George H. Boyd
E. S. Christenbury
Fred C. Smith
James Stokes
C. R. Wood
Joseph E. Gibson

This committee was influenced by four factors:

a. The wide diversity of type, purpose, and limitations of the various institutions in the southern region.

b. The existing interest in, and felt need for, effective resource education among higher institutions.

c. The need of flexibility as well as definiteness in patterns and plans of procedure.

d. The recognition of various means of approaching the problem within any one institution.

These factors led to the following assumptions:

a. That institutions as well as individuals must find their reasons for existence in relation to fundamental truths of life and growth.

b. That an analysis of fundamental purposes of individual institutions will reveal consistency with the basic objectives of resource education.

c. That to have meaning and effectiveness, procedures must be in terms of the fundamental purposes of the institution.

d. That, whatever the procedures, their purpose should be to make resource education more vital to the lives of those served by the institution.

e. That, in general, the procedure should be that of fusion rather than of formation of new patterns.

The committee suggested:

a. At the regional level:

(1) The continuance of the Gatlinburg Conferences with efforts to bring more college heads to the meetings.

(2) The preparation by the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education of an exhibit of effective materials for use in regional and State meetings of groups in higher education.

(3) The enlistment of regional associations and groups in higher education to sponsor and coordinate the movement.

b. At the State level:

(1) The meeting of all educational and active agencies of whatever nature to focus upon the need for resource education, to take stock of existing facilities, and to emphasize the importance of coordinated effort.

(2) The encouragement of State associations of colleges to make resource education the theme of programs and study.

c. At the institutional level:

(1) The survey of existing programs in resource education, their effectiveness and devices to coordinate and vitalize them.

(2) The sponsorship by individuals and faculty groups of programs to effect institutional awareness of need for resource education.

(3) The initiation of efforts toward inter-institutional cooperation in resource education.

(4) The establishment of rapport between the institution and existing action agencies of whatever nature engaged in use, conservation, and development of natural and human resources to the end that a constant flow and counterflow of information and services may result.

(5) The vitalizing of instruction through (a) integrated research programs, (b) exchanges between the institution and action agencies of students, staff members, information on resources, and (c) translation of research data into effective teaching materials and the fusion of such materials into curriculums.

Ivey

October 3, 1944

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Director
Department of Social Sciences
Fisk University
Nashville, 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education will be very disappointed to hear that you will not be able to attend the November fourteenth meeting in Atlanta. Dr. Ira Reid, President F. D. Patterson, President Horace Mann Bond, Dr. J. Herman Daves, and, probably, Dr. Walter E. Ridley will be with us for the meeting. We will take the opportunity to keep you informed regarding the meeting and will hope that we might have your consultation on any programs that should grow out of the deliberations of the group.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

CC:

George P. Gant
J. Herman Daves
Guy B. Johnson
Ira Reid

October 3, 1944

Dr. John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary
American Council on Education
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Doctor Ivey:

Thank you for your letter of September 30, inclosing copies of your correspondence with Doctor Clement and Mr. Ridley.

I am hoping to see Mr. Clement this morning and to confirm the agreement, which you have expressed in your letter to him. On Sunday, I had a chance to talk at length with Mr. Ridley about his participation in the conference. I am quite certain that he will be willing to attend and participate to the extent that we all desire.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR/rha

Similar letters were mailed to the following:
Dr. J. Herman Daves
President F. D. Patterson
Dr. Ira Reid

October 6, 1944

President Horace Mann Bond
Fort Valley State Teachers College
Fort Valley, Georgia

Dear President Bond:

The Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education is delighted that it will be possible for you to meet with it in Atlanta on November 14. For your consideration, I am listing some of the topics which the Committee would like to discuss with you. There will undoubtedly be other items which you may wish to bring up.

1. Review of Committee's objectives, interest in, and policies for working with all educational and research interests in the South.

2. Review of what has been done to date (Gatlinburg Conferences I and II, consultative services, etc.)

3. Plans for future program (projects agreed upon, tenure, etc.)

4. Agreements with regional agencies.

5. Projects in resource education and research translation now being conducted by Negro institutions and regional agencies.

6. Assistance which the Committee might contribute to existing programs, or in the development of new, on a special project or continuing basis.

Physical arrangements for the meeting have been made with the kind cooperation of President Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta University. He has indicated that, if you desire accommodations for the evening of November 13 or 14, Atlanta University will be glad to make necessary arrangements at your request. The following schedule has been arranged for our meetings: (See page two)

9:30 A.M. Beginning morning meeting, Biltmore Hotel Conference Room . . . . . .

12:30 P.M. Adjourn for lunch . . . . . .

1:00 P.M. Luncheon meeting at Atlanta University

2:30 P.M. Afternoon conference, Atlanta University

For your information, we are sending you under separate cover a set of materials developed by the Committee. It might be particularly helpful if you would give special attention to Chapters I and XIII of Channeling Research Into Education. These two chapters outline the purpose of the Committee and the proposal which served as the basis for the creation of our Central Office.

The Committee is looking forward to seeing you in Atlanta and hopes that if you have any suggestions regarding topics to be discussed you will pass them on to us.

Sincerely yours,

John E. Ivey, Jr.

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

CC:

Maurice F. Seay
George F. Gant
Gordon W. Blackwell
Guy B. Johnson
Rufus E. Clement

copy

October 16, 1944

Mr. Walter N. Ridley, Head
Psychology Department
Virginia State College
Ettrick, Virginia

Dear Mr. Ridley:

Thank you very much for your good letter of October 12. The Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education is delighted that it will be possible for you to meet with it in Atlanta on November 14. For your consideration I am listing some of the topics which the Committee would like to discuss with you. There will undoubtedly be other items which you may wish to bring up.

1. Review of Committee's objectives, interest in, and policies for working with all educational and research interests in the South.

2. Review of what has been done to date (Gatlinburg Conferences I and II, consultative services, etc.)

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Sincerely yours,

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

CC:

Maurice F. Seay
George F. Gant
Gordon W. Blackwell
Guy B. Johnson
Rufus E. Clement

COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION
of the
American Council on Education
Offices at the University of Tennessee
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

COMMITTEE MEMBERS
Maurice F. Seay, Chairman
Gordon W. Blackwell
John E. Brewton
George F. Gant
G. D. Humphrey
Edgar L. Morphet
Homer P. Rainey
Roy W. Roberts
George F. Zook, ex officio

November 18, 1944

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Probably Dr. Reid has told you that one of the major matters discussed during our meeting in Atlanta last Tuesday was the advisability of and urgent need for closer cooperation among regional research and educational agencies for the development of educational materials and programs related to southern resources and problems. This problem was also discussed at a special meeting of regional agency representatives during the recent Gatlinburg Conference, and it was unanimously agreed that it would be helpful if each agency would designate a member of its organization as the official contact between it and the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education. This person would serve as liaison between the organization and the Committee and would be asked to attend a meeting of regional agencies to be called by the Committee sometime during the coming year. This action of the regional agency representatives was enthusiastically endorsed at a subsequent meeting of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education. As a means of facilitating this cooperation among regional agencies, it would be of great mutual benefit if your organization would designate a person to be the official point of contact for the Committee and other southern regional agencies. We would be happy to receive at your earliest convenience an indication of your interest in this effort and the name of your representative.

Attached are a list of the regional agencies to which this suggestion is being made and a memorandum which outlines the need for and results which might accrue from this type of cooperative

coordination of effort by and among the southern regional educational and research agencies.

Dr. Reid made an extremely valuable contribution to this discussion of mutual problems and opportunities, and the Committee was happy that you could meet with us during the morning sessions. We hope that the Southern Regional Council will join in this region-wide effort to secure the more effective educational use of research on resources and problems of the South.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

John

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Attachment

CC Dr. Ira De A Reid

1. Soil Conservation Service (All Southern Offices)
2. Tennessee Valley Library Council
3. Organization of Deans and Heads of Departments of Education in State Universities and Land Grant Colleges of the Southern States
4. Southern Forest Experiment Stations
5. Bureau of Agricultural Economics (All Southern Offices)
6. Tennessee Valley Authority
7. Southern Rural Life Council
8. Arkansas Valley Translation Conference
9. Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools
10. Southern States Work Conference
11. Southern Conference on Teacher Education
12. Southern Association of Science and Industry
13. Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
14. Regional Program for Training in Public Administration
15. Conference of Presidents of Negro Land Grant Colleges
16. Southern Association of State Education Association Secretaries
17. Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes
18. Southern Association of Conservation Officials
19. American Teachers Association
20. Tennessee Valley Agricultural Correlating Committee
21. Southern Regional Committee, Social Science Research Council
22. Southwestern Land Tenure Study
23. Regional Research Laboratory (New Orleans)
24. Southeastern Library Association
25. Southern Research Institute
26. Department of Research and Statistics, Federal Reserve Board
27. Deans of Engineering and Directors of Engineering Experiment Stations of Southeastern Schools.
28. Southern Association for the Advancement of Science
29. Southern Office, U. S. Department of Commerce
30. U. S. Public Health Service
31. U. S. Office of Education

THE NEED FOR CLOSE REGIONAL COOPERATION IN RESEARCH TRANSLATION FOR RESOURCE EDUCATION

The 1943 Gatlinburg Conference and the report of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education, Channeling Research Into Education, urged that some facility be created to serve the southern States by operating as a source of information and consultation on programs and materials in the field of resource education. In February of 1944, as a result of a survey of educational and research leaders from thirteen southern States, it was further found that they were in complete agreement that some type of regional agency should be established to assist States in research translation and resource education programs. The need for this facility was more specifically documented in the Committee's report, as follows:

1. There is a need for an integration of resource education which will emphasize: the basic unity of the natural environment, the scientific necessity for man to use the natural environment in such a manner as to make society fit harmoniously into nature's natural balance, and the types of resource use which will achieve a balance between nature's recreative power and man's rate of resource consumption.

2. Provisions for the production and use of instructional materials could be more adequately based on a scientific appraisal of the learning abilities, habits, and attitudes of the people.

3. There can be a great improvement of the educational machinery whose function it is to translate the large body of research information for public use. State departments, agricultural extension services, colleges and universities, and State planning boards are a few of the agencies to which this statement refers.

4. State machinery for preparing and distributing instructional materials for resource education may be made more effective.

5. There is no currently accepted administrative basis for the coordination of the educational system with agencies working with or studying southern resources.

6. There is no machinery for interstate cooperation which might: serve as a clearinghouse on available research findings and on the activities in the preparation of instructional materials for resource education, secure the preparation of instructional materials on interstate problems, and facilitate contact between State educational agencies and regional and federal fact-finding and educational agencies.

What Has Been Done Toward Filling the Need

As a means to stimulate the required widespread cooperative coordination of research and educational agencies if the above needs are to be met, the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education, with the assistance of the General Education Board, has established a Central Office in Knoxville, Tennessee. The functions performed by the Committee through the medium of the Central Office are as follows on the next page:

1. To stimulate establishment of educational materials-producing facilities for resource education by State agencies, institutions of higher learning, and local schools. In cooperation with representatives of these agencies, conferences or institutes are held to explore need, opportunity, and procedures for producing educational materials.

2. To keep informed and to inform others regarding the preparation of educational materials under way or contemplated in the region. Helpful procedures include preparing and distributing a monthly or bi-monthly newsletter or the writing of special columns for State educational journals.

3. To keep informed and to inform others concerning regional research completed and in progress. Periodically selected bibliographies of research materials on regional resource development and problems, or kits containing some of the latest research units will be distributed to States and institutions and schools within the States.

4. To assist in arranging for technical assistance and other aids for State agencies and for bureaus supported by States. Upon receiving requests for technical assistance, the central agency will, by serving in liaison capacity, bring technically trained men in various subject-matter fields to bind their efforts to specific tasks.

5. To arrange for regional conferences and institutes to study problems in resource education and research translation. By calling together research specialists and educators to work on specific materials or to draw procedures for materials, the central agency will provide a new channel for a union of research and education.

6. To assist in arranging for the production, publication, distribution, and use of educational materials. The central agency's staff will promote programs which view production, distribution, and use of materials as continuous and functionally related processes. Coordinated programs and objectives will be achieved through work with State textbook commissions, commercial publishers, teacher training institutions, and in-service training programs through cooperation of State departments of education, institutions of higher learning, and local schools.

7. To assist in organizing state-integrated programs for translation of research into educational materials. These programs will be realized through coordinated execution of the function mentioned above. By encouraging the centralization of responsibility for producing needed materials, the central agency will assist in getting States to create the hub around which an integrated program might turn.

8. To encourage and facilitate the coordination of the work of existing regional and subregional committees or associations as their efforts relate or might relate to the translation and use of educational materials. Conferences which will permit representatives of the various regional agencies to coordinate their activities will also allow those groups to consult with State and local agencies on their resource education and research translation programs.

In carrying out these functions, the central regional agency works with two major policies as guides:

1. Services are provided on request, only after coordination with the appropriate State agencies.

2. Other organizations which are or might be capable of performing any of the above services are encouraged to perform that service.

The success of such a regional effort will depend on the extent to which existing agencies participate in its planning and execution. Many of the functions listed on the preceding page might well be performed by existing regional agencies and associations, thus preventing duplication of effort. Likewise, the effectiveness of the regional effort will be greatly increased if it represents a combined, cooperative move by all agencies and associations interested. This procedure might consequently go far toward increasing the public service of each cooperating agency.

Areas of Activity Which Might Be of Mutual Interest and Benefit to Regional Agencies

1. Each regional agency would be kept fully informed regarding the following:

   a. Programs on the regional, State, and local levels in the South dealing with resource education and translation of research on resources into educational materials.

   b. Needs for educational materials and services which it might supply to local, State, and regional agencies and programs.

   c. Needs for research information which might be used in educational programs.

2. The Committee will suggest to each agency in which there is a need for the preparation of educational materials related to the agency's specific interest.

3. The Committee, upon request, will review the research available from each agency, and will indicate the research findings which the Committee considers useful for adaptation into educational materials.

4. The Committee, upon request, will review plans of the agency for preparation of educational materials based on available research, and will advise as to their adequacy.

5. Under special agreement, the Committee will undertake to arrange for the preparation, distribution, and use of educational materials based on research results provided by an agency or organization.

6. Upon request, the Committee will advise with the agency or organization concerning the possibilities for more effective educational activity by the agency as related to resources and problems of the region.

7. Each agency will suggest to the Committee subjects on which its research findings on significant regional problems are available.

8. Each agency will keep the Committee informed regarding the services and materials which it can made available to other regional, State, and local agencies.

9. Each agency will, through conferences and correspondence, advise with the Committee regarding plans for facilitating the development and execution of regional programs in resource education and research translation.

10. Each agency, through special agreement, will make available to the Committee personnel to assist in the adaptation and utilization of research results as educational materials insofar as this does not conflict with the execution of other statuatory or constitutional functions.

How This Regional Cooperation in Resource Education Will Assist Regional Agencies to do a Better Job

1. The States would have a clearinghouse regarding information and facilities at their disposal from regional agencies.

2. The needs of State and local resource education programs could be made known quickly to the appropriate regional agency.

3. Regional agencies would have a facility which can assist them to identify how their efforts can be most effectively and economically aimed at serving State and local needs in resource education.

4. Duplication of effort can be prevented among regional agencies working within the same area in the production of educational materials.

COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION

of the

American Council on Education

Offices at the University of Tennessee

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Maurice F. Seay, Chairman
Gordon W. Blackwell
John E. Brewton
George F. Gant
G. D. Humphrey
Edgar L. Morphet
Homer P. Rainey
Roy W. Roberts
George F. Zook, ex officio

DEcember 16, 1944

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Guy B.:

Plans are being developed by the Delta Council and the Mississippi Rural Life Council to hold a rural leadership conference for Negroes in Washington County, Mississippi, this coming January. The conference will last for three days and will include approximately thirty Negro rural leaders, with the ministerial group in the majority. The principal objective of this conference will be to increase the understanding of these rural leaders regarding the role which they and the rural Church can and should play in bringing about an understanding of community resources and problems.

Much of the work of this conference group will center around a collection of materials relating to regional, State, and local resources and problems. The Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education is assisting in the preparation of this exhibit, and we have suggested that use be made of the publications of the Southern Regional Council. I am therefore wondering if you could have someone select such of your materials as you feel would be helpful in a conference of this type and send them to (Mrs. Dorothy Lee Black, Manager, Delta Council, Stoneville, Mississippi.)

I believe that the Washington County conference will prove to be a most interesting and worthwhile experiment, and your cooperation in helping us to provide a useful collection of materials for the use of these Negro rural leaders will certainly be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

John E. Ivey, Jr.

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

CC Mrs. Dorothy Lee Black
G. D. Humphrey
George F. Gant
Howard W. Odum

December 19, 1944

Mr. John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary
Committee on Southern Regional
Studies and Education
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear John:

I am glad to hear about the rural leadership conference for Negroes in Washington County, Mississippi which is being planned by the Delta Council and the Mississippi Rural Life Council. We are sending Mrs. Dorothy Lee Black a sample package of our literature, and we are telling her that we shall be glad to supply additional copies of such material as she thinks will be useful to the conference members. Thank you for giving us this opportunity to be of service.

✓ 12/19/44
m

Christmas greetings from the Johnsons to you and Miss Lou and Bub.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION

of the

American Council on Education

Offices at the University of North Carolina

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Maurice F. Seay, Chairman
Gordon W. Blackwell
John E. Brewton
George F. Gant
G. D. Humphrey
Edgar L. Morphet
Homer P. Rainey
Roy W. Roberts
George F. Zook, ex officio

April 6, 1945

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy B.:

You will recall that in Gatlinburg last September and again in Atlanta in November there was considerable discussion and agreement regarding the need for closer cooperation among regional research and educational agencies in the South to the end that the findings of research on southern resources and problems may be passed along to the people of the region through educational channels. At that time we discussed the possibility of calling a meeting in the early spring of 1945 to be attended by representatives of all the regional agencies in the South whose activities have a bearing on this problem. Because of the pressure of other work and the request for curtailment of conferences it was not possible to arrange for such a meeting at the time originally anticipated.

Meanwhile, the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education has been continuing its work with individual agencies and groups of agencies in an effort to assist them in developing and maintaining programs of resource education and research translation. Recently our headquarters have been moved to the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, and we have received an additional grant from the General Education Board to enable us to carry out certain specific activities during the next fourteen months. These are enumerated under Item 1 of the attached paper, marked "Tentative Agenda." You will notice that these activities follow very closely the needs identified and programs recommended by Gatlinburg Conferences I and II.

If these activities are to successfully fill the needs of regional, State, and local organizations, we feel that every effort should be made to have maximum participation in their planning and execution. Therefore, since the total number of persons involved will not exceed fifty, we are inviting representatives of some thirty-five regional agencies in the South to meet with members of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education at its next regular session to be held in Daytona Beach, Florida, the latter part of May. May 26 has been set aside for this purpose.

In general, it is hoped that out of this meeting there will come a clearer understanding of the areas of mutual interest among the regional agencies. Also we should identify ways and means of achieving mutual cooperation and assistance in such areas as may be related to the translation of research findings for use in education. We have drawn up a tentative list of topics which might be discussed, a copy of which is attached. We should appreciate your reviewing this list and suggesting modifications or additions which might help in making our discussions more fruitful.

Tentative reservations have been made at the Sheraton Plaza for approximately forty people. Special rates of $6.50 per person, American Plan, have been quoted to us for rooms shared by two persons (twin-bed accommodations) and $7.00 for single rooms. It is our understanding that only a limited number of single rooms will be available. In writing to the hotel for your definite reservation, you should indicate whether or not you are willing to share a room with one other person; you might also indicate that you are a member of the group which will meet with the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education.

We shall be happy to hear from you at your earliest convenience with regard to the possibility of your attending the May 26 meeting and to receive your suggestions for changes or additions to the agenda.

Sincerely yours,

John E. Ivey, Jr.

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

JEI:hd
encs.

TENTATIVE AGENDA

FOR

MEETING WITH REGIONAL AGENCIES

1. Advise with the Committee on the merit of the advisory and program activities listed below; determine how these may serve, or be modified to serve, the program objectives of regional agencies; identify procedures which will facilitate participation in these activities by all regional agencies:

   a. Advisory and consultative services in connection with the development of a source book on regional resources and problems, including the development of procedures for its production, distribution, and maximum utilization.

   b. Advisory and consultative services in the development and maintenance of a regional service designed to identify and to promote the distribution and use of materials bearing on resource use and to facilitate the establishment of State materials services.

   c. Development, in collaboration with appropriate institutions, of demonstrations of effective resource education.

   d. Development, in collaboration with appropriate institutions, of programs of pre- and in-service training of teachers in resource education.

   e. Publication and distribution of a periodic newsletter, carrying information on research translation and resource education programs under way or planned and techniques used in their execution.

   f. Assistance to States and State agencies and institutions in the development and maintenance of programs of resource education and research translation.

2. Explore other procedures for regional assistance to State and local agencies and institutions working in the field of resource use education.

3. Explore the most effective ways of continuing regional research translation in such a manner as to meet the program needs of local, State, and regional agencies.

April 23, 1945

Dr. John E. Ivey, Jr.
Committee on Southern Regional Studies
and Education
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear John:

Just a line or two to let you know that as far as I can see now I should be able to attend the conference at Daytona Beach the latter part of May. There is a possibility that your date might conflict with a Council Executive Committee meeting, but I hope to know definitely about this pretty soon. Am I right in assuming that we pay our own expenses at the meeting?

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

May 18, 1945

Dr. John E. Ivey, Jr.
Committee on Southern Regional
Studies and Education
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear John:

We have had to schedule an Executive Committee meeting for May 25, and my prospects for getting to your meeting at Daytona Beach on May 26 are practically worthless. In fact I guess you had better not count on me. I am awfully sorry.

Due to a change in our secretarial setup, we are back in the market for a capable secretary and office manager. I understand that you took Mrs. James with you to Chapel Hill after all. What is the chance of our stealing her away from you?

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

June 4, 1945

Mr. Edwin B. Browning, Superintendent
Board of Public Instruction
Madison, Florida

Dear Mr. Browning:

I have a letter of May 31 from Audrey Newman, Library Supervisor in your county, asking for some materials on the Negro. I suggest that you contact Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, asking him to send you the copies of the several pamphlets which have been published by his organization. I am sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Johnson, suggesting that he get in touch with you.

You may also be interested in contacting Dr. John E. Brewton who, in the near future, will set up a regional materials service. This service will have as one of its major purposes giving assistance to state and county groups in the collection and use of materials on southern resources and problems. I am also sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Brewton, suggesting that he get in touch with you. We are attaching addresses for Dr. Johnson and Dr. Brewton.

In addition, it seems to me that the bibliography in Channeling Research into Education might suggest documents which would be helpful to add to your materials collection. I am enclosing a pamphlet which describes this volume.

It was a pleasure to see you, even for only a minute, at Daytona Beach last week. I have heard many good things about work in Madison County and I am certainly glad to know that you are proceeding with activities in resource education.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

JEI/js
CC: Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Dr. Milton Carothers
Dr. John E. Brewton

June 5, 1945

Mr. Edwin B. Browning
Superintendent
Board of Public Instruction
Madison, Florida

Dear Mr. Browning:

Dr. John E. Ivey has sent us a copy of his letter to you of June 4 in which he suggests that you contact Dr. Guy B. Johnson of the Southern Regional Council for material dealing with the Negro. Dr. Johnson is away from the city for two weeks, but I am taking the liberty of sending under separate cover several of the pamphlets which the Council publishes. I believe that these materials contain some information which will interest you.

If we can furnish additional material, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Johnson

<u>Separate cover</u> - #1, #2, N. In A., WP, Frontiers, Singers in the D., Alilunas, Jones, Alexander article.

cc: Dr. J. E. Ivey, Jr.

✓ m

July 9, 1945

CmSRS/E

Dr. John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary
Committee on Southern Regional
Studies and Education
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear John:

How does it feel to be a papa? Hearty congratulations to all three of you from all of your friends here. I'll pick up the cigars next time I see you. From here on you will wonder what you used to do with all your spare time. You'll never be the same man again!

We have worked out our office supervision problem, I believe. Mrs. Inez Tillison, who has worked for the Atlanta Social Planning Council for several years and who has just the kind of background that is needed here, is coming to work for us on August 1. So we won't be trying to take Mrs. James away from you.

I went up to Knoxville ten days ago and made an offer to Harry Williams of an editorial and publicity job. I don't believe he was very enthusiastic about the type of work, because his main interest seems to be graduate work and research. He would make a good addition to the graduate force at Chapel Hill. If something could be worked out whereby he could combine his dissertation with some research for us, he might like it better than doing our editorial work. However, the decision is up to him, and I suppose we'll hear from him in a few days.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION
of the
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Offices at the University of North Carolina
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

COMMITTEE MEMBERS
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John E. Brewton
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Edgar L. Morphet
Homer P. Rainey
Roy W. Roberts
George F. Zook, ex officio

June 2, 1945

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

We were greatly disappointed that you could not meet with us at Daytona Beach May 26. We received a great deal of help from the representatives of regional agencies and I am hoping that I can discuss with you in the near future the several problems considered by us at that time.

Your question about Mrs. James being available for employment on your staff would require an answer that, while we would hate to lose her at this time, if you have a proposition better than the situation we are able to offer her, I would suggest that you contact Mrs. James here in our central office. I am not sure, however, that she would be interested in leaving Chapel Hill, because she is making plans to take courses here in the University and work toward a degree.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

John

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

JEI/js

January 2, 1946

C2 SR5 JE

Mr. Paul D. Williams
5320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

I am sending you enclosed a copy of the report of the Gatlinburg Conference which you asked me to secure for you. The 1945 report is not yet released, but our name is on the list to receive it as soon as it is published.

If there is anything else I can do for you, please let me know. It was so nice to have you visit us in December. I hope that you can come again soon.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Inez B. Tillison,
Office Manager

Encl.

COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION

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CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

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Roy W. Roberts
George F. Zook, ex officio

December 21, 1945

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Rec. 12/26

Miss Inez B. Tillison, Office Manager
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Tillison:

Thank you for your letter of December 17. We are very glad to forward another copy of the Gatlinburg Conference II report, Education For Use of Regional Resources.

Requests for this report are increasing to the extent that a second printing is contemplated. Our budget does not provide for this addition; if orders are sufficient, we shall proceed with the printing and retail copies at cost (about 25¢). If, for any reason, you might need copies of the report in quantity, we shall appreciate an estimate at an early date.

If we can be of further service to you, please advise.

Sincerely yours,

Frances H. Osborne

Frances H. Osborne
Publications

fho/

NEWSLETTER

RESOURCE-USE EDUCATION

"Toward more effective educational use of research on southern resources and problems."

September 1945 Number 1

Educational Action Regional Style

Appointed in April, 1943, by the American Council on Education, the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education has gone well into its third year of activity. The Committee, with the financial assistance of the General Education Board, initially directed its efforts toward finding out how effectively southern research and educational agencies and institutions were assisting the people to learn about their resources and problems.

In May, 1944, the Committee began studying means to stimulate and assist existing agencies to do a better job in providing southern people with needed information. By January 1, 1945, the Committee was sponsoring and encouraging many regional and state activities in resource-use education and research translation.

But let's not get ahead of the story. Any benefit arising from this regional effort lies not solely in *what* the Committee has done, but perhaps more importantly in *how* the work has been conducted. The Committee believed that little was to be accomplished by its work unless southern educational and research leaders could share with the Committee a planned study experience and participate in making and carrying out recommendations.

Based on this principle, two major types of program activities have been developed: (1) regional conferences, and (2) intensive work with state groups of institutions and agencies. The Committee has carried on its work with the assistance of a full-time executive secretary who directs activities of the Committee's central office.

The following professional groups from thirteen states have participated in this regional effort: College presidents, state superintendents of education, deans of education, state planning board directors, directors of conservation departments, directors of state education associations, personnel from state departments of education, research specialists in economics, forestry, agriculture, biology, population, health, and labor problems, classroom teachers, county supervisors, and county superintendents. The representatives from regional research organizations, regional offices of federal agencies, and regional professional education associations have played major roles in all activities.

Research findings on southern resources and problems must be put to work to improve the health, housing, economic status, and general level of living of the people in southern communities and states. To accomplish this task, the educational process on the adult, college, and public school levels must more effectively channel to the people needed and wanted information on their problems and resources.

Periodic issues of the newsletter will be designed to help bring about this needed union of research and education. In subsequent newsletters, an attempt will be made to (1) highlight outstanding regional and state programs in research translation and resource-use education; (2) point to new research and educational materials; (3) carry feature articles dealing with various phases of resource-use education in the South; and (4) present news items on the activities of personnel working in research translation and resource-use education. Please send news items and suggestions to Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education, P. O. Box 1078, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

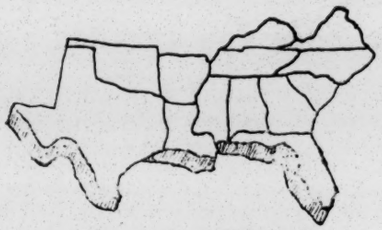
Getting Started

The first year of study included a regional conference held at Gatlinburg, Tennessee, during August, 1943. A report of this conference was prepared for limited distribution.[1] Fifty conferees from thirteen states agreed that, before the plentiful research on southern resources and problems could flow effectively into the educational process, the public schools, colleges, and adult education agencies must discover a challenging educational orientation. The conference participants also concluded that educational materials should be more up to date and more scientifically prepared in order to convey information to all southern people. The conferees strongly recommended that further research on these two problems be undertaken and that the findings be published.

After an additional six months of intensive research, the Committee's executive secretary completed *Channeling Research Into Education*, which

[1] Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education, *Preparation, Distribution, and Use of Instructional Materials Relating to the Resources of the Southern Region.* Report of Gatlinburg Conference I (Washington, D. C.; American Council on Education, 1943) Mimeographed.

RESOURCE-USE EDUCATION



"Toward more effective educational use of research on southern resources and problems"

November, 1945 Volume 1, Number 2

Delta Citizens Tackle Mississippi Resource-Use Problems

In the deep South, a council of eighteen Mississippi Delta counties is improving living in the area by combining initiative, intelligence, and hard work. Health, land use, flood control, and forestry are some of the problems which the Delta Council has singled out for attack. And in this attack it has been systematically working with and through the many educational and research agencies serving the Delta.

Spearhead of the Council's work, with offices in Stoneville, Mississippi, is a full-time staff working under Manager Dorothy Lee Black. Some of the educational devices used by the staff include news and feature releases for newspapers, radio programs, and study conferences. Major projects are directed by special committees.

The Forestry Committee has prepared for publication a pamphlet describing the research work being done by U. S. Forest Service and Mississippi State Agricultural Experiment Station in bottomland hardwoods.

The Delta Council Legislative Committee is actively supporting the enlargement of the Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Sanatorium, Mississippi, for the care of Negro patients. The Council has been particularly interested in this matter since the majority of the Delta population is Negro and the facilities for the treatment of these tuberculosis patients have been inadequate.

Health service in the Delta has recently received new impetus through a scholarship program to train twenty white and twenty Negro women as health educators.

(Continued on page four)

Land, People, Poverty

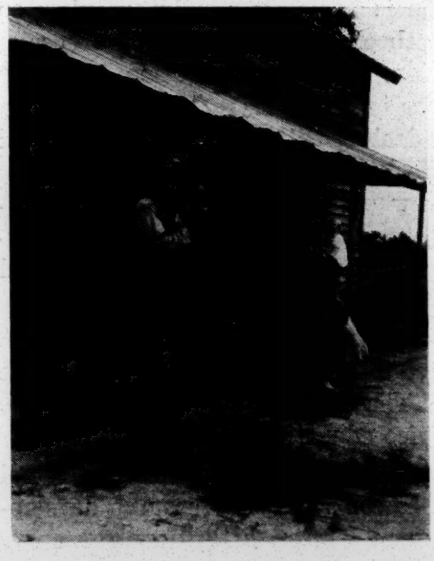


Photo by Farm Security Administration

To renew the land, to revitalize the people, to remove poverty — the Delta Council unites research and education.

News Briefs

Tennessee now has an up-to-date volume which could serve as a basis for a state-wide research translation program. "Industrial Resources of Tennessee," a State Planning Commission report, is a 210 page survey of resources and the potentialities for their development through agriculture and industry. An earlier publication, "County by County Compilation of the Resources of Tennessee," also should prove helpful to the development of local resource study programs. For information on these documents write Hayden B. Johnson, executive director, State Planning Commission, Nashville, Tennessee.

* * * *

The Virginia Legislature has appropriated $100,000 for the production of educational films dealing with historical events and natural resources peculiar to the state. A. L. Wingo, supervisor of conservation studies for the State Board of Education, is completing a volume, "Virginia's Soils and Land Use." This material will be used by teachers and pupils in the public schools.

(Continued on page three)

States Join in Preparing Regional Resources Volume

Early in 1947 an easy-to-read volume on southern resources and problems will be ready for use by the public schools, institutions of higher learning, and adults. More than fifty leading educators and research specialists in the South are advising in the production of the book. Under present plans, final revision of the document will include suggestions resulting from its evaluation by about 1500 classroom teachers from thirteen states.

Out of this broadly conceived process of research interpretation will come material vividly depicting how living conditions in the southern region reflect a partnership of men and resources. This partnership, according to the volume, has been getting on badly. Soils, forests, minerals, water, and wildlife give evidence that the average southerner has too often used them irresponsibly. Health, housing, economic development, government, religion, education,

(Continued on page four)

March 6, 1946

Mr. John E. Ivey, Jr., Executive Secretary
Committee on Southern Regional Studies
and Education
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear John:

Let me say again that I am very sorry that I was not able to be present at your Atlanta meeting on February 27. That was the day of our Executive Committee meeting and it was simply impossible for me to get away. I was glad that Dr. Trigg was able to join your group at lunch.

Let me assure you that we are very much interested in your project for a summer conference to be held at North Carolina College for Negroes. We want to cooperate in every way possible. If we can be of any help in further planning or in the conference itself we shall be glad to do so. You are doing a splendid work and I am particularly glad to see this special effort to bring the Negro colleges of the South into the orbit of influence of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION

of the

American Council on Education

Offices at the University of North Carolina

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

February 14, 1946

RECEIVED
FEB 16 1946
Southern Regional Council

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Maurice F. Seay, Chairman
Gordon W. Blackwell
John E. Brewton
George F. Gant
G. D. Humphrey
Edgar L. Morphet
Homer P. Rainey
Roy W. Roberts
George F. Zook, ex officio

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Guy:

This is to confirm our recent telephone conversation. We are making plans for a regional study conference in resource-use education to be held at the North Carolina College for Negroes the second six weeks of the 1946 summer session. For a long time we have felt the need for offering such a program for the faculties of Negro teacher training institutions. Several times we have discussed the matter with Drs. Patterson, Trenholm, Reid, and others. Due to the shortage of time and personnel for direction of the work, we have so far been unable to organize and administer a program to meet these needs. Therefore, it seems appropriate and desirable to again attempt, with the cooperation of several regional groups, to formulate a program which will meet the intense regional need. The program has three major objectives:

1. To develop among staff members of Negro institutions of higher learning and of agencies in the region

   a. deeper interest in and understanding of regional resources and problems.

   b. knowledge of institutions and agencies that can be drawn upon for materials and services in study and use of community, state, and regional resources.

   c. skills in conducting resource study programs in their own institutions.

2. To identify and further develop a group of Negro leaders who might work cooperatively to stimulate and assist in regional resource-use education efforts among institutions and agencies.

3. To explore most effective procedures for follow-up of the study conference and for further intensive institutional effort.

The procedures for the study program could be built around three major activities:

1. Two courses -

   a. Principles of Resource Use

   b. Regional Sociology of the South

RECEIVED
FEB 16 1946
Southern Regional Council

2. A special seminar dealing with

   a. study of institutional and agency materials and services in resource use.

   b. analysis of outstanding projects in the field of resource-use education and research translation.

   c. analysis of extent to which resource use practices are consistent with sound principles of resource development.

   d. identification of special projects in resource-use education and research translation applicable to the institutions from which the workshop participants have come.

3. Special study groups dealing with interest growing out of student need and problems identified in course and seminar work.

It will be held in Durham July 19-August 23. We will have the assistance of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes, the American Teachers Association, Tennessee Valley Authority, the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education, and several other regional groups. I will assume responsibility for direction of the program and develop the course in Principles of Resource Use. Gordon W. Blackwell will assume responsibility for teaching the course in Regional Sociology of the South, and we will collaborate in holding the seminar with Mrs. Hermese J. Roberts of Southern University, Scotlandville, Louisiana. We will make afternoons available for special discussions and work groups. Mr. Harry B. Williams will assist with arranging and managing the conference and may serve as teaching assistant. In addition, J. Herman Daves of the Tennessee Valley Authority will devote considerable time to the planning and conducting of the conference. Prof. Howard W. Odum, and other members of the staff here at the University, and at State College in Raleigh, will be available for special lectures and discussion meetings. We will draw heavily on consultants from state and regional agencies for the seminar and for special working groups.

We do not want this to be just a workshop program, but rather the beginning of a vigorous and well-directed regional program in the field of Negro education. To accomplish this, we feel that it should be closely geared into activities which the several regional organizations already have under way.

Therefore, I am wondering if your group would be interested in cooperating with a number of other regional organizations to the extent of being represented on a committee to guide this regional program and the summer study conference. We would like for you or Dr. Harold L. Trigg to represent the Southern Regional Council on the advisory committee which will (1) review and make suggestions for improving the general plans for the conference, (2) assist in making scholarship awards, (3) participate in opening and/or closing sessions of conference, and (4) develop long-range procedures for follow-up of conference.

I shall look forward to receiving your reactions to this proposed program and any suggestions you may have for its further development. Your assistance in this work will, I feel sure, promise the successful initiation of a long-range project.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

jei:jc

MEMORANDUM

To: Members of Advisory Committee, Study Conference on Regional Resources and Problems

From: John H. Ivey, Jr., Executive Secretary, Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education

Date: February 14, 1946

Subject: FEBRUARY 27 MEETING IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA

I have attached a tentative agenda for the meeting of the committee guiding the Study Conference on Regional Resources and Problems. At present, it seems that we will need a morning and afternoon session. Arrangements have been made through President Clement at Atlanta University for holding the meeting on his campus and for a luncheon session. If you have other subjects you would like to add to the agenda, please notify me.

We are hoping that this committee meeting, while being specifically concerned with the regional conference in Durham, will allow us to make plans for carrying on a long-range program in resource-use education.

Your assistance with and participation in this project will be greatly responsible for any success it may achieve.

John H. Ivey, Jr.

jei;jc
cc: All committee members

Tentative Agenda

MEETING OF ADVISORY COMMITTEE

STUDY CONFERENCE ON REGIONAL RESOURCES AND PROBLEMS

Atlanta, Georgia, Atlanta University

Third Floor - Conference Room
University Administration Building

February 27, 1946

10:00 A.M.

1. Introduction of Committee members
2. Background of project . . . Ivey
3. Regional developments in Resource-Use Education . . . Seay and other Committee members
4. Objectives of project . . . Daves
5. Organization and procedures for summer conference . . . Ivey
6. Methods for awarding scholarships to conference participants . . . Daves
7. Procedures for follow-up of Durham conference . . . Patterson

Committee Members

R. B. Atwood	- Association of Land-Grant College Presidents
J. Herman Daves	- Tennessee Valley Authority
George W. Gore	- Association of Deans and Registrars
John E. Ivey, Jr.	- Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education
Charles S. Johnson	- Southern Rural Life Council
Howard W. Odum	- University of North Carolina
F. D. Patterson	- Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes
Ira De A. Reid	- Member at large
James E. Shepard	- North Carolina College for Negroes
Maurice F. Seay	- Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education
H. Councill Trenholm	- American Teachers Association
Guy B. Johnson or Harold L. Trigg	- Southern Regional Council

Special visitor - Fred McCuistion, Assistant Director, General Education Board

March 12, 1946

Dr. John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary
Committee on Southern Regional
Studies and Education
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Ivey:

Dr. Guy B. Johnson has referred your letter of March 9 concerning the meeting at Tuskegee to me. I shall be happy to represent the Council on April 9.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION
of the
American Council on Education
Offices at the University of North Carolina
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

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G. D. Humphrey
Edgar L. Morphet
Homer P. Rainey
Roy W. Roberts
George F. Zook, ex officio

March 9, 1946

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

RECEIVED
MAR 11 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Guy:

Thank you for your offer of assistance in the summer conference to be held at the North Carolina College for Negroes. I am enclosing herewith a summary statement of the Advisory Council meeting held at Atlanta University, February 27. We were glad that Dr. Trigg could have lunch with us and hope that both you and he will be able to attend the follow-up meeting which will be held at Tuskegee Institute, April 9. At that time, we will select institutions to be represented in the Durham conference.

With best wishes to you and yours, I am

Sincerely yours,

John

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

jei:jc
cc: Harold L. Trigg
enc.

MEMORANDUM

To: Members of Advisory Council on Regional Study Conference
From: John E. Ivey, Jr., Executive Secretary, Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education
Date: March 7, 1946

Subject: SUMMARY OF ATLANTA MEETING

The meeting was called to (1) review developments in regional resource-use education; (2) make decisions as to how the July 19-August 23 Durham conference might be designed to further these developments in Negro institutions; (3) develop specific plans for the conference and follow up. (See attached agenda for specific topics discussed.)

The following decisions were made:

1. Average capital allocation to each delegate to the Workshop would be $100 to cover tuition, room and board for six weeks, and travel--to be divided as follows: $70 for tuition, room and board, and $30 for travel to be prorated according to distance.

2. Ten schools in the region to be selected to send three delegates.

3. Delegates will be selected on an institutional basis, each institution having the privilege of proposing persons who may not be directly connected with the institution, but who may contribute to the advancement of the program in communities related to the institution.

4. Six criteria were set up as basis for selecting delegates to the workshop:

   (a) Institutions having programs or special projects definitely related to resource-use education.

   (b) On the service area basis, both geographical and functional.

   (c) Types of institutions.

   (d) The willingness of the institutions to release key personnel to attend the workshop.

   (e) Types of individuals whom the institutions would send to the workshop.

   (f) Plans indicated by institutions as a means of following up the workshop.

It was also agreed that:

1. Non-participating institutions and agencies may send representatives to the workshop at their own expense.

2. Letters and data outlining the program of the proposed workshop be sent to the institutions in thirteen southern states from which ten will be selected to participate on a scholarship basis.

3. State Departments of Education in the thirteen southern states selected should be informed of plans for the workshop and to solicit their interest.

4. Materials be sent to the presidents of the colleges with copies to the deans.

5. Contacts be made in the name of the sponsoring groups instead of the Advisory Council.

6. The next meeting of the Advisory Council should be held at Tuskegee Institute, April 9, 1946.

7. The following institutions should be contacted:

<u>Virginia</u>

Virginia State College for Negroes
Hampton Institute
Virginia Union University
Bishop Payne Divinity School

<u>North Carolina</u>

A and T College
State Teachers College
Winston-Salem Teachers College
Bennett College
Shaw University
Johnson C. Smith University
Fayetteville State Teachers College

<u>South Carolina</u>

State A and M College
Allen University
Benedict College

<u>Georgia</u>

Atlanta University
Fort Valley State College
Paine College
Georgia State College

Florida

Florida A and M College
Bethune-Cookman College

Alabama

Tuskegee Institute
State Teachers College
State A and M Institute
Talladega College

Mississippi

Jackson College
Alcorn A and M College
Tougaloo College

Louisiana

Southern University
Xavier University
Dillard University
Louisiana Normal and Industrial Institute

Texas

Prairie View State College
Texas College
Bishop College
Wiley College
Tillotson College

Arkansas

Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College
Philander Smith College

Oklahoma

Langston University

Tennessee

Fisk University
Tennessee A and I State College
Le Moyne College
Knoxville College

Kentucky

Kentucky State College
Louisville Municipal College

John E. Ivey, Jr.

Agenda

MEETING OF ADVISORY COMMITTEE

STUDY CONFERENCE ON REGIONAL RESOURCES AND PROBLEMS

Atlanta, Georgia, Atlanta University

Third Floor - Conference Room
University Administration Building

February 27, 1946

10:00 A.M.

1. Introduction of Committee members
2. Background of project
3. Regional developments in resource-use education
4. Objectives of project
5. Organization and procedures for summer conference
6. Methods for awarding scholarships to conference participants

Committee Members

F. G. Clark	- Association of Land-Grant College Presidents
J. Herman Daves	- Tennessee Valley Authority
George W. Gore	- Association of Deans and Registrars
John E. Ivey, Jr.	- Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education
Charles S. Johnson	- Southern Rural Life Council
Howard W. Odum	- University of North Carolina
F. D. Patterson	- Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes
Ira De A. Reid	- Member at large
James E. Shepard	- North Carolina College for Negroes
Maurice F. Seay	- Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education
H. Councill Trenholm	- American Teachers Association
Harold L. Trigg	- Southern Regional Council

****

Special visitor - Fred McCuistion, Assistant Director, General Education Board

MEMORANDUM

To: Members of Advisory Committee, Study Conference on Regional Resources and Problems

From: John E. Ivey, Jr., Executive Secretary, Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education

Date: February 14, 1946

Subject: FEBRUARY 27 MEETING IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA

I have attached a tentative agenda for the meeting of the committee guiding the Study Conference on Regional Resources and Problems. At present, it seems that we will need a morning and afternoon session. Arrangements have been made through President Clement at Atlanta University for holding the meeting on his campus and for a luncheon session. If you have other subjects you would like to add to the agenda, please notify me.

We are hoping that this committee meeting, while being specifically concerned with the regional conference in Durham, will allow us to make plans for carrying on a long-range program in resource-use education.

Your assistance with and participation in this project will be greatly responsible for any success it may achieve.

John E. Ivey, Jr.

jei;jc
cc: All committee members

Tentative Agenda

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J. Herman Daves	-	Tennessee Valley Authority
George W. Gore	-	Association of Deans and Registrars
John E. Ivey, Jr.	-	Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education
Charles S. Johnson	-	Southern Rural Life Council
Howard W. Odum	-	University of North Carolina
F. D. Patterson	-	Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes
Ira De A. Reid	-	Member at large
James E. Shepard	-	North Carolina College for Negroes
Maurice F. Seay	-	Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education
H. Councill Trenholm	-	American Teachers Association
Guy B. Johnson or Harold L. Trigg	-	Southern Regional Council

Special visitor - Fred McCuistion, Assistant Director, General Education Board

Tentative Agenda

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STUDY CONFERENCE ON REGIONAL RESOURCES AND PROBLEMS

Atlanta, Georgia, Atlanta University

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Guy B. Johnson or Harold L. Trigg	- Southern Regional Council

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Special visitor - Fred McCuistion, Assistant Director, General Education Board

March 30, 1946

Dr. John E. Ivey, Jr.
Committee on Southern Regional
Studies and Education
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Ivey:

Dr. Johnson has asked me to attend the conference of the Advisory Committee at Tuskegee on April 9. You may expect me on the morning of that day.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

MEMORANDUM

To: Members of the Regional Advisory Committee on Study Conference on Southern Resource Development
From: John E. Ivey, Jr., Executive Secretary, Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education
Date: March 22, 1946

Subject: NEXT MEETING OF ADVISORY COMMITTEE

At the conclusion of our February 27 meeting in Atlanta, it was decided the Advisory Committee would hold its next conference at Tuskegee Institute, April 9. A meeting is, therefore, being planned for that date. The following items of business will come before the Committee:

1. Selection of ten institutions to appoint faculty members to receive scholarships

2. Identify specific steps for follow up of Durham conference

3. Arrange for Advisory Committee participation in summary sessions of the Durham conference

Within the next two weeks, I shall, with your help, develop an agenda for the April 9 conference. Will you please send me any items, in addition to the above, you would like included?

I am enclosing herewith (1) a copy of the letter sent to approximately fifty institutions in our initial exploration, (2) a printed pamphlet which was enclosed with this letter, and (3) a copy of issue #3 of Resource-Use Education. These materials will bring you up to date on activities on the project with which we are concerned.

We would like to have as soon as possible confirmation of your plans to attend the April 9 conference of the Advisory Committee at Tuskegee Institute.

John E. Ivey, Jr.
John E. Ivey, Jr.

jei:jc
enc.
cc: Fred J. McCuistion
Rufus E. Clement
Hermese J. Roberts

STUDY CONFERENCE ON SOUTHERN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

- **North Carolina College for Negroes**
  Durham, North Carolina
- **July 19-August 23, 1946**

Faculty members from Negro teacher education institutions and Negro staff members of regional agencies will join research and educational experts in a study of southern resources and opportunities, and the ways education can contribute to better living for all southern people.

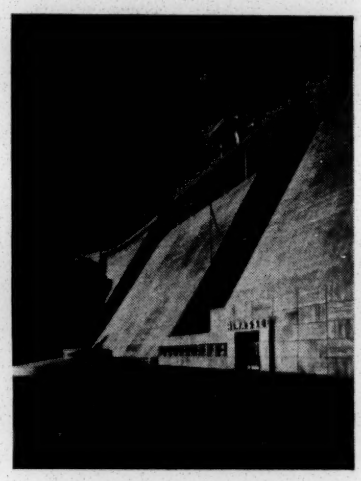

Photo by Tennessee Valley Authority

RESEARCH ON SOUTHERN PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES

Many years of research by scholars and technical experts have produced a great inventory of southern resources and a wide analysis of southern problems and opportunities. They have shown that our soil is eroding badly; that our forest resources are being depleted; that many of our mineral resources are not used to the fullest. And they have laid down principles for using these resources scientifically. They have shown that human energies and abilities have been wasted, and that there are opportunities to develop and conserve them. They have demonstrated inadequacies in institutional, technological, and capital resources, and pointed toward ways of strengthening them. But books and research monographs and the knowledge of experts by themselves do not develop regional resources.

RESEARCH IS NOT ENOUGH

Regional resource development depends upon the understanding and participation of the southern people. They must make sound choices in the use of their resources. In order to make these choices, they must have scientific information plus the motivation to base their choices on this information. Without knowledge the farmer cannot protect his soil from erosion; and without knowledge the citizen cannot insist that his representatives and agencies serving him develop and use resources scientifically. As long as this information lies in scholarly books and in technical monographs, it is not available to him. He cannot act upon it. The challenge to education is to interpret scientific facts and principles of resource use to the people, to take facts off the shelves and make them a vital part of the peoples' lives.

COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION
of the
American Council on Education
Offices at the University of North Carolina
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

COMMITTEE MEMBERS
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Homer P. Rainey
Roy W. Roberts
George F. Zook, ex officio

March 9, 1946

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

For several years educators and research specialists in thirteen southern states have been working to channel into education research dealing with community and regional resources. It is believed that achieving scientific use of community and regional resources must be a major educational objective if we are to raise the level of human welfare in our region. From the enclosed newsletters, RESOURCE-USE EDUCATION, you will note how this movement was initiated and how it has grown.

No regional educational effort can be successful until all southern people participate in it. Therefore, a study conference for staff members of Negro teacher training institutions is being held at the North Carolina College for Negroes, July 19-August 23. The enclosed memorandum explains in detail the objectives of and procedures for the conference. Through a General Education Board grant, fellowships to cover tuition, room and board, with travel prorated, are provided to participants.

At a recent meeting of representatives from several regional organizations guiding this program, it was suggested that we contact your institution to ascertain your interest in a regional resource-use education program. Several other outstanding southern institutions are being contacted on the basis of information received; ten institutions will be invited to participate. Three faculty members from each institution will receive fellowships. In order to make decisions for inviting institutions to participate in the conference, the following information is needed.

1. A brief listing and summary of any instructional program your institution is conducting related to resource study and use.

2. The major geographic area your institution serves.

3. Types of off-campus services rendered.

4. Professional interest and faculty status of faculty members you would send to study conference.

5. How your institution would participate in a follow-up program.

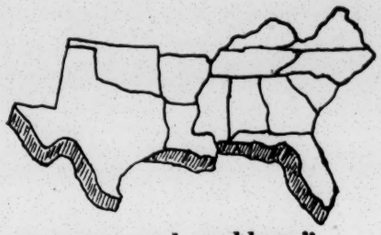
It is necessary to set Aqril 1 as the deadline for completing our survey. We shall look forward to receiving your response, and we hope that your institution will be among those selected to participate in this important undertaking.

Sincerely yours,

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

jei:f
enc.

RESOURCE-USE EDUCATION



"Toward more effective educational use of research on southern resources and problems"

March, 1946 Volume 1, Number 3

Big Operators

Photo by Farm Security Administration

Experts at worming tobacco! Will they learn about wise use of all their resources? Will they learn skills in adult vocations? The Southern States Work-Conference seeks answers in its studies of southern elementary and vocational education.

Peabody College Serves South as Regional Materials Center

A broad program to assemble regional materials and distribute information about them is being developed by the Regional Materials Service at George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee. The Service will also be a center for training in resource-use education. It is an activity of Peabody's Division of Surveys and Field Services, and is under the direction of W. D. McClurkin, an associate director of the Division.

The Service will collect and catalog information and materials on resource use and problems, maintain a file of these, and issue periodical bibliographies of materials. It will thus serve as a central regional reference for research translation, curriculum development, leadership training activities, and interchange of ideas and materials.

In cooperation with other educational agencies, the Peabody program will offer technical assistance to state and institutional groups in research interpretation programs, establishment of state information centers, work conferences, and other programs. The Service will participate in preservice and inservice education of teachers in resource-use education. It plans to maintain direct contacts with state agencies and to work at the local levels through the state materials centers.

The collection will be limited to materials in print and available to interested educational agencies. A special attempt will be made to include materials readily adaptable to use by individual teachers. A regional committee, composed of more than forty members representing research and educational agencies in thirteen southern states, is advising in the development of the program.

Workshop Directors Study To Help Southern Teachers

More than seventy white and Negro educators from eleven southern states will meet at the University of North Carolina April 21-26 to study social and economic problems and how scientific resource use may contribute to better living in southern communities. The participants, most of whom will direct 1946 teacher education workshops, will be assisted in planning their workshop programs.

Southern States Work-Conference Studies Elementary and Vocational Education

The Southern States Work-Conference will center attention in 1946 upon studies of elementary education and vocational education in the South, according to tentative plans released by Edgar L. Morphet, executive secretary. The 1946 Work-Conference has been scheduled for May 27-June 7 at Daytona Beach, Florida.

Other tentative projects for 1946 include cooperation in studies of low cost fire resistive construction materials for school buildings and of school building standards and codes. Cooperation with school lunch supervisors in preparation of guides for school lunch managers and supervisors is also tentatively planned.

The major projects will have two closely related aspects: studies in each of the southern states by state committees, and a report of findings and recommendations of regional significance. Responsibility for planning and guiding the studies rests with regional steering committees. R. Lee Thomas, Tennessee State Department of Education, and John E. Brewton, Peabody College for Teachers, are cochairmen of the committee on elementary education. John Wheeler, University of Georgia, is chairman of the vocational education committee.

According to Dr. Morphet, points of view basic to the studies are: (1) education should be designed to contribute to more effective utilization of regional resources, (2) improvements must be based upon careful study of facts, and (3) all phases of the educational programs are interrelated.

File

4-8-46
Rec'd from E. Ellis

COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION

of the

American Council on Education

Offices at the University of North Carolina

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

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Roy W. Roberts
George F. Zook, ex officio

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

April 4, 1946

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Doctor Trigg:

We are pleased that you can be present for the advisory committee meeting in Tuskegee. We shall meet at 10:00 A. M. in the Peabody conference room, Dorothy Hall, April 9.

Very sincerely yours,

J. E. Ivey, Jr.

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

jei:jc

Representative at Chapel Hill

Exhibit of material presidents come to last meeting July 26

Some Mentor many, Price

TENTATIVE AGENDA

Meeting of Advisory Committee

Tuskegee Institute
Dorothy Hall

April 9, 1946
10:00 A. M.

1. Summary Atlanta meeting
2. Report on responses to institutional survey
3. Selection of institutions
4. Means for follow up of Durham Conference — Regional, State, local
5. Committee attendance at closing sessions of Durham Conference

Ala — Tuskegee 3 ✓ 2?
Tenn. St. 2
FAMC — None
Tenn — Knox — 2
Ga — Paine — 3 ✓
Ga — Ga. — 3 ✓
Tex — Tex. Col. — 3 ✓
Va — Va. St. — 3 ✓
Tex — Bishop — 3 ✓
N.C. — N.C. — 2 ✓
Ala. State — 2 ✓
No committment
Ark — interested
Okla
Miss
Tenn St.

Follow up — Va. St.
Hampton — Va. St.
S.C. State — S.C.
Tuskegee — Ala.
Lincoln — Pa.
Fisk — Tenn.
Howard — D.C.

Durham Conference- re Scholarships

S. B. Dale not here

A.M. & N. College Pine, Bluff, Arkansas	L.A. Davis, President	Interested
A & T College Greensboro, N.C.	F.D. Bluford, President	Interested
Bishop College Marshall, Texas	J.J. Rhoads, President	Hope to participate; endorsed by Worley
Florida A & M College Tallahassee, Fla.	Wm. H. Gray, Jr., President	Interested
Jackson College Jackson, Miss.	J.L. Reddix, President	No representation
Kentucky State College Frankfort, Kentucky	R.B. Atwood, President	No representation
Knoxville College Knoxville, Tenn.	W.L. Imes, President	Interested
N.C. College for Negroes Durham, N.C.	J.E. Shepard, President	To serve as host
Paine College Augusta, Ga.	E.C. Peters, President	Interested in sending three representatives
Southern University Baton Rouge, La.	F.G. Clark, President	Interested
Texas College Tyler, Texas	D.R. Glass, President	Hope to participate
Tuskegee Institute Tuskegee, Alabama	F.D. Patterson, President	Interested
Virginia State College Petersburg, Virginia	L.H. Foster, President	Would like to send one representative
Xavier University New Orleans, La.	Mother M. Agatha, President	Requested time extension due to illness.

SUGGESTED PARTICIPANTS

Tuskegee Institute:

Dr. Deborah Cannon Partridge, Professor of Education Supervisor of Rural Practice Centers

Mrs. Maggie Y. Forte, in charge of art work in the rural schools but who in fact has done a marvelous job in resource-use in terms of the simple materials available to some of the poorly subsidized schools being used as practice centers.

Mrs. Laura Jones of the Children's House. Mrs. Jones has been a Jeanes teacher and has had many years of experience in rural areas requiring the effective use of resources of hand. She is a teacher of real enthusiasm and imagination.

Paine College:

President Peters says if Paine College is extended an invitation, a personal will be named from their natural science division.

Southern University:

President Clark sent in a report of a special committee on Resource-Use Education. Committee members as follows:

Mrs. P.E. Thrift, Home Economics, Home Demonstration agents, the Nursery School, Health Services.

Dr. W.E. Reed, Agriculture, The Extension Service, Other Governmental Agencies.

Dr. J.W. Lee, Natural Science, High School Science Departments and Clubs, Health and Physical Education.

Mrs. M.D. McLeod, Teacher Training Activities, Training School, Jeannes Supervisors.

Dr. S.E. Warren, Liberal Arts and Music Divisions, Extension Schools, Faculty Research.

Texas College:

President Glass gives the following ~~[illegible]~~ faculty members as ~~[illegible]~~ possible participants: (1) Dean of the College; (2) Head of the Department of Education; (3) member of the Department of Social Sciences, or Department of Home Making.

Virginia State College:

President Foster suggests one representative:

Mrs. Elsie C. Heiskell, staff member

write Potter

MEMORANDUM

To: Members of Advisory Council on Regional Study Conference
From: John E. Ivey, Jr., Executive Secretary, Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education
Date: April 17, 1946

Subject: SUMMARY OF TUSKEGEE MEETING

The meeting was called to (1) report on responses to institutional survey, (2) select institutions to receive scholarships, (3) identify means for follow up of Durham conference, and (4) plan for Council members to attend some part of Durham conference.

With reference to the institutional survey, it was reported that, out of forty letters sent to colleges in the thirteen southern states, fourteen replies were received, twelve of which indicated substantial interest and a desire to send representatives. Two institutions were interested but unable to spare high-caliber representatives which they would wish to send.

The Advisory Council recommended that steps be taken to again contact seven institutions from whom no response had been received. They are as follows:

1. Hampton Institute
2. South Carolina A. & M. College
3. Kentucky State College
4. Jackson (Mississippi) College
5. Florida A. & M.
6. Alabama A. & M.
7. Tennessee A. & I. State College

Summarizing information received from these seven institutions, plus the fourteen responses already on hand, the Council suggested that a memorandum be circulated to its several members. The memorandum would indicate (1) name of institution, (2) number of faculty members it would send to Durham conference, and (3) provided space for each institution for Council members to check their preferences. Each Council member would select institutions, in any combination, which would not exceed thirty conference participants. These memoranda would be returned to the central office of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education, and scholarships would be extended according to the Council's concensus on institutions. The Advisory Council urged that every attempt be made to defray the total expenses of participants.

The Council identified the following activities as being ones which would help spread resource-use education among Negro teacher education institutions:

1. Representatives of regional educational organizations should prepare reports for their particular organization and encourage program committees to include resource-use education in their future programs.

2. Arrange exhibits of materials at workshops and conferences.

3. In order to get the cooperation of the administrative staff in the participating colleges, the presidents of these colleges should be requested to attend the workshop on Friday, July 26, in order that they may get an idea of the total program.

Closely connected with these discussions were the activities which the Council suggested as considerations in preparing for and following up the summer conference at Durham.

1. Explore the needs and possibilities for conducting further southwide conferences in resource-use education.

2. Identification and the wide publicizing of practical examples in resource-use education.

3. Preparation and distribution of effective instructional materials.

4. The development and recording of effective techniques in resource study. This information should be made widely available to teachers and to teacher education institutions.

5. Plan and carry out academic procedures for the pre-conference preparation of participants for the Durham study conference.

6. Make provisions for consultants to visit and work next year with those institutions participating in the Durham conference.

7. Interpretation of resource-use education programs to state, regional, and national education groups.

8. Emphasize the need for integration of resource-use education concepts and materials into existing curriculum structures.

It was reported that only a small number of Negro educators had accepted invitations to participate in the April 21-26 study conference at the University of North Carolina. The members of the Advisory Council indicated that they would take steps to secure representatives from their own states. They would contact state departments of education which had not responded on the matter of Negro participation.

The next meeting of the Advisory Council will take place on Friday, July 26, in Durham and will be conducted in connection with the study conference and a special program for presidents of colleges represented in the study conference.

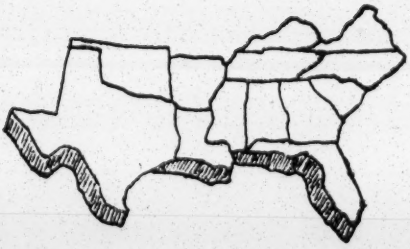
John E. Ivey, Jr.

"Using Regional Resources"

A Study Conference

Chapel Hill, N. C.

April 21-26, 1946



Sponsor

Division of Research Interpretation

Institute for Research in Social Science

University of North Carolina

MEMORANDUM

To: Members of Advisory Council, Study Conference on Southern Resource Development
From: John E. Ivey, Jr., Director
Date: May 14, 1946

File

Subject: SCHOLARSHIP PARTICIPANTS

Following discussions at our meeting in Tuskegee, April 9, I contacted the several institutions which had not responded to our earlier inquiry regarding their interest in the Study Conference on Southern Resource Development. This exploration brought a reply from one college, Hampton Institute. For this reason, it did not seem necessary to again refer the matter to the Advisory Council.

Therefore, we then contacted the series of institutions which had previously been considered favorably by the Council. The following scholarships have been offered:

Bishop College	3
Hampton Institute	1
Knoxville College	2
Paine College	3
Southern University	3
Tennessee State College . .	2
Texas College	3
Tuskegee Institute	3
Virginia State College . .	1
Xavier University	2

I am again contacting Atlanta and Fisk Universities to see if they wish to send representatives to the conference.

John E. Ivey, Jr.

jel:jc
cc: A. E. Manley
Gordon W. Blackwell
H. J. Roberts
Harry B. Williams.

This is a copy letter being sent to all individuals who will attend the Study Conference on Southern Resource Development, July 19 - August 23. A roster will be completed and sent to you soon.

JEI, JR.

File

May 27, 1946

Mrs. Mattie Belle Braxton
Instructor in Rural Education
Paine College
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Braxton:

We are glad to learn from President Peters that you are to represent Paine College at the Study Conference on Regional Resource Development to be held at the North Carolina College for Negroes, Durham, North Carolina, July 19-August 23.

Your scholarship for this program covers room, board, and tuition. Travel expense will be prorated at day coach rate on the basis of your institution's distance from Durham.

We are enclosing a general descriptive leaflet on the Study Conference program and copies of our newsletter, Resource-Use Education. The latter describe some of the developments in the South.

Within the next two weeks, we shall send you detailed announcements on the conference, along with a request for some suggestions from you.

We are looking forward to working with you and hope that the experience will be mutually helpful to all of us.

Very sincerely yours,

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

jei:jc
enc.
cc: Advisory Council
Study Conference Staff

RECEIVED
JUN 20 1946
Southern Regional Council

MEMORANDUM

To: Gatlinburg Conference II Participants
From: John E. Ivey, Jr., Executive Secretary, Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education
Date: June 18, 1946

Subject: MONOGRAPH, EDUCATION HELPS BUILD A REGION

A Study Conference on Using Regional Resources was held at the University of North Carolina, April 21-26. Requests were made by conference participants for material pertaining to resource use that might be available for summer workshops.

Thinking you might be interested in knowing of such material, we are sending you, under separate cover, a copy of a recently published monograph, Education Helps Build A Region. Additional copies of this document, in lots not exceeding fifty, can be had at twenty-five cents per copy, the cost of printing and mailing.

We believe that this material can be useful to teachers and administrators who want more specific information on (1) what resource-use education is, and (2) how it can be developed to improve living in their own communities, state, and region. We also hope that this document will provide helpful source material for the summer workshops. Please write to us direct for this material.

John E. Ivey, Jr.
John E. Ivey, Jr.

jei:jc

Mr. Johnson:

We regret the delay in replying to your June 14 letter, but Dr. Ivey has been out-of-state many weeks, having returned on Saturday for the day only.

F. Osborne
Administrative Assistant

COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION

of the

American Council on Education

Offices at the University of North Carolina

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

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July 1, 1946

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

RECEIVED
JUL 2 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

We are glad to know that it might be possible for you to attend the study conference on "Southern Resource Development" which will be held at the North Carolina College for Negroes, July 19-August 23.

From your standpoint, it might be of more interest to be with us on July 26. On that day we will have the administrative officers from the several institutions representing the conference, delegates to the American Teachers Association conference, and delegates representing the Association of Land Grant College presidents meet with the group and comsider some of the problems pertaining to follow-ups of the conference.

We are also very glad that Dr. Trigg is planning to attend and sincerely hope that you can be with us on July 26.

Very sincerely yours,

John

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

jei:f

Gatlinburg Conference III

AT WORK ON RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

RECEIVED
JUL 7 1947
Southern Regional Council

September 8-13
Gatlinburg, Tennessee

July 9, 1946

Dr. John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary
Committee on Southern Regional
Studies and Education
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Ivey:

I have read with keen interest the May issue of the High School Journal which is devoted to the subject of resource-use education.

Dr. Johnson has requested me to attend the institute at Durham during the week of July 22. I look forward with pleasure to seeing you personally and to the stimulating contact with the group which is to be present there.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

STATE PLANNING BOARD

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FELIX A. GRISETTE, MANAGING DIRECTOR

513-19 COMMERCIAL BUILDING
RALEIGH, N. C.

June 10, 1946

Memorandum To: Members, Resource-Use Education Commission
State Planning Board Members

From: Felix A. Grisette

Subject: Reprint from The High School Journal

Substantially the entire issue of The High School Journal for May, 1946, is devoted to the subject of resource-use education. Through the courtesy of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education of the American Council on Education, reprints of this issue of The Journal have been made available for members of the Resource-Use Education Commission of the State Planning Board, and others who may be interested. A copy of this reprint is going forward to you under separate cover.

You will be interested to know that progress is being made in our negotiations with one of the large foundations to obtain a grant-in-aid with which to finance the work of the Commission on a permanent basis. It is to be hoped that we may be able to have something definite to report to you soon.

COPY

Committee on
Southern Regional Studies and Education
OF THE
American Council on Education

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GEORGE F. ZOOK, *ex officio*

OFFICES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

JOHN E. IVEY, JR., *Executive Secretary*

Chapel Hill, N. C.

July 15, 1946

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Johnson:

We have received from your office materials for our Study Conference on Southern Resource Development at the North Carolina College for Negroes in Durham and appreciate them very much. Dr. Blackwell suggested that it would be useful for the course he will teach there in "Regional Sociology of the South" to have complete back files of The Southern Frontier and The New South.

If it is possible for you to send these to me at Box 1078, I would like to increase our debt to you still further.

Hoping that I will see you sometime during the conference and looking forward to Dr. Trigg, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Harry B. Williams

Harry B. Williams
Assistant to Conference
Director

hbw:jc

July 24, 1946

Mr. Harry B. Williams
Committee on Southern Regional
Studies and Education
Box 1078
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Williams:

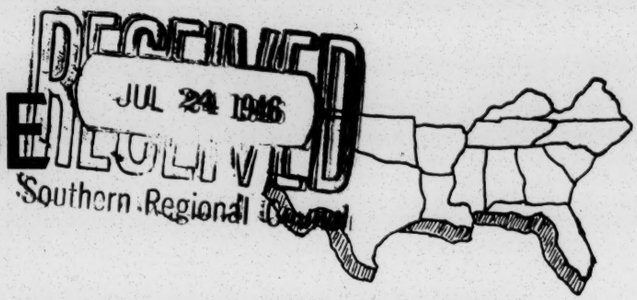
Thank you for your letter of July 15. Under separate cover we are sending as many issues of The Southern Frontier as are available which have been published since SRC took over in January, 1944, and a complete file of New South with the exception of the February, 1944, issue which is out of print.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Separate cover

RESOURCE-USE EDUCATION



"Toward more effective educational use of research on southern resources and problems"

July, 1946 Volume 1, Number 4

RECEIVED JUL 24 1946 Southern Regional Council

South Plans 75 Education Workshops

Several thousand southern educators will return to their schools next fall equipped for better teaching, administration, and supervision by experience gained in more than 75 education workshops.

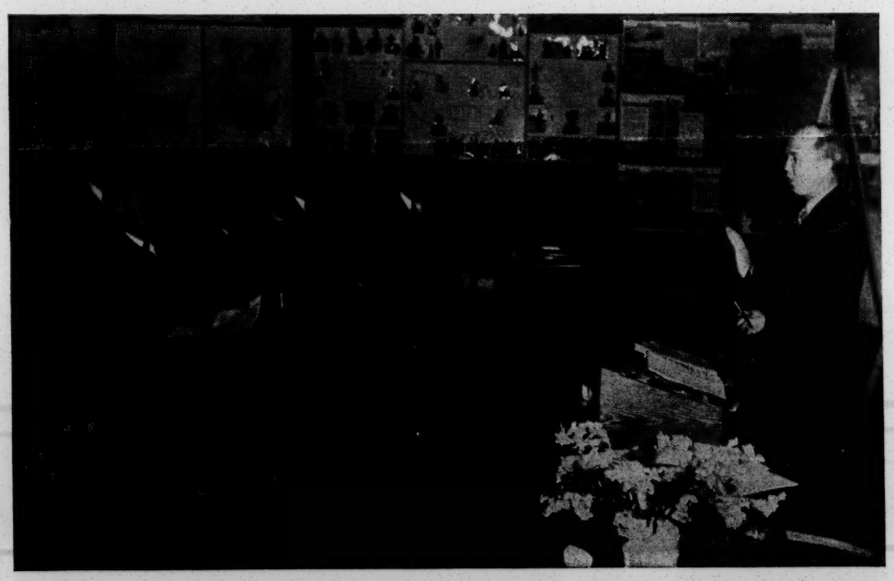
According to reports received by the NEWSLETTER from the directors of teacher training in 11 of the 13 southern states, 74 workshops were planned. Adding workshops in Tennessee and Mississippi, the number should be well over 75. Ten of the workshops will be held at Negro institutions of higher learning.

The number of participants is not yet known. If the workshops average 50 participants, about 4,000 persons will be reached. If they average 25 participants, around 2,000 will be reached. The majority of participants will be classroom teachers, though principals, superintendents, and supervisors will also participate. If each of 3,000 participants were to share his workshop experience with five colleagues, 15,000 persons would be indirectly reached by the workshops.

Twenty of the 74 workshops reported have subjects of "resource-use education" or the same thing with slightly different phrasing. In addition, many of the workshops with other subjects reported may be expected to emphasize resource-use education. Nineteen of the 74, for example, have given the general title "curriculum" and four the title "teacher education." The five workshops on "health" and three on "community school" or "community development" may emphasize resource-use education. Two workshops are devoted to "resources and materials."

(Continued on page four)

Planning Better Workshops



Professor Edgar Dale of Ohio State University conducts a clinic on "Techniques for Making Materials More Readable." The clinic was part of the conference "Using Regional Resources" held at the University of North Carolina, April 21-26. Ninety-four educators from 14 southern states studied and planned for resource-use education. Many are directing workshops this summer.

New Service to Produce Educational Films for South

Public agencies and institutions in nine southern states will shortly be able to produce educational films through an organization of their own. For this purpose, the University of Georgia is establishing a film production unit at the request of the Southern Educational Film Production Service. This summer its services will be available to all public tax-supported agencies in Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi.

The Service itself is a non-profit corporation, chartered in Tennessee. Its present membership includes state departments of education, conservation, and health, state fish and wildlife commissions, state agricultural extension services, state planning commissions, and the TVA. It belongs to and is controlled by these agencies.

Any public tax-supported agency or institution in the states mentioned may become a member. There are no fees or dues. A representative from each of the nine states, one from TVA, and one from the University of Georgia (as the headquarters institution), form the Board of Directors. Member agencies within each state select that state's representatives to the Board.

The cooperating agencies have identified the following as objectives of the SEFPS:

1. To encourage coordinated production of educational films and film strips by public agencies in the cooperating southern states
2. To provide a clearinghouse of information on educational films and film strips planned or in production in the cooperating southern states

(Continued on page four)

August 20, 1946

Com. on Resources
Southern Regional Council

Dr. John Ivey
Institute for Social Research
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Ivey:

I am just having the opportunity to express to you my great pleasure in having been able to attend the meeting of the Advisory Council at North Carolina College on July 26.

I am convinced that Resource-Use Education is a valuable essential in the education of all of our people, children and adults. I only hope that the work which you are doing will reach all of the citizens of the South of all ages in time to secure their sympathetic understanding and cooperation in the program of attaining a balanced economy in the region.

With every good wish, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG,
Associate Executive Director

HLT:MJ

Committee on
Southern Regional Studies and Education
OF THE
American Council on Education

File

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

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OFFICES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

JOHN E. IVEY, JR., *Executive Secretary*

Chapel Hill, N. C.

July 15, 1946

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Trigg:

In Dr. Ivey's absence, this will acknowledge your letter of July 9. He is expected back at the office on the 17th, and I shall call your letter to his attention at that time.

We shall look forward to having you at the forthcoming conference in Durham. July 26 is the date which was set for the Advisory Committee to meet; that would come easily within the week you are planning to be here.

Sincerely yours,

Jean Candler

Jean Candler
Secretary to Dr. Ivey

c/

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DIVISION OF RESEARCH INTERPRETATION

January 28, 1947

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The attached booklet, "From Facts to Action," describes the purposes and activities of the Division of Research Interpretation of the Institute for Research in Social Science.

You are familiar with the work of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education and its broad regional attack on problems of resource-use education and research translation. With the assistance of that Committee institutions throughout the South gradually are developing facilities for concentrated action on various phases of these problems.

The Division of Research Interpretation is one example of such an institutional approach. It attempts to make its contribution to the development of scientific methods and techniques of channeling research findings to people. The southern United States is viewed as a social laboratory for this work.

We would appreciate your comments on the program and the objectives and activities it reflects. Does the program suggest methods of meeting similar needs through institutional efforts in your own area?

Sincerely yours,

John

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Chief

cc: Dr. Maurice F. Seay

Bridging the Tragic Gap

Photo by Tennessee Valley Authority

The tragic gap! A modern school: symbol of science and technology, of learning for citizenship and wise resource use—a biological desert: symbol of exploitation and misuse of resources. This picture presents a challenge far more dramatic than words. It symbolizes the opportunity of education to help close the gap between what is known and what is practiced. And particularly to southern education, it seems, is the challenge presented to help build a region.

Frequently it has been said that the South is "the best documented region in America." To put it another way, more research has been completed on the resources and opportunities of the South than on any other of America's regions. Now we face the issue: because the scientific facts are available, there is an unparalleled opportunity for leadership to translate science into public action. The stakes are high: a new way of life for 28,000,000 people!

This opportunity exists because a host of agencies and great minds have followed a growing curiosity to discover why a potentially powerful region has lost substance and spirit in the lethargy of self-complacency. An endless tide of pamphlets, reports, and books have resulted from the probing of a region's life and resources. But three volumes have symbolized the spirit and fruits of the search.

Howard W. Odum's *Southern Regions of the United States* and Rupert B. Vance's *Human Geography of the South* represent a pioneer level of synthesis and interpretation of what the South is, and what should be done to correct social and economic deficiencies of the area. The work of Odum, Vance, and their associates throughout the region, creates the rock base for intelligent social action to build a better life in the South.

Within the same decade, when many Americans were still pondering the South's fate, another volume brought another type of thinking. David E. Lilienthal's *TVA —Democracy on the March* capped a fast-growing interest in "how do we work to-

gether to improve living in the South." This poses a different type of intellectual problem. The research specialist concerns himself primarily with "What is; what could be." The administrator, taking up where most research stops, says, "How, through what practical methods, in what place, at what time, can we get the job done?"

It is in answer to this point that Mr. Lilienthal verbally parades flesh and blood examples of *how* men and science in the Tennessee Valley are slowly weaving the new fabric of a richer life. One is struck, and in a democracy perhaps should stay struck, with how the expert must find rapport with people he serves; how laboratory and classroom specialization, exposed to the test of solving everyday problems of living, must grow into a new unity of purpose and synthesis of judgment.

The individual who works within the influences of research and action cannot escape a growing humility born of respect for what each has to contribute to the other. He knows that, separated, research and administration each will tend to become sterile: research, because it may lose contact with people and the needs of action programs; administration, because it may lose the stimulation and discipline of science.

Today the South is becoming increasingly concerned with how communities and states can act to improve agriculture, industry, business, and public services. Experiments in method are growing out of the contributions of the scientist. Research and administrative interests are being joined, not separated. The task is becoming one of arranging systematic and practical methods for a three-way flow of influence among research, administration, and the people.

This flow of influence is basically an educational process. Building channels of communication among the people, research specialists, and administrators is essentially a job of devising new and more effective working contacts. The object is mobility of ideas, synthesis of judgments, and consequent action on specific jobs.

Resource-use education has been furnishing a focal point of interest and work in the South. The development of resources is basic to improved living. Scientists, educators, and administrators are joining efforts in forwarding this educational orientation on all levels of action: public school, college and university, and adult. The objective is not just learning more about the South's resources; it is also the dissemination of information in such a way that it results in action.

These channels between research and action, in final analysis, exist in the minds of people. For the task, we do not necessarily need new schools, new colleges and universities, new libraries, and new public agencies. Rather, we need a new conviction in the hearts and minds of the leaders who influence the destinies of people through these institutions; we need a conviction that public service can be effective only if it is informed, based on a union of science and spirit so as to release the maximum of human creative energy.

The creative power of individuals is too often lost in the bigness, complexity, and centralization of modern society. But in a democracy effective social action at all levels is based finally upon individual power and expression. To channel research into social action it is necessary to find ways of releasing and using each person's maximum productive energies.

A new frontier for pioneering democracy is the field of systematic research and action in *how* educational processes, through organization and administration, can channel research into social action. The South is serving as a laboratory and a testing ground for practical experiments in educational and administrative methods that will help democracy work.

JOHN E. IVEY, JR.

[Adapted from *The High School Journal,* May, 1946]

Committee on
Southern Regional Studies and Education
of the
American Council on Education

JOHN E. IVEY, JR., EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

OFFICES AT
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL, N.C.

February 4, 1947

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Southern Regional Council
60 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The participants in last summer's Study Conference on Southern Resource Development at North Carolina College for Negroes, have been working in their own institutions for some four and one-half months now on specific programs of resource-use education. We have had letters from some of them, indicating encouraging progress in carrying out the projects they developed at the Conference.

Within the next two months, each participant will be visited by a Conference staff member, who will discuss with him and the president of his institution, his experiences and problems in carrying out the project. Visits will be made by J. Herman Daves, Harry B. Williams, and me.

In addition to reviewing their projects, we will ask participants what help their experience leads them to believe should be made available on a regional level for resource-use education programs in Negro institutions of higher education.

Their experiences on this problem, together with other known facts and factors, should be analysed immediately with the purpose of suggesting what types of regional effort need to be initiated to further develop the opportunities for resource-use education in these institutions. I am suggesting, therefore, that the Regional Advisory Committee meet in Atlanta, March 14, at 9:00 A. M., to review the Durham Conference and to consider this urgent problem.

If it is impossible for you to attend on this date, please notify me immediately what dates in March or early April will be more convenient. Further materials will be sent you before the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

jei:jc
cc: Members, Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education
W. J. McGlothlin
Harry B. Williams

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

MAURICE F. SEAY, *Chairman*

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JOHN E. BREWTON
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GEORGE F. ZOOK, *ex officio*

Southern Regional Studies +
Service

February 17, 1947

Dr. John E. Ivey, Jr.,
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Dr. Ivey:

I will be in Atlanta on March 14, and will reserve that date for the meeting of the Regional Advisory Committee.

"From Facts to Action" is attractive in its make-up and convincing in style. I hope it is getting wide distribution.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

June 23, 1947

MEMO TO: Dr. George S. Mitchell

FROM: Harold L. Trigg HLT

SUBJECT: Resource-Use Education.

The Southern Regional Council holds membership on the Advisory Committee of the Committee on Southern Regional Study and Education of the American Council on Education.

This Advisory Committee met in the Conference Room of Atlanta University, May 24, 1947.

A report was made on the programs of Resource-Use Education in Negro Institutions of higher learning in Southern states.

A sub-committee was appointed to formulate a program of expansion in Resource-Use Education to be presented to the General Education Board. This program would include field service to colleges and a plan for concentration of effort in selected institutions.

The third Gatlinburg Conference will be held September 2 through 13, 1947. One Negro representative will be invited from each Southern state.

Committee on
Southern Regional Studies and Education
of the
American Council on Education

JOHN E. IVEY, JR., EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

OFFICES AT
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL, N.C.

June 28, 1947

Dr. George C. S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JUN 29 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Rapid strides are being made toward the scientific development of the South's resources. A higher level of living for southern people is within reach if we can insure the more effective educational use of research on the natural, human, and social resources of the region.

A number of agencies and organizations throughout the South have indicated the urgent need for their personnel to have closer contact with the scientists whose findings have a bearing on resource development. These same agencies also feel the need for exchanging, among themselves, information regarding administrative devices and educational techniques which will make their approach to the problems of resource development more effective.

The Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education has been working intensively to meet these needs for several years. Again this year, in response to numerous requests, the Committee is sponsoring two conferences where problems of regional resource development will be studied.

We would like to have you participate in a conference to be held in Gatlinburg, Tennessee, September 8-13, 1947. At that time approximately one hundred scientists, educators, and administrators will come together to review outstanding examples of administrative devices employed in education and research related to resource development in the South. This conference will come immediately after a week's special seminar program that has been set up for a small group interested in going deeper into the subject matter of resource use.

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

MAURICE F. SEAY, *Chairman*

GORDON W. BLACKWELL
JOHN E. BREWTON
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ERICH W. ZIMMERMANN
GEORGE F. ZOOK, *ex officio*

Dr. George C. S. Mitchell June 28, 1947

Attached is a mimeographed statement describing the program for the larger conference. The final printed leaflet will be forwarded to you within the next two weeks. In the meantime, we shall appreciate receiving an indication of your interest in the conference.

The Committee hopes you will join the group in Gatlinburg this year and will look forward to your acceptance of this invitation.

Sincerely yours,

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

CC Maurice F. Seay
W. J. McGlothlin

AT WORK ON RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

Gatlinburg Conference III

September 8-13, 1947

Purposes

1. To review and analyze techniques being used in outstanding examples of programs involving inter-agency cooperation toward the solution of problems of regional resource development.

2. To decide (a) how such efforts can be strengthened, and (b) what new techniques and administrative devices should be put into operation on the regional level.

3. To review and analyze techniques being used in representative examples of state and institutional approaches to problems related to resource development.

4. To decide (a) how these state and institutional programs can be strengthened, and (b) steps that could be taken to accomplish this.

What Will Go On

Two major activities will be carried on: (1) individuals actively engaged in southern programs related to resource development will review the administrative devices and educational techniques employed on the institutional, state, and regional levels; (2) small committees will analyze, and make suggestions for strengthening such programs.

Each person attending the conference will be given an opportunity to participate in all planned activities.

How We Will Work

After the opening session, three mornings will be devoted to brief reviews and discussions of state and institutional programs for resource development. In three afternoon sessions, inter-agency programs for regional resource development will be reviewed and discussed.

Representatives of the programs being reviewed will present 20-minute papers, each to be followed by a 10-minute discussion period. Nineteen such programs will be reviewed and discussed, nine on the regional level and ten on the state and institutional levels. All conferees will participate as a group in these sessions.

Persons presenting programs to the conference will prepare, in advance of their arrival in Gatlinburg, written reports and exhibits. By the end of the fourth conference day, September 11, each conferee will be given the opportunity to indicate (1) the state or institutional program, and (2) the regional program on which he would like further information. He will then be given a memorandum describing in detail each of the programs he selects. That evening he will study these programs and be prepared for intensive discussions with the director or representative of those programs on the following day.

On Friday morning, September 12, the conference group will work in small committees. These committees will review, analyze, and suggest improvements in the state and institutional programs which have been presented previously before the entire conference.

A member of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education will meet with the chairmen of these committees on state and institutional programs at lunch, September 12, to draw out of the morning's discussions points which they feel should be presented to the entire conference group in a summary session. At the conclusion of this meeting, the Committee member will ask three persons from the state and institutional group to work with an ad hoc committee on plans for the general summary session to be held Saturday morning, September 13.

Friday afternoon, small working committees will review, analyze, and suggest improvements in the regional programs presented previously to

the entire conference. Chairmen of these committees will meet at dinner on the same day for a preliminary summary session with a member of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education. The individuals representing the state and institutional programs and those representing the regional programs will then get together in an evening meeting with the Committee's executive secretary and associate secretary to draw up detailed plans for the final summary session. They will develop their materials for the summary session around the following points: (a) the administrative devices and educational techniques which have proved to be successful in southern resource development and resource-use education, and (b) the recurring problems in these fields on which additional study is needed, and (c) the gaps, both on regional, state, and institutional levels.

OPENING SESSION
Monday, September 8
2:00 P. M.

Chairman, Maurice F. Seay, Dean of the University of Kentucky, and Chairman of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education.

"Administration and Resource Development." . . . Gordon R. Clapp, Chairman, Tennessee Valley Authority.

"How the Conference Will Operate." . . . . John E. Ivey, Jr., Executive Secretary, Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education.

Tuesday, September 9
9:00 A. M.

Chairman, George F. Gant, General Manager, Tennessee Valley Authority.

Presentation and Discussion of State and Institutional Programs:

1. Texas Resource-Use Education Committee . . . . . J. B. Rutland, Supervisor, Resource-Use Education, Texas State Department of Education.

2. North Carolina Resource-Use Education Commission . . . . Richard L. Weaver, Program Director.

Ten-minute Recess

3. Symposium: Sloan Experiment in Applied Economics:

   a) Florida . . . . H. E. Nutter, Director, Sloan Experiment in Applied Economics, University of Florida.

   b) Kentucky . . . . Charles R. Spain, Director, Bureau of School Services, University of Kentucky.

4. Florida Education Survey . . . . Edgar L. Morphet, Executive Secretary, Florida Citizens' Committee.

12:00 N.

Adjourn for Lunch

2:00 P. M.

Chairman, Edgar L. Morphet, Executive Secretary, Florida Citizens' Committee, Tallahassee.

Presentation and Discussion of Regional Programs:

1. The Southern Educational Film Production Service . . . . Nick Read, Director.

2. The Regional Materials Service . . . . John E. Brewton, Director.

3. The South Central Resource-Use Education Committee . . . . Roy W. Roberts, Chairman.

Wednesday, September 10
9:00 A. M.

Chairman, F. D. Patterson, President, Tuskegee Institute.

Presentation and Discussion of State Programs:

1. The Education Panel of the Georgia Agricultural and Industrial Development Board . . . . O. C. Aderhold, Dean, College of Education, University of Georgia.

Ten-minute Recess

2. Symposium: State Textbooks and Materials on Resource-Use Education

   (a) Kentucky . . . . William S. Taylor, Dean, College of Education, University of Kentucky.

   (b) Florida . . . . Henry Becker, Coordinator, Florida Resources Use Education Committee.

   (c) Virginia . . . . A. L. Wingo, Supervisor of Conservation Studies, Virginia State Department of Education.

12:15 P. M.

Adjourn for Lunch

2:15 P. M.

Chairman, George B. Zehmer, Administrator, Richmond Area University Center.

Presentation and Discussion of Regional Programs:

1. Institute for Nuclear Physics . . . . Frank P. Graham, Chairman of the Institute.

2. Regional Study in the Public Administration of Natural Resources . . . . Roscoe Martin, Director.

3. Tennessee Valley Library Council Research Program . . . . Helen Harris, Chairman.

Ten-minute Recess

4. Regional Training Program in Resource-Use Education . . . . Gordon W. Blackwell, Director, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina.

Thursday, September 11
9:00 A. M.

Chairman, Russell S. Poor, Dean of Graduate Studies, Alabama Polytechnic Institute.

Presentation and Discussion of Institutional Programs:

1. Improving Reading Materials . . . . Paul Irvine, Director, Research Interpretation Council, Alabama Polytechnic Institute.

2. University of Virginia Field Service Program . . . . Jess Ogden, University of Virginia Extension Division.

3. Sabine Farms Demonstration Program . . . . Ernest Neal, Director of Applied Education, Bishop College, Texas.

Ten-minute Recess

4. Symposium: Mass Communication, Research and Training.

   (a) Earl Wynn, Director, University of North Carolina Communication Center.

   (b) John E. Ivey, Jr., Chief, Division of Research Interpretation, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina.

12:00 N.

Adjourn for Lunch

2:00 P. M.

Chairman, Felton G. Clark, President, Southern University.

Presentation and Discussion of Regional Programs:

1. Southern States Work Conference Resource-Use Education Project . . . . W. J. McGlothlin, Associate Regional Chairman.

2. Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education . . . . Maurice F. Seay, Chairman.

Friday, September 12
9:00 A. M.

Work of the special committees in reviewing and evaluating state and institutional programs:

1. Committee on Texas Resource-Use Education Committee --- J. B. Rutland, Chairman.

2. Committee on North Carolina Resource-Use Education Commission -- Richard L. Weaver, Chairman.

3. Committee on Sloan Experiment in Applied Economics -- Charles R. Spain, Chairman.

4. Committee on Florida Education Survey --- Edgar L. Morphet, Chairman.

5. Committee on Education Panel of Georgia Agricultural and Industrial Development Board --- O. C. Aderhold, Chairman.

6. Committee on State Textbooks and Materials in Resource-Use Education --- William S. Taylor, Chairman.

7. Committee on Improving Reading Materials --- Paul Irvine, Chairman.

8. Committee on University of Virginia Field Service Program -- Jess Ogden, Chairman.

9. Committee on Sabine Farms Demonstration Program --- Ernest Neal, Chairman.

10. Committee on Mass Communication, Research and Training --- Earl Wynn, Chairman.

12:00 N.

Adjourn for Lunch

2:00 P. M.

Work of the special committees in reviewing and analyzing regional programs:

1. Committee on Southern Educational Film Production Service --- Nick Read, Chairman.

2. Committee on Regional Materials Service --- John E. Brewton, Chairman.

3. Committee on South Central Resource-Use Education Committee --- Roy W. Roberts, Chairman.

4. Committee on Institute for Nuclear Physics --- Frank P. Graham, Chairman.

5. Committee on Regional Survey of Public Administration of Natural Resources --- Roscoe Martin, Chairman.

6. Committee on Tennessee Valley Library Council Research --- Helen Harris, Chairman.

7. Committee on Regional Training Program in Resource-Use Education --- Gordon W. Blackwell, Chairman.

8. Committee on Southern States Work Conference Resource-Use Education Project- W. J. McGlothlin, Chairman.

9. Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education --- Maurice F. Seay, Chairman.

Saturday, September 13
9:00 A. M.

Chairman, Maurice F. Seay, Dean of the University of Kentucky and Chairman of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education.

GENERAL SUMMARY SESSION

Special Consultants.

(To be listed).

6 - Committee on Southern Regional Studies + Education

Committee on
Southern Regional Studies and Education
of the
American Council on Education

JOHN E. IVEY, JR., EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

OFFICES AT
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL, N.C.

July 19, 1948

RECEIVED
JUL 21 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you for your letter of July 2, indicating that you will be able to work with us at Tuskegee. The enclosed questionnaire is being sent to all the participants for obtaining information that will be of value in the pre-conference planning sessions.

We will keep you informed about preconference activities, and will let you know in the near future as to some of your specific conference responsibilities.

We are looking forward to working with you at the conference.

Sincerely yours,

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

JEI:s
enclosure

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

MAURICE F. SEAY, *Chairman*

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JOHN E. BREWTON
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ROY W. ROBERTS
GEORGE B. ZEHMER
ERICH W. ZIMMERMANN
GEORGE F. ZOOK, *ex officio*

A REGIONAL RESOURCE USE WORK CONFERENCE

Return to:
John E. Ivey, Jr.
Box 1078
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Personal Data

Please fill in all the questions completely; if a question does not apply, put a check mark in the blank space. Use back of page if necessary.

1. Name _____ 2. Age _____

3. Sex _____ 4. Marital Status _____

5. No. of Children _____ 6. Address _____

7. List the colleges that you have attended and the degrees you hold from each:

College	Years Attended	Degrees	Major

8. Present position: (i.e. Physics teacher, Principal of laboratory school, etc.) Be specific: _____

9. What other positions have you held in the last ten years?

Your Title	Institution or Firm Connected with	Dates-in years

10. What is your specific responsibility for training teachers (i.e. teach them in classes, supervise inservice training, etc.)?

_____

11. List below the clubs and organizations of all kinds that you belong to, and any offices that you hold in them:

Club	Office

12. What is your special interest in your field, (e.g. if a biologist, your special interest might be mosquitoes; if an administrator, your special interest might be child psychology)? _____

13. How many workshops for inservice teachers have you taken part in in any way (teacher, consultant, staff member, etc.) in the last five years? _____ (give number)

14. How many workshops have you directed or had major staff responsibility for in the last five years?

Your Position (Director, staff member, etc.)	Name of workshop or subject matter stressed at workshop	Dates	Institution connected with

15. How many conferences of any kind have you attended in the past five years? _____

16. Check any of the following conferences and workshops that you have attended.

Durham Workshop in Resource-use Education (1946) _____
Chapel Hill Resource-Use Conference (1946) _____
Gatlinburg Resource-Use Education Conference (1947) _____
Chapel Hill Resource-Use Conference (1948) _____

17. List below any other conferences or workshops which you have attended that featured resource-use education:

_____

_____

_____

18. Do you know any of the staff members who will serve at Tuskegee? If so, list their names below and check the proper column indicating degree of acquaintance:

Name	Have met or heard speak	Know slightly	Know well

19. List below those conferences that you have attended which were organized around small discussion groups. (i.e. a major portion of the time spent at the conference was in discussion groups rather than listening to speeches, etc.)

Name of Conference	Place	Year	% of time spent in discussion groups

20. The following list of subjects indicate possibilities for discussion groups at Tuskegee. Please check the appropriate column:

	Interest		
	Special	Some	No
a. How to use films and radio in the classroom			
b. Developing instructional materials (i.e. book, pamphlet, study guides to aid in classroom instruction)			
c. How to study your community (i.e. community surveys, sociometric surveys, studies of natural resources, etc.)			
d. Evaluation of pre-service teacher training programs			
e. The relationship of the school to the community (i.e. the concept of the community school)			
f. How to work with and utilize materials and assistance from community, state, and federal agencies (e.g. TVA, Soil Conservation Service, etc.)			
g. How to lead a discussion			
h. How to develop a total institutional program of resource-use education			
i. How to integrate resource-use education into classroom teaching			

Others: List below

21. What other information would you like to have about the Tuskegee Conference that was not included in the first memorandum to you?

Institutional Data

1. If you have an administrative position, list below the number and type of persons (i.e. pre-service teachers, college teachers, etc.) that you supervise. No._____ Type_____.

2. Does your institution build instruction in terms of community resources? If so, describe briefly.

_____

_____

3. Is your institution cooperating in a state resource-use program?_____

4. How large is the service area that your college works in? (i.e. where are the schools for training teachers, are there any other permanent programs carried on by your institution that serve your local area, and if so how large is the area served?)

City wide _____ County wide _____ State wide _____

5. About how many teachers did your institution train in 1947? _____

Community Data

1. What problems are there in your community that closely affect your institution? (list briefly)

_____

_____

2. What community problems has your institution devoted considerable effort to solving in the last year? (Describe the problems briefly.)

_____

_____

3. What steps were taken to solve the problem on which most effort was directed?

_____

_____

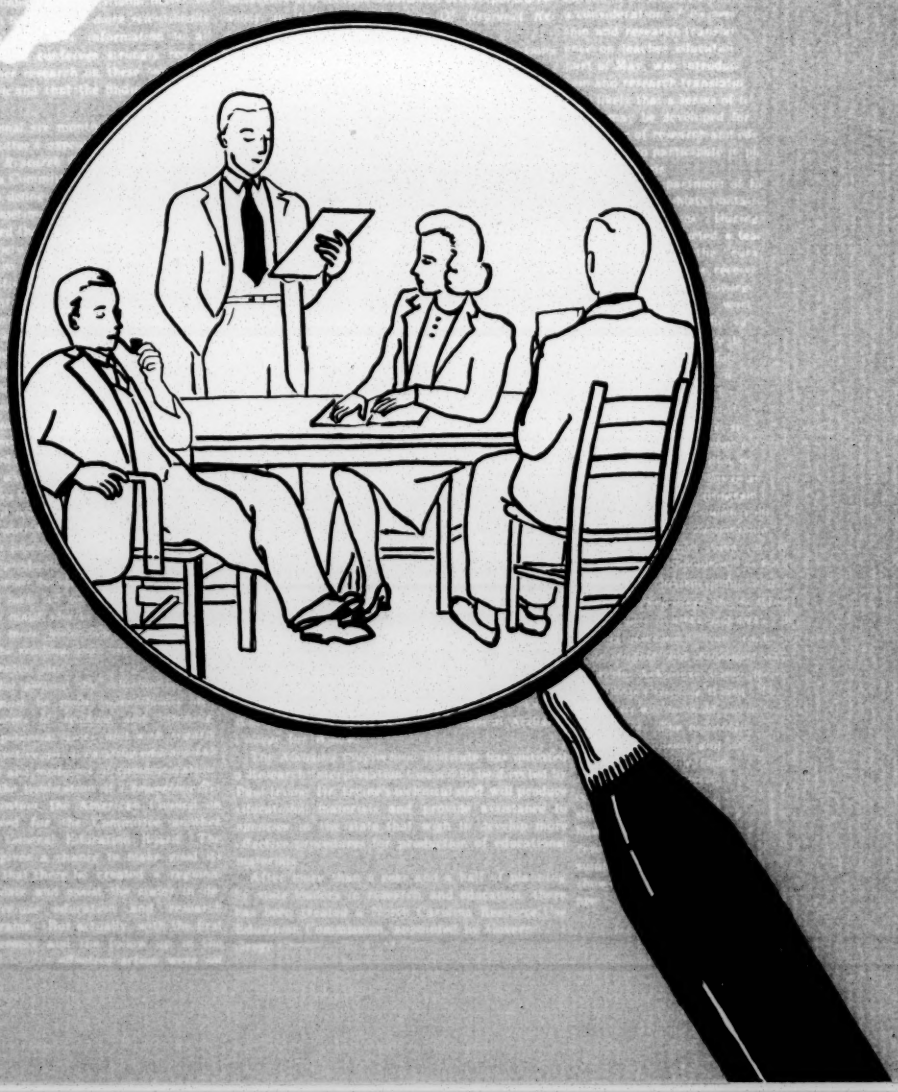
4. What were the results of these steps?_____

_____

5. Are there any problems in your community that you would like to see your institution work on in the future?_____

_____

from facts to action



Division of Research Interpretation

Institute for Research in Social Science

University of North Carolina

1206-A

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FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

March 20, 1944

Miss Margaret Anderson
Editor Common Ground
222 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

Could we purchase 100 reprints Ward Shepard article? Also 100 reprints of Redding and Smith articles? If not, would like to have 50 copies spring issue. May we have privilege of quoting in Southern Regional Council publication? Will you accept article in reply to Southern Defensive? Please wire collect.

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

PAID
Chg. Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE.

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GUY B JOHNSON, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

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SHIPPING 100 REPRINTS SHEPARD ARTICLE AND FIFTY COPIES SPRING ISSUES SINCE NO REPRINTS OF REDDING AND SMITH WERE MADE YOU MAY QUOTE IN SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL PUBLICATION WITH PROPER CREDITS AND WITH FILE COPIES FOR US REDDING AND SMITH VERY GLAD TO CONSIDER PUBLICATION OF ANY REPLY TO SOUTHERN DEFENSIVE WHICH ADDRESSES ITSELF SQUARELY TO THE ISSUES UNDER CONTROVERSIES DEADLINE FOR SUMMER ISSUE APRIL TENTH=

MARGARET ANDERSON OF COMMON GROUND.

100.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

M. MARGARET ANDERSON
Editor

Common Ground

222 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY -- 3
ALGONQUIN 4-6440

PUBLISHED BY COMMON COUNCIL FOR AMERICAN UNITY READ LEWIS, *Executive Director*

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VAN WYCK BROOKS
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MARY ELLEN CHASE
LANGSTON HUGHES
ALVIN JOHNSON
THOMAS MANN
LIN YUTANG

April 1, 1944

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Lillian Smith wires me this morning that you may reprint her part of "Southern Defensive" only if you use also her statement at the end of my editorial note on the preceding page: "These statements imply no personal criticism of the men who are shaping the policies of the Southern Regional Council, to many of whom I and all Southerners are indebted for long difficult years of leadership and service to the region. My regret is that the Council and certain other southern liberals have not shown in their publicized statements of recent months the range of vision and forthrightness of expression required by the world crisis today in which the South is so deeply implicated." I think I must also insist that Common Ground's editorial position, given in the note following the Redding piece, be also quoted in full, in the event of a reprint.

Your telegram had no address beyond Atlanta, and I am a little troubled about the telegram and material I sent you. I went on the assumption that the Council took over the offices of the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc. I feel that I would have heard from you again, however, if my wire had not reached you, but I would be grateful for confirmation you had received it.

You may be interested in the enclosed memorandum of a tentative proposal some of us have been working on for mobilizing public opinion behind better race relations. With much of it you may be in sympathy; with much of it you may disagree. None of us is committed to it if something better comes along. I think a good deal can be said for confederation of agencies, however -- whether this is the precise scheme for doing it or not.

Cordially yours,

Margaret Anderson

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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WESTERN UNION

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PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

April 4, 1944

Miss Margaret Anderson
Editor, Common Ground
222 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

Reprints and magazines received. Thanks very much. Address 710 Standard Building, Atlanta 3, is correct. Would have written you but have been on the go every minute. Am trying to complete article by April 10. Will be writing soon.

Guy B. Johnson

PAID
Chg. Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Bldg.

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE.

April 7, 1944

Miss M. Margaret Anderson
Editor
COMMON GROUND
222 Fourth Avenue
New York City, 3

Dear Miss Anderson:

Thank you for your letter of April 1. I wired you on April 4 in order to assure you that I had received your telegram and the packages. I have been leading such a hectic life lately that I have had practically no time for the ordinary courtesies of letter-writing. I was making pretty good progress on my reply to "Southern Defensive" until last week when I had to go to Missippi and Alabama to do some trouble-shooting and to try to stimulate people who are interested in the work of the Southern Regional Council. For all of the present week I have been tied up day and night helping a March of Time crew to get shots illustrative of race relations in the South. Tonight I leave for Washington and will not be back in the office until April 12. I hope very much that you can give me a few days extension on the deadline for my reply because in view of all the things which have been pressing upon me lately I shall probably not have it completed by April 10.

In case we reprint "Southern Defensive", I shall be glad to observe your instructions concerning the use of Lillian Smith's statement and of your editorial note.

Let me write you later about the memorandum which you enclosed. I want to study it closely, and I hope to have a chance to do this on the train. It looks very interesting.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Common Ground
Common Council for American Unity
222 Fourth Avenue, New York City — 3

M. Margaret Anderson
Editor

April 22, 1944

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Your script is already on its way to the printer and you should have proofs in a week or two. I cut nothing and, as I recall it, the only change I made was to insert your footnotes into the body of the piece, since we have had an allergy to footnotes from the beginning.

Cordially yours,

Margaret Anderson

Editor

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

P. S. May I have a few words about you for an author's note, by return mail? I'll be grateful!

April 24, 1944

Miss M. Margaret Anderson
Editor, COMMON GROUND
222 Fourth Avenue
New York City, 3

Dear Miss Anderson:

Thanks for the good news. I am delighted that COMMON GROUND is using my article.

I am sure that you will think that I am some kind of big liar for not getting off a letter to you before now. Life is just too darn full. I have been away on another trip since last Wednesday, and I am extremely allergic to reading or writing on trains and busses.

In Who's Who you will find some of the usual factual tripe. I was born in Texas, schooled at Baylor, University of Chicago, and University of North Carolina. I have specialized in research on Negro folk music, race relations, etc.; was at the University of North Carolina from 1924 to 1944 except for leaves and side excursions to St. Helena Island in South Carolina, to the University of Chicago and Yale (post-doctoral fellowship, Social Science Research Council), and to New York to be on Myrdal's staff.

Things I have enjoyed most: living and working at Chapel Hill and teaching a course on the Negro there for 15 years; teaching at North Carolina College for Negroes in Durham; being on the Howard University Board of Trustees, working with Gunnar Myrdal, and now being Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council.

If anyone had told me six months ago that I would soon be leaving Chapel Hill, I would have said he was crazy. When they asked me out of a clear sky whether I would take this job, I almost wished they hadn't done it. I felt that I was probably not the man for the job, but that if they wanted me to try it, I couldn't say no without turning my back on everything I had been advocating for many years. I made the decision in a hurry before my mind could get the better of my heart, and so here I am in a brand new adventure.

I had hoped to write a good deal more about one thing and another, but I shall have to stop here. The next time I am in New York I would like very much to see you and have a real discussion.

With best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

GBJ:m

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

M. MARGARET ANDERSON
Editor

Common Ground

222 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY -- 3
ALGONQUIN 4-6440

PUBLISHED BY COMMON COUNCIL FOR AMERICAN UNITY READ LEWIS, *Executive Director*

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May 24, 1944

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I'll be glad to order the offset reprints for you, as soon as the magazine is off the press and I can. I might have had it done from final page proofs, but they made a mistake in adding the additional lines from Lillian Smith's words -- had "Region" instead of "Regional." I have also added an editorial footnote, which you may easily not want in the reprint:

"Common Ground agrees with Dr. Johnson that it is important 'to capture the foothills.' It would insist, however, that the purpose of taking the foothills should be made clear -- the ultimate taking of the peak beyond. For a mere program of amelioration within the framework of segregation is only a palliative, and the times are tense for palliatives.

"We ask again, with Lillian Smith: 'Do we want human equality for the Negro or only a better reputation for the white man?' CG stands staunch for human equality. -- Ed."

This can be cut out in the offset job, I'm pretty sure, and the columns evened by a cut-and-paste job I'd be glad to do -- ending then only with your author's note. You make the decision.

And, just to make the understanding straight on quality-- the Ward Shepard reprint was a letter-press job, much nicer looking than offset. I'll enclose an offset reprint from a back issue, and you will see for yourself.

The mag. will be out the 5th, officially, though I may possibly have a copy before that to do the offset job from. I'm beginning to breathe once more.

Cordially yours,

Margaret Anderson

May 29, 1944

Miss M. Margaret Anderson
Editor, COMMON GROUND
222 Fourth Avenue
New York City, 3

Dear Miss Anderson:

I'll appreciate it if you will order the offset reprints for me, and by all means leave in the editorial footnote.

I received the check for my article, and I am very grateful. I am turning it over to the Council to help pay for the reprints.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

COMMON COUNCIL FOR AMERICAN UNITY
INCORPORATED
222 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

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June 27, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

We received your telegram today, but Miss Anderson is away; we got in touch with her by mail; as soon as we hear from her, will inform you about what happened with the reprint order.

Yours very truly,

Paul Laval

Paul Laval
Business Manager

Common Ground
Common Council for American Unity
222 Fourth Avenue, New York City

M. Margaret Anderson
Editor

June 29, 1944

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The office writes me worriedly about your reprints, as a result of your wire. They should have reached you by now: I saw proof on the title page about a week before I left New York (June 23rd). Dick O'Hare, one of our small-job printers, is doing them. He had instructions to send the reprints directly to you and to bill you directly, too. I've asked the office to give him a ring to see if there was any hold up. I assume they are on their way to you if you do not already have them.

I'm up at Chautauqua Lake for the summer, doing the Autumn issue of CG long distance. If you need to reach me, the address, until Labor Day, is Lighthouse Point, Mayville, New York.

A good summer to you.

Cordially yours,

Margaret Anderson

July 5, 1944

Miss M. Margaret Anderson
Lighthouse Point
Mayville, New York

Dear Miss Anderson:

Thank you for your note of June 29. The reprints arrived on Monday, July 3.

I hope you are having a good rest at Chautauqua Lake, but I know there is rarely any real rest for an editor.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

M. MARGARET ANDERSON
Editor

Common Ground

222 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK
ALGONQUIN 4-6440

NEW ADDRESS
20 WEST 40th STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

PUBLISHED BY COMMON COUNCIL FOR AMERICAN UNITY READ LEWIS, *Executive Director*

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LIN YUTANG

March 1, 1946

RECEIVED
MAR 4 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am enclosing advance proofs of the lead article in the Spring Common Ground, thinking that you will be specially interested in it and may possible want to order reprints for your group. I don't know whether the Regional Council sends out material of this nature widely to its members, but if it does it may possibly be interested in the reprint idea. I am trying to do a little preliminary canvassing of the market before I place my order, for I'd like to get them in quantity enough so that the price is negligible. We will have to sell single copies at 10¢ each, though I think we can get large quantity orders down as low as 3¢.

The magazine will not be out until March 10th or so, but I am eager to get our reprint order in at once. If you are at all interested, I shall be glad to hear from you fairly promptly.

Cordially yours,

Margaret Anderson

Editor

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Common Ground

March 6, 1946

Miss M. Margaret Anderson, Editor
Common Ground
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Miss Anderson:

Thank you for your letter which arrived on March 4 and for the proofs which you enclosed.

I think that the article on "Postwar Employment and the Negro Worker" is fine and wish that we could afford to order a large number of reprints, but our printing budget is already very much crowded. However, we would like to be put down for fifty copies of the reprint so that we will at least be able to take care of occasional requests for special information on employment of Negroes.

Very best wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

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Community Council of the Atlanta Area inc.

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215 PALMER BUILDING, 41 MARIETTA STREET, N.W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 TELEPHONE 525-7695

Make Talker.. a Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc.

May 16, 1966

IMPORTANT NOTICE

TO: COMMUNITY HEALTH and WELFARE AGENCIES

FROM: Mrs. Eleanor Metzger, Chairman
Committee on Revision of the Directory of Community Services

We are in the final stages of preparing our new directory for publication and as of this date have not received the questionnaire we sent you for completion.

We are enclosing ~~another~~ a questionnaire and urge you to fill in the required information and return it to us by May 30.

Please cooperate in helping us make this new directory as informative and accurate as possible.

EM:re
Enclosure

Community Council of the Atlanta Area inc.

JAMES P. FURNISS, *Chairman of the Board of Directors*
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DUANE W. BECK, *Executive Director*

ONE THOUSAND GLENN BUILDING, 120 MARIETTA ST., N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 TELEPHONE 577-2250

July 17, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30302

Dear Paul:

Mrs. Inez B. Tillison, who has been with the Council here in Atlanta for eight years, has resigned. The position she held is that of Associate Director of the Council and Director of the Permanent Conference. This is a department in our organization which is responsible for short-term planning and studies, program development, and technical assistance and consultation to agencies and individuals. It is a key position.

I am writing to you, hoping you will know of someone who might be interested in this job. There is a job description enclosed. The salary range is from $9,000 to $14,000, but the upper limit should not be looked upon as a barrier which would stop someone from talking with us about it.

This is the first real opportunity I have had to attempt to integrate our organization at the department head level. I am especially interested in locating a Negro female who has these qualifications. My second choice is a Negro male and my third a white female. Although I am counting on finding my first choice, the decision on the person hired will ultimately rest on their skill and potential to perform in this job.

I need your help. If you know of someone who fits these qualifications and our needs in the agency, I would be pleased to receive a collect call from you with the name and address of the individual, and I will very much appreciate your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Duane

Duane W. Beck
Executive Director

DWB:va

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JOB DESCRIPTION

Associate Director, Director of the Permanent Conference

This is highly responsible administrative and executive work performed under the general direction of the Executive Director. The Director of the Permanent Conferenc is responsible for organizing and directing the program of activities according to the purposes as outlined in the Rules and Regulations of the Permanent Conference.

Duties and Responsibilities:

1. Organizes a program which brings together community leaders, representatives of voluntary and governmental agencies and interested civic and professional organizations in a joint effort toward achievement of an effective network of social services.

2. Provides administrative direction to the Permanent Conference including the screening and employment of professional staff (with the approval of the Executive Director).

3. Delegates responsibility to staff (Planning Associates) and supervises their work.

4. Supervises directors of special projects and Community support services such as the Information and Referral service and the Volunteer Task Force. Supervises students.

5. Assists the Executive Committee of the Permanent Conference in establishing and maintaining an organization needed to carry out the work of the Permanent Conference.

6. Provides consultation service to staff and board of agencies and organizations to assist them in program planning and in providing services.

7. Promotes cooperative effort among governmental and voluntary agencies with the aim of achieving more understanding of their role in the total health and welfare program of the community.

8. Evaluates programs when requested and through special arrangements with agencies.

9. Assists the Executive Director in developing public understanding of the Community Council's purposes, and represents him at Community meetings when asked to do so.

10. Arranges for the gathering and maintaining of factual information about health and welfare services.

11. Prepares reports, publications and other documents when necessary.

12. Arranges for the compilation of information needed in relation to ongoing projects and sees that accurate records such as minutes, statistics regarding services, and information required for evaluation of special projects.

13. Develops and writes proposals for special projects.

14. Works with the staff or professional and volunteer leaders in recruiting and organizing appropriate project and committee personnel needed to carry out the work of the Permanent Conference.

15. Serves as a professional resource to committees and special projects by furnishing information from his own knowledge and experience.

16. Other duties as assigned by the Executive Director.

Knowledge, Skills and Abilities:

1. Ability to apply knowledge and skills in community organization, to involve community leaders, professionals and others in planning.

2. Ability to utilize knowledge of health, welfare, education, and recreation problems.

3. Ability to utilize knowledge of programs and services of governmental and voluntary agencies.

4. Ability to apply knowledge and appropriate methods and procedures in understanding of human behavior and developing effective relationships with community leaders, agencies and organization administrators.

5. Ability to write and speak effectively.

6. Ability to work with agency administrators, community leaders, and groups representing all segments of community life.

7. Ability to delegate responsibility effectively, and to supervise professional and other personnel with divergent backgrounds and responsibilities.

8. Ability to establish and maintain effective working relationships with subordinates, associates and superiors.

Qualifications:

1. Graduation from an accredited school of social work, with a major in community organization or administration and a minimum of three years experience in a Community Council,

or

2. Graduation from an accredited school of social work, and five years experience in health and welfare work, two of which have been at the administrative or supervisory level.

Suggested Salary Range:

✓ES.
✓7
my - file

July 18, 1968

Mr. Duane W. Beck
Executive Director
Community Council of the Atlanta
Area, Inc.
1000 Glenn Building
120 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Duane:

I am sharing your request concerning the Associate Director with several people in this office. They will be in touch with you if we can make any good suggestions.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Community Council of the Atlanta Area inc.

EUGENE T. BRANCH, *Chairman of the Board of Directors*
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DUANE W. BECK, *Executive Director*

ONE THOUSAND GLENN BUILDING, 120 MARIETTA ST., N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 TELEPHONE 577-2250

Bring up Sept. 20, A.M.

September 10, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

A committee of residents from Mechanicsville would like to meet and discuss with you program ideas for services they feel should be established in their neighborhood.

At their request, the Community Council of the Atlanta Area will serve as the convenor of this meeting. The Council also feels that this is a new and different approach to program development. We should have people who are consumers of services to present their own ideas of services needed in their community.

Called Sept 16, 1968

The meeting will be held Monday, September 23, 1968, at 4:00 p.m., in the Conference Room of the Community Council, tenth floor of the Glenn Building, 120 Marietta Street, N.W.

Please let us know as soon as you can if you will be able to attend.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Duane W. Beck
Executive Director

DWB:lra

Community Council of the Atlanta Area inc.

EUGENE T. BRANCH, *Chairman of the Board of Directors*
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DUANE W. BECK, *Executive Director*

ONE THOUSAND GLENN BUILDING, 120 MARIETTA ST., N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 TELEPHONE 577-2250

May 12, 1969

Dear Director:

We are in the process of reprinting the Directory of Community Services. Many of you place a high value on this directory for information about the resources in the five county Atlanta area. Nearly 6,000 copies of the last directory, published in 1966, were distributed.

We want to be sure that every non-profit service agency or organization in our community is listed in this directory. Enclosed is a questionnaire to be completed and returned to this office by May 26, 1969, if you wish your agency to be included. We are sure you understand our need to set a time limit. For your convenience, we are also enclosing a copy of your previous listing. Basically, the questionnaire is the same, but, we hope, simplified.

If you have any questions, please call Mrs. Epstein, 577-2250.

Would you take a few minutes, now, while you have the information in front of you, to fill in, sign, and return the questionnaire to us. With your help, we hope to have this directory ready for distribution in the fall.

Sincerely,

Catherine Boling

(Miss) Catherine A. Boling
Director, Permanent Conference

CAB:re
Enclosures 2

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. JA. 2-8764

5 Forsyth Street, N.W.

Atlanta, Georgia 30303 Established 1944

PAUL ANTHONY, Executive Director

FUNCTION: To improve social, civic, economic, and racial conditions in the South through educational methods.

SERVICES: Offers information and consultation through traveling consultants; studies the course of change in the economy and institutional life of the South; publishes magazine; supplies speakers for non-political discussion of southern issues; assists in the organization and support of non-political state and local organizations conducting educational activities in the field of race relations; supplies facts about southern institutional patterns and their changes; sponsors projects in urban planning, community organization and regional development.

AREA SERVED: Southeast.

AUSPICES: Voluntary.

SOURCE OF FUNDS: Foundation grants.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Lee Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc.

MINUTES

Annual Meeting of the Permanent Conference
Progressive Club
May 27, 1969

The Annual Meeting of the Permanent Conference of the Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc., was held on May 27,1969, at the Progressive Club, 12:00 noon, with The Reverend Allison Williams presiding. The invocation was given by Dr. Harmon Moore. There were 98 agency representatives present.

Dr. Williams changed the agenda to allow every one to hear the speakers in case they had to leave before the meeting was adjourned.

The program was "New Directions", and was presented by Mrs. Mattie Lee Wade, Chairman of the Annual Meeting Committee.

Mr. Robert Foreman, Jr., President of the Community Chest spoke on "Mergers". He stated that 45 member agencies of the Community Chest are considering merging the agencies in order to provide better services to the community and that the Community Chest is working toward consolidation of member agencies wherever it will increase the management efficiency and provide a fuller range of coordinated human services. Mr. Foreman said the Chest is constantly looking for ways to do a better job on mergers and that emphasis on mergers is one part of this aim. He stated that a major role of the Chest is to bring agencies together. In some cases the merging of agencies would make better use of professionals, help provide expanded services and centralize accounting. Such arrangements would help the Community Chest agencies adjust to meet changing times and changing services.

Dr. Arthur Cohen, Professor of Psychology and Director of the Group Processes Laboratory at Georgia State College, spoke on the subject of "Coordination". See attached copy of his speech.

Mr. Robert Waymer, Center Director, Sum-Mec Neighborhood Service Center spoke on "Client Participation". See attached copy of his speech.

Dr. Williams introduced Mr. Eugene T. Branch, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Community Council.

Dr. Williams stated the primary function of the Permanent Conference as established in 1968, by the Board of Directors of the Community Council, will be coordination. Basic to coordination is information and understanding of the roles of others in similar fields. The Permanent Conference will supply to all its member agencies information that is developed through the Council's Research Center as well as that accumulated through contacts with individual agencies. The primary device for sharing will be groups of related agencies meeting around common problems and concerns as developed through the Research Center or as brought to the attention of the Community Council by agencies. Through the group discussion method, the agencies will have an opportunity to know better the programs of related agencies, the gaps that may exist and come to some common decision as to covering these gaps in services.

It is hoped that through these discussions new and innovative approaches, perhaps jointly, may evolve. The areas under consideration at this time involves the group work and recreation agencies and children's services as a follow up on Child Development Project now underway by the Research Center, and child welfare services. The Permanent Conference during the next year will be planning meetings for discussion of this very critical area.

The report of the Nominating Committee of the Permanent Conference was made by Mr. Louis Newmark. The committee during the year filled a vacancy in the Executive Committee for a term expiring 1971, with Mike Allen, of WQXI-TV. The committee nominated for reelection for a three year term:

John Cox, Director of Atlanta Youth Council
Mattie Lee Wade, Director of Nursing, Fulton County Department of Public Health
Fred Gunter, Administrator of South Fulton Hospital

The Committee nominated for election to the Executive Committee of the Permanent Conference:

Robert Pulliam, Clayton County Mental Health Department
Thelma Abbott, Sum-Mec Neighborhood Center
Bruce Donnelly, The Twelfth Gate

From the Permanent Conference to the Board of Directors of the Community Council the following:

Lester Persells, Atlanta Housing Authority
Ben Brown, Representative of District 110
William Pinkston, Executive Director, Grady Memorial Hospital
H. M. Gloster, President, Atlanta University
Lex Lacy, Jr., School of General Studies, Georgia State College
Ira Jackson, Atlanta Businessman

A motion was made, seconded and unanimously passed to accept the committee's recommendations.

There being no further business the meeting was adjourned.

Joan Adams,
Secretary

Enclosures

COORDINATION

Arthur M. Cohen, Ph. D.

More important than any particular problem of coordination, such as overlapping jurisdiction, is the nature of problems of coordination. Problems of coordination need to be looked at in terms of the way people perceive themselves having difficulties ordering their work activities in collaboration with others. A useful definition of coordination would be the ordering together of activities in the service of objectives which you assume people have in common. Certainly the situation of overlapping jurisdiction fits in with this latter definition of coordination. By jurisdiction, we mean the right to speak. When we address ourselves to the question of coordination regarding jurisdiction, we really are asking, "Who has the right to speak?"

When people come together to try to organize their activities, two competing tendencies confront each other. For one thing jurisdiction, that is, defining who has the right to speak on X issue or Y problem or Z decision, implies that there is some division of labor, some specialization of tasks for which particular people are assigned different kinds of responsibilities and accountabilities and to which different people bring different kinds of expertise. A division of labor in this sense always brings with it differences in influence; that is, differences in the extent to which a given agency or individual representing that agency or professional person within a given agency can have impact on a particular situation. Thus the question of the right to speak really is connected to the matter of influence. This is based ostensibly upon expertise and responsibility in a given situation.

The other side of this matter of the right to speak, of jurisdiction, has to do with the observation that at the same time people organize and recognize the need to coordinate, order their working relationships within some framework of a division of labor, there is a competing tendency and need on our part to want to establish solidarity, good interpersonal relations, a sense of equality with others in working toward the common good. So we have in a nutshell the major dilemma of coordination. It is that people are pulled and pushed by these two very real demands on them. One demand is to establish and carry out a set of activities and obligations, i.e. the right to speak, with all the inequalities in influence that are associated with performing tasks or special kinds of labor, even within an agency. The second demand is to want to feel equal in importance to others as they contribute toward the overall task of service. This is particularly true when people are involved in community service, especially of a voluntary nature. Clearly the right to speak then really gets at the core of our own feelings of integrity, of worth, of abilities to make contributions. It is not too difficult to make the jump from this to questions concerning one's "territory". On the one hand if I have a special set of responsibilities within an overall division of labor for some work [within an agency or between one agency and another one] then in a sense I define my territory. This is a territorial imperative. I assume when I do this that there is an inequality in my favor which I would like others to respect. On the other hand I resent it and am reluctant to go along with inequalities that others may wish to establish as they try to define their own territories in their favor, in light of their special kinds of expertise. So in fact, the problem of coordination, the right to speak, centers around the question of

"Have we defined and agreed to the definition of the different kinds of expertise and inbalances in influence that are associated with these that would distinguish one agency from another and one kind of professional from others within an agency?"

What can be done? From a procedural point of view the need would be for people to become concerned with the mechanisms and ways available to them for defining relationships for obtaining commitment. It seems clear that problems of coordination can be resolved only to the extent that there are both clarity of definition and commitment to the territorial boundaries associated with the overall division of labor. Let me hasten to add that by territorial boundaries I do not mean fixed pieces of territory, for it I hope will be commitment to a process of working together resulting in periodically needed changes of areas of accountabilities and responsibilities. So I am not implying any permanency of territory. I rather am implying commitment to a process of definition and of trying to obtain commitment.

The best way I know of resolving the essential antagonism between the drive for equality and the need to influence unequally because of special expertise, is to explicitly control for the base of and the way in which authority develops. If various agencies try to work such problems of coordination and resolve such essential tensions by imposition from without, then it seems to me the problems would not only not be resolved but would tend to be aggravated. External imposition of authority would lead to rebellion or automative behavior and apathy. This would argue that the authority for resolving such matters should come from the people themselves. At the very least there need to be small Target Coordination Groups. These would be ad hoc in nature in the beginning. Their main function would be to survey

the areas of greatest disjointedness and propose recommendations for ways of clarifying and obtaining commitment to agreed-upon definitions and means of carrying out program activities. They would need to include representatives of the client systems which an agency or association seeks to serve. Unfortunately, people become so pre-occupied with their own organizational structures and activities that the needs of the clients become secondary, and sometimes even neglected. Client involvement is essential to keep service ideals alive and programs viable.

In summary, coordination among agencies and among people within agencies would be effective to the extent that there is common understanding of and commitment to the means that people are employing to achieve common ends; to the extent that there is clarification of the kinds of division of labor demanded by such means and to the extent that there is an understanding and an acceptance of the kinds of inbalances in influence that are produced by the accepted differences in division of labor.

CLIENT PARTICIPATION

The principle of client participation is no longer a debatable issue. People have the right to participate in decisions that affect their lives and the lives of their love ones. People have the right to plan and carry out activities that involve them. People have the right to make their own choices; people are guaranteed by law, the right to self-determination.

It has been the practice of a few people in this country to set themselves up as benevolent mothers for the rest of the people. . . they fell because of certain self-ascribed privileges that they have the right to plan for and impose their little schemes or systems of schemes upon others. . . they feel because they have been trained, and I emphasize trained, much like a pigeon in some cases. . . and because their training mills, sometimes referred to as institutions of higher learning, that they possess the proper credentials so as to justify the systematizing of the lives of others. Well, folks these days are over; we can take a hint from Margaret Mitchell and say those days are "gone with the wind." Now, why do I say this? What proof do I have to justify this? What are my indicators for saying this, well. . . let's look at some indicators:

Indicator No. 1. What's happening in the universities today? I don't have to tell you. Some say that students are raising sand or acting out, but I say students are demanding to have a voice in the planning of curricula, school activities and school policies. . .

Indicator No. 2. Your children, some call them hippies, are saying that you are no longer knowledgeable enough to make choices for them like you use to.

Indicator No. 3. Welfare recipients are protesting against the dehumanizing decisions of professionals directed towards them, such as the AFDC Freeze.

Indicator No. 4. Black people are saying that White people can no longer tell them what to say, how to act, what to wear, how their hair should look, and that White people can't really make any decisions for them, because White people are obviously not qualified to do so. . . because they don't understand the Black condition in America.

Indicator No. 5. Even the poor folks are waking up, white and black poor folks alike. Poor folks are saying, "look what a mess you professionals made of things. . . and now if you don't mind, I'd rather do it myself. . . You know that kinda hurts us experts, that is professionals, we don't like to hear this; it does something to our ego. . . If you didn't get the message: Poor people are saying loud and clear in their own language that they will make their own decisions.

Now don't think I am all criticisms because I like to think of myself as a social welfare planner, yeah, maybe I got a little benevolency in me . . . In fact, I got to admit I had a lot of it in me. . . I use to sit for hours in my Ivory Tower thinking up little schemes and proposals for people . . . got a few funded too. . . then it happened. . .Some people, and I do mean some real "human" people came into my life and things didn't seem so pat or systematic afte that. . . One of these persons was and is Helen Howard of the Vine City Foundation and Board Member of CCAA. This amazing human being turned something over inside of me. She demonstrated without a doubt to me that I didn't dare try to make decisions for others. She demonstrated emphatically that clients are really the only people that have solutions to clients problems.

Now why do I say this? I say this because Mrs. Howard is a client-type, almost for any social agency, and I have often wondered why she almost always made the right decisions about handling sophisticated social problems. Being a client-type with a limited education (that is formal education) how could she make decisions? I just recently found out. . .She has something that I have recognized in many others since then. . . She, in the absence of an adequate sociological knowledge base, makes her decisions based on the most human thing possible in handling social problems. She makes the right decisions because her internalized humanistic value base seems to be an adequate substitute for an inadequate sociological knowledge base. The fact that she places human vlaues above all other values and knowledge seems to be the magic ingredient to successful decision making . . . You know, as I think about it, in situations where current knowledge is inadequate we can only rely on our humanistic value system for successful decision making.

Another such person with this real talent is Mrs. Ella Mae Brayboy, staff member of CCAA. She has internalized humanistic values that allow her to make successful decisions.

I would speculate that in most cases, the thing that is missing from our present decision making process is the one magic ingredient that clients can put into the process. . . and that ingredient is the one that we professionals seem to have lost. . . that ingredient is the substance that allows us to be human beings, and permits us to treat others as humans.

Client participation is no longer a debatable issue; people do have the right as humans to make decisions that affect their lives and the lives of their love ones.

Let me remind you of something that Martin Luthur King, Jr. said that is relevant to client-participation. He said, and I quote, "We must learn to live together as brothers or we shall perish together as fools."

by

Robert W. Waymer

Speech given at the Progressive Club, May 27, 1969 for Permanent Conference Annual Meeting.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR REVISED
DIRECTORY, COMMUNITY SERVICES
COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF ATLANTA AREA

Note: If a particular question is not applicable, please write "not applicable" in the space provided. Please type or print.

Agency Data

1. Name of agency as you wish it to appear in the directory
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

2. Address 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303
3. Telephone number JAckson- 2-8764
4. Hours and days of the week service is available
Monday through Friday, 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.
5. Administrator and title Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
6. Auspices (e.g., county government; voluntary, Methodist; non-sectarian.)
Voluntary
7. Source(s) of funds Foundations
8. Date agency founded (or, if a national association, date local chapter founded 1944

Area Served(check)

1. Metropolitan Atlanta _____
2. Clayton County _____
3. Cobb County _____
4. DeKalb County _____
5. Fulton County _____
6. Gwinnett County _____
7. Any area, no limitations _____
8. Other (explain) Southeast

Function(s) of Agency (what problems or needs is agency meeting). Limit each to one sentence, e.g., to provide day care for children from 3 to 5 years.

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

Service

Types of services offered (e.g., speech evaluation, speech correction, parent education, psychological testing, job placement, sheltered employment, etc.)

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

If counseling is one of your services, who provides it, e.g., caseworker (with MSW), minister, psychologist, etc.

If you administer any programs for EOA, please list these and be specific (use another sheet if necessary)

Capacity (please indicate current capacity, if limited, e.g., the number of persons who can receive service at any one time or the number per month)

_____

Average wait prior to receiving service _____

Eligibility

1. Age _____
2. Race _____
3. Sex _____
4. Length of residency in area served _____
5. Special conditions (such as religion, income, physical disability, etc.)

_____

Fees

Are fees based on income? Yes _____
No _____

Minimum Fee _____

Maximum Fee _____

If you have different fees for different services, please explain:

Application Procedure

1. Place _____
2. Person to contact at agency _____
3. Days of week _____
4. Hours _____
5. Are telephone applications accepted? Yes _____ No _____
6. Special requirements (such as referral by a physician, referral by another agency) _____
7. Special procedures and/or forms prior to acceptance _____

_____

Do you know of any new agency in the Atlanta area that should be listed in the revised Directory of Community Services? If so, please give the name and address of the agency. _____

_____

For the mailing list of the Community Council, please give us the name and business address of the current chairman of the board of your agency.

Name:

Address:

Edwyn C. Lewis

Signature of person completing questionnaire

EM:mlg
4/11/66

STATEMENT OF ACTIVITIES OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

The Southern Regional Council, Inc., is a non-profit organization which seeks the improvement of social, civic, economic, and racial conditions in the South through educational methods. At its central office in Atlanta, it carries on the following activities:

Maintains a staff of specialists constantly studying the course of change in the economy and institutional life of the South, with special reference to race relations implications;

Publishes a quarterly magazine, NEW SOUTH, which provides an informative service to subscribers throughout the South, including newspapers and organizational officials; publishes other reports from time to time;

Supplies speakers to church, trade union, business, and other gatherings desiring non-political discussion of southern issues, particularly in the field of race relations;

Assists in the organization and support of non-political state and local organizations conducting educational activities in the field of race relations, in each of twelve southern states and non-political organizations engaged in voter education work which is in behalf of our research interests;

Supplies facts about southern institutional patterns and their changes to a considerable number of persons who request such facts by mail;

Sponsors a number of projects in urban planning, community organization and regional development in which specialists in architecture, adult education, economics and other fields provide services to public officials and private groups;

Services informationally and educationally, a stream of visitors, many of them visitors from abroad under sponsorship of the U. S. State Department, or the U. S. Department of Labor, and other agencies, but including many travellers from points within the United States;

Extends its services of information and consultation through traveling consultants to community leaders, editors, school authorities, and others concerned with the problem of race relations.

HAVERFORD COLLEGE
HAVERFORD, PA.

March 24, 1952

RECEIVED
MAR 27 1952
Southern Regional Council

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Auburn and Ivy Streets
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Friend:

I am writing you to ask whether you have any suggestions for one of our graduate women students, who is about 25 or 26 years old and a very fine person and who would like very much to have a rural community project she could work on this summer. We have had twenty people here at Haverford this last winter who have been preparing themselves for social and technical assistance work abroad and this is one of that group. She would like to be in some small community project in a rural region where she could take an active part and where something would be going on from which she could get some direction and training. It would be fine if she could be put with some group where the leadership was first class. She could take a real share in it but would like to have a situation where she would be under someone from whom she could learn. As for finances, I think she could probably manage with merely maintenance and perhaps even less if necessary. She would bring so much to the project, however, that I would hope that she would get at least maintenance on it. Her name is Doris Keffer and she could be reached at Haverford College. I wonder, George, whether you would be kind enough to think over what is going in the part of the South you know so well and see if you have something to suggest. She is a member of the Methodist Church and has had a fine European experience in a Methodist work camp in Northern Germany and is one of the people whose religious and social outlook we could stand back of to the limit.

Warmest personal greetings.

Sincerely your friend,

Douglas V. Steere

Thanks for the word about Spivey you wrote to Ira Reid.

~~Info. Req.~~

Community study Rural

March 31, 1952

Douglas V. Steere
Haverford College
Haverford, Pa.

Dear Doug:

Here's all the places I can think of:

(1) Pembroke, North Carolina—mixed up Indian community. Mighty near all farmers. AFSC has been talking about some sort of work camp there soon. Most interesting people, very friendly. No longer desperately poor (they're good farmers), but in need of friendly understanding. Ralph Rose would know what the Friends decide to do.

(2) Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee. Something going on all of each summer. There must be several people at Haverford who know a good deal about it. Head man is Myles Horton, at Monteagle. Workers' education, interracial, usually. Some farming. Nursery school. Much work with the surrounding community. Seldom any money.

(3) The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen expects to build an interracial conference ground in western North Carolina. Maybe this summer, or some of it. Head man is Howard Kester, Box 577, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

(4) Macedonia Cooperative Community, Clarkesville, Georgia. No head man, on principle, but useful man to write to is Art Wiser there. Work in a block factory, 75¢ an hour; milk cows; raise vegetables; educate community's own kids.

The U. S. Department of Agriculture has for years had more or less of a program of following and helping migratory farm labor. When the New Deal boys are on top, it's a pretty good program, and when the New Deal boys are out of sight, it's bum. Right now I guess it is bum. But there must be some remnants of it left. Anybody you know in the Department of Agriculture could put you in touch with the remnant. Try Arthur Raper, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Maybe Doris Xeffer could get a paid job helping with that program. They bring in Mexicans and Bohemians, and so on. Most of the money now is in State and State program.

Douglas Steere, Mar. 31, 1952

She could probably hook on to a State program in New Jersey or Connecticut or somewhere out West.

If she wanted to be a sort of farmerette, I expect there are plenty of farms that would be glad to get her for the summer.

If she wants to write me further, I will do anything I can specifically to help her.

Nice to hear from you.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

UPSALA COLLEGE
EAST ORANGE
NEW JERSEY

October 26, 1952

Rev. David Burgess
Chapel Hill, N. Car.

Dear Rev. Burgess:

I have so frequently read your material in the Christian Century, the Religion + Labor Foundation paper, Economic Justice, and as a past member of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, that I almost feel I know you, and therefore write assured that you will be able to help me.

This summer I expect to begin work on my Ph D Thesis. I want to do a sort of "follow up" study to the sort of thing Dollard did in Caste + Class in a Southern Town, necessarily on a more limited scale. Whereas Dollard, + others too, have studied the so called "typical" southern community, an agricultural center in a rural area of the "deep south," I would like to study the changes wrought in such a town when a factory moves in and industrialization begins.

It is my hope that you can suggest to me some towns that conformed to this rural pattern, into which a factory has moved during or since the war years. It would be especially helpful, of course, if you could further suggest names of persons residing in the community who would be willing to supply me with information which would help me to decide on the given community where the study is to be carried

UPSALA COLLEGE
EAST ORANGE
NEW JERSEY

out.

I have written other friends in the South, some of whom I have known for some time, such as John Ramsay. It would be an additional point of value for the study if the factory were actually organized or in the process of being organized.

Thank you for your kindness and help.

Sincerely yours,
Clark H. Bouwman

Clark H. Bouwman
Dept. of Sociology
Upsala College
East Orange, New Jersey

Community study - proposed

November 24, 1952

Mr. Clark H. Bowman
Department of Sociology
Upsala College
East Orange, N. J.

Dear Mr. Bowman:

Dave Burgess asked me to write you.

My nomination would Sumter, South Carolina. Sumter is well within what I call the "old plantation belt" of South Carolina, and it and the area around it have a very high proportion of Negroes in the population. It has a considerable development of the furniture industry. And six or seven years ago, when I was frequently in the town, the plants were almost completely organized by the old CIO Furniture Workers' Union. They had unsegregated locals and quite a vigorous movement. Unfortunately, when the Communist squabble within the CIO came, the Sumter wing of Furniture Workers suffered, and they may be unorganized now. I don't happen to know.

My guess is that the furniture industry in Sumter dates from a few years before World War II, but not a lot. Miss Rebecca Reid, 29 E. Calhoun Street, Sumter, a retired white school teacher of the city, is of liberal persuasion, is an active member of the South Carolina Division of the Southern Regional Council, and knows the town inside out.

It is also only eight or ten miles from Sumter to the plantation home of Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Dabbs, near Mayesville. Mr. Dabbs is the acting chairman of the South Carolina Division of SRC.

Dalton, Georgia, is another interesting town, off and on, well organized. Textiles and chenille industry, which latter is scattered up and down the highway, and hard to organize. They had a notorious lynching some years ago but have behaved a lot better since. Difficulty is that it is North Georgia, with only a light Negropopulation.

We will be glad to help you in any way we can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

UPSALA COLLEGE
EAST ORANGE
NEW JERSEY

Miss Lucy Randolph Mason,
CIO Organizing Committee
40 Proyor Street, S.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

December 16, 1952

Dear Miss Mason:

I don't know if you will recall our brief acquaintance at some of the National Religioun and Labor Foundation meetings, though you might remember I was a student at theNew School for Social Research and brought you greetings from Dr. JulieMeyer.

At present I am beginningwork on my PhD. Thesis. Dr. Meyer, my Thesis advisor and I each feel you can give me some good advice. I plan to do a study of the effects of industrialization in a given southern community which was, up until recently, agriculturally based. I hope to find a town which conforms to the general patterns described by Dollard in his book Caste ad Class in a Southern Town, or Davis and Gardner in Deep South, or more recently Rubin's Plantation County. These sources all describe a way of life in a rurally oriented community characterized by:-

1. A population not more than 5,000.

2. No industry, other than cotton gin and cotton seed pressing machinery, also perhaps a lumber mill.

3. An economy based largely on the staple crop of cotton with perhaps increasing diversity, such as cattle raising or lumbering in recent years.

4. A considerable percentage of Negroes in the population, perhaps an equal balance.

5. Preferably in Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama or Mississippi.

If I can locate a community which possessed as many of these characteristics as possible until recently, but where a factory large enough to influence and disturb the old patter has been recently introduced it would be an excellent setting for the study. It is important to find a community that is similar to the type described, because only in thisway will I be able to observe the changes produced by industrialization.

UPSALA COLLEGE
EAST ORANGE
NEW JERSEY

I hope I am notasking too much and that you will be able to call to mind some places that seem possible to you. If you couldmention some names and addresses of others I could write, that too would be helpful.

After you have given this matter your attention, you might refer this letter to John Ramsay who has already sent me some suggestions, However, the description of my requirements is more complete and exactin g now and hemay have some more Ideas.

Congratulations on your new book! I am looking forward to readingit and I know it will be helpful in my own project.

Sincerely yours,

Clark H. Bouwman

Clark H. Bouwman
64 Ely Place
East Orange, New Jersey

P.S. Please excuse the poor appearance of this letter. I am laidup in the hospital for a few days and though the time is enabling me to accomplish a good deal ofwork, the circumstances are notconducive to good stenographic detail.

IR
Community Study

January 8, 1953

Mr. Clark H. Bowman
64 Ely Place
East Orange, N. J.

Dear Mr. Bowman:

Lucy is head over heels with mail and short of help, and she asked me to answer your letter to her of December 16.

My suggestion would be Demopolis, Alabama. I talked just now by phone with an Alabama big-farm-owning friend employed nowadays in Montgomery, who lives a dozen miles, perhaps, from Demopolis. He and I were so closely associated for years that he understood at once what I was after, and out of prolonged and intimate knowledge of the Black Belt of Alabama, he chose Demopolis right off. Population, three or four thousand. My recollection is that it is near the tip of the prairie land crescent in South Alabama, and therefore embraces some of the prairie land and some of the less good land nearby. Had no industrial development except a lumber mill and a cotton gin until two years ago, when the Vanity Fair Knitting Mills came in. Employ about 200 people. Proud little town with all the plantation tradition. Of course, the country around it has gone over to cattle in the last eight or ten years. Sounded to me pretty close to what you want.

I send from the files such bits as have survived in them from the BAWI business. May have some hints.

Best man to write to in Mississippi perhaps would be R. W. Starnes, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Jackson. He is the Mississippi State director and an able fellow, who used to be a small businessman before he came into the labor movement. For South Georgia, the most significant cases would probably be meat packing. And though they employ a good number of Negro workers, they cannot almost under the head of processing rather than manufacturing industries.

The plantation part of South Carolina has lately had interesting industrial development. But I have no ready source for knowing which particular towns are involved.

See what you can find out about Demopolis. If you want to write directly to my friend, he is Mr. F. Alvin Smith. Post office address: RFD, Newbern, Alabama. Telephone, Greensboro, Alabama, 5607. Only at home at night.

Auburn graduate in civil engineering, longtime government official, now head of the Milk Control Board for the State of Alabama.

If we can help you further, let us know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

FREDERICK H. THOMPSON
President of the Corporation

DAVID McKEITH, JR.
Executive Vice President

JOSEPH H. STEIN
Chairman, Board of Directors

RAYMOND A. DUDLEY
Vice-Chairman

HAROLD B. BELCHER
Treasurer

PHILIP M. WIDENHOUSE
Secretary

The Congregational Christian Service Committee, Inc.

110 EAST TWENTY-NINTH STREET, NEW YORK 16, NEW YORK

EARLE H. BALLOU
Executive Secretary

JOSEPH A. HOWELL
Associate Executive Secretary

February 26, 1953

Phone: MUrray Hill 5-1432
Cable: Congserv New York

RECEIVED
MAR 2
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Art Wiser at Macedonia has been good enough to suggest my writing to you about Robertson Fort. Bob Fort is a friend whom I should greatly like to help to find the kind of career in community relations that he is seeking. The statement about Bob Fort's background and experience is enclosed. He has just been offered the responsibility in the United Nations offices in New York as director of Procurement for Relief to Korea. But he has declined this firmly and prayerfully, because of his interest in the field of community relations and his firm intention to leave this Greater New York Metropolitan area.

Would you write directly to Robertson Fort if you have any suggestions for him.

Thank you so much.

Sincerely,

Joe

Joseph Howell

JH:bg
enc.
cc - Fort
Wiser

Program, budgets, and audits voluntarily registered for public inspection with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid of the United States Government

NAME: Robertson M. Fort **BIRTH DATE:** April 4, 1914

ADDRESS: 35-27 81st Street, Jackson Heights, Long Island, N. Y. **CITIZENSHIP:** United States

TELEPHONE: HAvemeyer 4-2442 **MARITAL STATUS:** Single

MEMBERSHIP IN ORGANIZATIONS: Quill Club of New York, Inc.
Traffic Club of New York

PUBLICATIONS: "Resettling the Japanese-Americans" - The Friends Intelligencer and The American Friend - 1943

EDUCATION: Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. / St. Stephens College, Rhinecliff, N. Y. } A.B. 1934 **Major:** Psychology **Minor:** Bus. Admin.

Special courses in Public Relations, Business Administration, Accounting, and Advertising

EXPERIENCE:

1942-1945 Secretary for Japanese-American Relocation
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

This program involved the bringing of the Japanese-Americans out of relocation camps into new communities, helping them to find new jobs and homes, and doing personal counseling to help them to readjust to life outside of the camps. As secretary, I also did community relations work in behalf of these people to pave the way for their successful rehabilitation by organizing committees throughout the country to receive and sponsor Japanese-Americans. Fifteen hostels were set up throughout the country each with local sponsorship to receive evacuees until placement could be found. I was also responsible for the coordination of the management, personnel, accounting, and purchase of food, drugs, and supplies for these fifteen hostels.

1945-1951 Director of Budget and Business Administration
CHURCH WORLD SERVICE, INC., 297 Fourth Avenue, New York

Headed the contributed supplies program which set up voluntary committees throughout the country for nation-wide contributions to send to those in need abroad. The work was closely tied in also with local social agencies on resettlement program for displaced persons. As director of Budget and Business Administration, an entire business department was set up which included passenger traffic, purchasing, shipping, correspondence section, and personnel.

As the chairman of the Shippers and Purchasers Committee of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service in New York, I was responsible for coordinating their Gifts-in-Kind program which received donations from all parts of the country for distribution abroad through the various voluntary agencies. The Friendship Train and the Christmas Ship were also community programs under the auspices of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies.

1951-1952 Comptroller and Business Manager
BROOKLYN BUREAU OF SOCIAL SERVICE AND CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY
285 Schermerhorn Street, Brooklyn, New York

As the manager of the general business operations, I was closely related to the program and its execution in dealing with the blind and crippled, unadjusted boys, and foster children. We ran a school and clinic as well as a camp for the handicapped. Our policies had to be geared closely to the needs of the individual children. Our office worked closely with all phases of program to set up new procedures and controls which included payments to foster parents, relief clients, sheltered work clients, purchasing for program, research on comparative costs of other agencies in the field and their programs.

I R
Community Relations

March 11, 1953

Mr. Robertson M. Fort
35-27 61st St.
Jackson Heights
Long Island, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Fort:

Mr. Joseph Howell of the Congregational Christian Service Committee, wrote me at Art Wiser's prompting about your interest in community relations work.

Despite the incredible need for such work in these Southern States, there are almost no paid jobs in doing it. That's the trouble. The only people I know with an expanding budget and program are the Friends Service Committee, who are working at finding job opportunities for Negroes. They have such an office now at Greensboro, North Carolina, under Mayes Behrman and another at Dallas under Byron Duckeridge. They talk of putting one in Atlanta. It's a very useful thing to do. Anybody in the AFSC would know the lines of connection to it.

If you come South, do be in touch with us. We are at the ragged edge of being broke, but we always like to make new friends.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

MORNING EVENING SUNDAY

THE SUN

THE A.S. ABELL COMPANY, PUBLISHERS
BALTIMORE-3, MD.

RECEIVED
AUG 31
Southern Regional Council

August 28, 1953.

Mr. George Mitchell,
Wesley Memorial Building,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Some time in October I am planning a trip through the South to refresh my acquaintance with Southern affairs and to write some articles.

I am interested in getting all the information I can in advance so that I can plan the trip. I am particularly interested in having information as to particular developments in industry such as the one at Aiken and such as the Bowater plant at Charleston, Tennessee. I do not necessarily wish to visit these places but I should like to know about some of the major ones so that I could take my pick if occasion presents. I should also like to know what persons in the various states to see for background information as to industrial trends.

I am also interested in agricultural developments. I assume that Commissioners of Agriculture in various states would be useful sources of information in this field, but if you have the names of others which might be worth while to see I should like to have them. Among argicultural subjects I am particularly interested in the decline of cotton culture in the old cotton states and the rise of the live stock industry.

If you can help me on these or other matters that may suggest themselves, I shall be very grateful.

Sincerely,

Newton Aiken
Editor Evening Sun.

I R
Southern Region

September 2, 1953

Mr. Newton Aiken, Editor
THE EVENING SUN
Baltimore 3, Md.

Dear Mr. Aiken:

I am much helped in trying to understand the changing South by dividing the Southeastern region into four main sub-regions: the mountains, the piedmont, the plantation country, and the piney woods. That gives you four broad groupings, and as a general rule, the economy and people's attitudes within each sub-area hold together pretty well. So if you present a clear picture of the changes under way in each portion, you have done the whole thing.

If that appeals to you as a method, you would need contacts and sample material from each portion. To your own I can add a few.

For the mountains, best informed man is probably Earl Mayhew, State Director, Farmers Home Administration, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Lexington, Kentucky. Grew up in Southeastern Kentucky. Was a county agent in a mountain county. Has put on practical programs of improvement in mountain communities and is a thoughtful student of all things mountainy. I got from him the skit carried in the Spring 1951 issue of your own Baltimore publication, THE LAND.

People at Berea know a lot, particularly the agricultural people. Stop in on the county agent in almost any mountain county and query him pretty closely as to changes. Some interesting work has been done in Macon County, North Carolina. County seat, Franklin.

The handicraft interest centers perhaps at the John C. Campbell Folk School, Brasstown, North Carolina, near Murphy. Ducktown and Copperhill you would know about yourself. Good for a paragraph on how not to permit erosion. Greene County, Tennessee, is interesting agriculturally.

Point about the mountains is that many valleys need land-use reorganization, water control, industrial opportunity, improved forest care, more tourist trade, and more technical education. Still an area of heavy surplus population. Because the predominant pattern is farm ownership, people

stay on the land.

As we all know, it is the piedmont area which has had by far the greater part of the industrial development in the South. Water power, hydro-electric power, labor and enterprise. Most interesting point to me in watching the piedmont is to see the change industrialization makes in Southern mores. The new position of the Negro where he is numerous in Southern industry is worth a good deal of study. Gadsden, Alabama, is a typical such town. If you got to Gadsden, you ought also to see the editor of the ANNISTON STAR, Mr. H. M. Ayers, who has thoughtful liberal views.

For furniture, High Point. For textiles, Charlotte or Greensboro. For industry generally, correspond with and come to see the Southern Association of Science and Industry, 5009 Peachtree Road, NE, Atlanta. They have lately published a most interesting new five-dollar directory of Southern industries, and are probably the best informed people on the subject, short of your own MANUFACTURERS RECORD people.

For the labor interest, Stanton Smith of the AF of L in Chattanooga is informed and thoughtful. Alfred Mynders is, of course, one of the very ablest people on every Southern matter. In my own view, the most far-seeing labor leader in the South is Paul Christopher of the CIO, with offices in the Flatiron Building in Knoxville. Rather hard to catch in, so you'd better make an appointment if you want to see him.

Lucy Mason's recent book, TO WIN THESE RIGHTS, Harper and Company, is helpful on the problems of organizing Southern industrial workers.

Martinsville, Virginia, is an interesting industrial town, mostly furniture.

Another colorful labor figure is Earle Britton, head of the AF of L in South Carolina. Offices at Columbia. Pressman, I believe, for the STATE and the RECORD.

When you get down to the old plantation belt, the basic problem is land tenure. In spite of the census, nobody really knows what is happening there. A tremendous reorganization has occurred within the last fifteen years. I think the freshest information is to be had from the Rural Life Center at Tuskegee Institute. Mr. Ernest Neal is in charge of that. They are free from some of the restraints that are often upon agricultural officialdom, and they are sensitive to the Negro interest in the old plantation belt. Another able student, also a Negro, is Professor Harry Roberts, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia. Wise old head—Tom Campbell at Tuskegee, the first Negro county agricultural agent and in charge of Negro extension work for the whole South. Hodding Carter at Greenville, Mississippi, is the ready source on the Delta.

Interesting man to interview would be John D. Rust, 508 Simmons Building, Pine Bluff, Arkansas. He invented the Rust Brothers Cotton Picker, which is basic to the modern machines. Has spent time, thought, and money to get alleviation of the changes produced in the South partly by the mechanization of agriculture. Has been written up in FORTUNE and, I believe, in the READERS DIGEST.

In North Carolina the former director of extension, Dean I. O. Shaub, would have a long view of the changes that have occurred. I assume, still in Raleigh.

In Washington you could reach readily Mr. H. H. Gordon, a former high official of the old Farm Security Administration, now high in the Department of Agriculture under Eisenhower.

Probably the Spartanburg Regional Office of the Soil Conservation Service would be an interesting stopping point.

In Raleigh or Birmingham look in on THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER. Clarence Poe at Raleigh is richly worth an interview.

Some of us who dream about a different South in the future preach industrialization for the plantation belt. Thus far, most of it has escaped. Aiken is an interesting exception. So also is Sumter, South Carolina, with furniture factories and, off and on, strong unions. Hodding Carter's town of Greenville lately brought in a rug mill, or something of the sort, employing altogether white labor--mostly women.

Best informed man on the Negro vote in Alabama would be Mr. C. G. Gomillion at Tuskegee Institute, or J. E. Pierce at State Teachers College, Montgomery. Point to watch is that in the plantation belt, generally speaking, the Negro vote is extremely light. Pierce and Gomillion have the figures.

A key controversy relates to State legislative apportionment. Alabama has not reapportioned since 1901. Louisiana has escaped it for thirty years. Georgia never does. The South Carolina Senate stays the same, though the lower house does faithfully reapportion. Point of that is that the plantation counties, which have been losing population for forty years, retain their authority in the legislatures of States now being rapidly industrialized. Alabama is the ready place to study the problem. Miss Hallie Farmer at Alabama College in Montevallo did a booklet on the subject. I send along three Southern Regional Council leaflets that expand it. V. O. Key's book has much on this whole issue.

I can't tell you much about the piney woods country, because I don't know it very well. Agricultural Extension Service at Gainesville, Florida, would be a good place to study it. People in the USDA in Washington know the turpentine industry well.

Trade unionism has made substantial headway in the piney woods country in the last five or six years and wages are up a lot. Conservation of the trees is proceeding to most people's satisfaction, but there is some grumbling about the increase in huge timber holdings.

Best background book on regional geography in the South is Rupert Vance's THE HUMAN GEOGRAPHY OF THE SOUTH.

If you get to Aiken, a well-informed and able writer is George McMillan, there reachable at P. O. Box 299. Currently doing a Guggenheim on Southern matters.

Best man on Southern politics is Alex Heard at Chapel Hill.

Far-sighted Southern industrialist, James L. Coker, Sonoco Products Company, Hartsville, South Carolina.

Harry Ashmore of the ARKANSAS GAZETTE probably knows more at the moment about the problems proposed to the South by the impending Supreme Court decision on the schools.

Excellent editor of small-town paper, Sylvan Meyer (Nieman fellow), Gainesville, Georgia. Paper is GAINESVILLE TIMES.

Interesting Catholic thinking being done by Rev. J. B. Gremillion, 216 Patton Avenue, Shreveport, Louisiana. Also Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, The Oratory, Rock Hill, South Carolina.

Rufus Clement of Atlanta University was lately elected, as you know, to the Atlanta City School Board. First Negro since 'way back. He has begun to sit with the Board quite lately, and his experiences would be worth an interview. Other towns in which similar things have happened--Wilson, North Carolina; Gastonia, North Carolina; Richmond, Virginia; Lynchburg, Virginia; Nashville, Tennessee.

Extremely able Negro woman in charge of NAACP for Southeastern area--Mrs. Ruby Hurley, 624 Masonic Temple Building, Birmingham, Alabama.

Wise old head on Negro progress--Wylie Hall, Richmond Urban League, Richmond, Virginia.

Surely that's more people than one editor would ever go to see!

I am a longtime admirer of THE SUN papers. Come to see us when you get South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ee
Encls.

John: February 16, 1956

Fred says this was adopted at the Mountain Workers meeting he went to lately.

GSM

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF PANEL SYMPOSIUM "Equal Opportunies for ~~Health~~ Education in the Appalachian South."

The many problems involved in attaining equality of educational opportunity in the Appalachian South cannot be solved within the framework of segregation. We recognize the validity of the U. S. Supreme Court decisions; we recognize segregation as incompatible with Christian ethics and teachings; that it places an insurmountable economic barrier by placing the two races in competition for the educational dollar; that worse, it works a continuing hardship and harm on the minds and spirits of all children--both Negro and white.

We see the movement toward integration as aiding in the solution of several phases of educational inequality; we recognize that there must be an equalization between rural and urban schools in physical facilities, in teacher salaries, and in expenditures per pupil.

We urge that local people--of all groups--come together in equal dignity and full democracy to work toward the solution of their problems within the framework of the Supreme Court decisions; that they support the administrators who stand for law and order as embodied in our Federal Constitution; and that we--the people of the Appalachian South, so conduct ourselves that we may serve as an example to the rest of the South and as a beacon of hope to the rest of the world.

44th Annual Conference
Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc
Gatlinburg, Tenn
Feb 10, 1956

LISTS

COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS

44th Annual Conference

Mountain View Hotel, Gatlinburg, Tennessee

February 8 - 11, 1956

DIRECTORY

ALABAMA

Name	Address	Representing
Bain, James	Wadley	Southern Union College
Bass, Jackie	"	"
Denney, Gordon	"	"
Garner, Mary Clyde	3824 - 9th Court, South, Birmingham	State Dept. of Indus. Rel.
Green, Doyle	Wadley	Southern Union College
Heats, Julius E.	"	"
Kimbrough, James	"	"
Landes, Rev. Carl J.	"	"
Lingner, Nancy	"	"
McGlawn, Billie	"	"
Manning, Lawrence	"	"
Shields, Miss A. R.	Tuskegee Institute	Rural Life Council
Smelley, Billie	Wadley	Southern Union College
Wasson, Rev. Douglas	"	"

ARKANSAS

Gates, Aubrey D.	1801 N. Polk St., Little Rock	American Med. Ass'n.

GEORGIA

Ball, Roland	Rome	Berry College
Berry, Mrs. Irene	Young Harris	Regional Library
Dover, John	Rome	Berry College
Johnson, Collus O.	Carrollton	West Georgia College
Lantz, Rev. J. Edward	63 Auburn Ave., Atlanta 3	Nat'l. Council of Churches
Lee, Leonard	Rome	Berry College
Lee, R. E.	"	"
Long, Winford	"	"
McDowell, Verlon	"	"
McMekin, Miss Clara	Box 157, Young Harris	Regional Library
Routh, Fred	63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta	Southern Reg. Council
VanWinkle, M. L.	Ag. Exten., Univ. of Georgia	Un. of Ga. Ext. Service
VanWinkle, Mrs. M. L.	420 Bloomfield St., Athens	

INDIANA

Biddle, William W.	Richmond	Earlham College
Godsey, Robert G.	8 Quaker Hill Drive, Richmond	American Friends Service Committee
Hargrave, Mrs. Gladys	52 W. 18th St., LaPorte	Sigma Phi Gamma International Sorority (Welfare Secretary)

KENTUCKY

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Akers, Mrs. Herbert	"	
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Andrews, G. H.	Berea	Berea College
Andrews, Mrs. G. H.	"	
Austin, Miss Louise	Pine Mountain	Pine Mt. Settlement School
Ayer, P. F.	Box 2000 College Station, Berea	Council of the Southern Mts. (Exec. Secretary)
Ayer, Mrs. P. F.	Box 8 College Station, Berea	Council of the Sn. Mts.

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Bischoff, Mrs. John W.	"	"
Bischoff, Marilyn	"	"
Boes, Orville F.	Box 47 College Station, Berea	Council of the Sn. Mts.
Boggs, Rev. Alvin	Pine Mountain	Pine Mt. Settlement School
Breece, George E.	Hazel Green	Hazel Green Academy
Breece, Mrs. George E.	"	"
Brooks, Miss Florene M.	Berea College	
Brown, Dr. James S.	Univ. of Ky., Lexington	University of Kentucky
Bruining, Pearl	Annville	Annville Institute
Compton, Myles	Berea College	Berea College
Cowan, Rev. T. B. ("Scotty")	1115 Fincastle Rd., Lexington	
Cowan, Mrs. T. B.	" "	
Davis, Hubert W.	Pineville	U. of K. Extension Service
Downs, Floyd	Berea College	Student Industries
Edwards, Miss Loraine	"	Foundation School
Estridge, Perle	Beverly	Red Bird Mission
Farley, Mrs. D. C.	Box 647 College Station, Berea	
Galaw, Miss Dorothy	Beverly	Red Bird Mission
Gasaway, Jean	Box 966 College Station	Berea College
Giffin, Roscoe	Berea College Station	Berea College
Giffin, Mrs. Roscoe	" "	
Giffin, Larry	" "	
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Hall, Mrs. Ethel B.	Berea College Station	Foundation School (Dean of Women)
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Hensley, C. C.	Box 148 College Station, Berea	Berea Rubber Co.
Hensley, Mrs. C. C.	" " "	
Hines, Miss Mildred	Berea College Station	Library
Ivey, James L.	Olive Hill	Erie School
Jager, Rev. Henry	Gray Hawk	Annville Institute
Jager, Mrs. Joyce	"	"
Kidwell, J. W.	Williamsburg	Extension Service
Kingman, Miss Marian	Berea College Station	
Knuckles, Pauline	Beverly	Red Bird Mission
Kyncl, Rev. George	Wooton	Bd. of Nat'l. Missions of Pres. Church in U. S. A.
Kyncl, Mrs. Eleanor	"	
Lanier, Miss Ruby	Pine Mountain	Pine Mt. Settlement School
Lewis, Greta	Berea College Station	Foundation School
McClure, Rev. Robert G.	Booneville	Pres. Church in U. S. A.
McClure, Mrs. Marie	"	
Mahoney, Miss Milly	Pine Mountain	Pine Mt. Settlement School
Martz, Mrs. Leonard	Jamestown - Route 2	Cumberland District of Evangelical United Brethren Church, Missions Division
Marvel, Miss Marie	Ary	Homeplace
Mayhew, Earl	117 Arcadia Park, Lexington	Extension Service
Mays, Fay	Berea College Station	Foundation School
Menefee, Robert	Box 1255 College Station, Berea	Southern Regional Council
Menefee, Mrs. Robert	" " " "	
Messer, Flem	Box 1303 College Station, Berea	Foundation School
Morgan, Beverly	Beverly	Red Bird Mission
Mottram, Miss Evelyn	Pippapass	Delta Theta Tau (Nursing)
Nickel, Avenell	Hazel Green	Hazel Green Academy
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Robertson, Dr. D. B.	Berea College	Berea College

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Scudder, Mrs. G. F.	"	"
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Sinks, Mrs. Harry T.	"	Ev. Home Mis. Work
Smith, Karen Jane	Hazel Green	Hazel Green Academy
Smythe, Lewis	Lexington	College of the Bible
Spencer, Lee	Box 2000 Berea College	Council of Sn. Mts.
Stice, Miss Sara C.	520 S. Third St., Louisville	State Dept. of Health
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Surface, Shirley	Beverly	Red Bird Mission
Templeton, Pat	Berea College Station	Berea College
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Tolk, Miss Jane	Dry Hill	Pres. Church in U.S.A.
Turner, Miss Harriet	Pine Mountain	Pine Mt. Set. School
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VanderMeer, Mrs. Samuel	"	" " "
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Watts, Vinson	Berea College	Labor Dept. Berea Col.
Weatherford, W. D.	Berea College	
Weinert, Miss Helen	Beverly	Red Bird Mission
Wells, John	Oneida	Oneida Institute
Whitaker, Alice S.	Box 2014 College Station	Berea College
Williamson, M. J.	Box 1996 College Station, Berea	U.S. Forest Service
Williamson, Mrs. M. J.	" " " "	
Wilson, Bonnie	Beverly	Red Bird Mission
Wolf, Jim	Box 2000 Berea College Station	Council of Sn. Mts.

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Summers, Andrew Rowan	24 W. Tenth St., New York City	Folklorist(Entertainer)

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Brookshire, Evelyn	"	Central High School
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Bunn, Donald	Cherokee	Central Indian School
Chase, Richard	Beech Creek	
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Kester, Mrs. Howard	" "	

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McDonald, Florence	"	" " "
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Redmond, Miss Marian	"	
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Smith, Nancy	Cherokee	Central High School
Smith, Edgarita	"	" " "
Surratt, Miss Geraldine	Banner Elk	Woman's Div. of Christian Service of Methodist Church
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Ulmer, Miss Mary	Cherokee	Cherokee Indian School
Winters, Rev. Rhett Y. Jr.	Box 51 Valle Crucis	Protestant Episcopal Church
Wolfe, Sadie	Cherokee	Cherokee Indian School
Young, Rev. Philip	Route 1 Weaverville	Pres. Church in U. S. A.

PENNSYLVANIA

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Jaco, Miss Margaret	Jaco Apts., Uniontown	Council of Southern Mts.

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Burchell, Mrs. Zora	Sevierville	Pittman Community Center
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Butler, Eva	Route 2 Cosby	" " "
Butler, Faye	" "	" " "
Butler, Jesse	" "	" " "
Butler, Mrs. Jesse	" "	" " "
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Carroll, Miss Ruthie	1537 Laurel Ave., Apt. 5, Knoxville	
Case, Mrs. Frank H.	1411 Kenesaw Ave., Knoxville	
Chalmers, Mrs. Marjorie	Gatlinburg	Pi Beta Phi Settlement School
Clark, Geraldine	Box 123 Knoxville	Knoxville College
Clark, Oscar A.	Route 2 Cosby	Sunset Gap School
Clark, Mrs. Oscar A.	" "	" " "
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Dych, Carol	Gatlinburg	Pi Beta Phi School
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Evans, Mrs. Jonathan	" "	" "

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Huskey, Mrs. Conley	"	
Huskey, Larry Conley	"	
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Irby, Susan	Box 157 Knoxville College	Knoxville College
Jasperson, A. A.	Madison College	Layman Foundation & Col.
Jasperson, Mrs. A. A.	"	
Jean, Mrs. Helen	7 Lynwoods Apts., Athens	Hiwassee Health Council
Jones, Dr. Wm. B., Jr.	303 Ayers Hall, Univ. of Tennessee, Knoxville	
Kittrell, Mrs. Helen H.	Box 269 Clinton	Clinch Powell State Library Service
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Leeson, Rev. Royal	Ozone	Ozone Presbyterian Church
Lewelling, Carl	Gatlinburg	Pi Beta Phi School
Lindsey, Wilson	Oak Ridge	Oak Ridge High School
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Lockwood, Anne	Monteagle	Highlander Folk School
Long, Dr. H. H.	Fisk University, Nashville	Fisk University (Speaker)
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McCloud, Mrs. Jim	LaFollette, Box 343	Clinch Powell Reg. Library
McCormack, Rev. H. P.	Route 2 Sparta	White County Parish
McMorran, Mrs. Tina	Gatlinburg	Pi Beta Phi Settlement Sch.
Mansell, Rev. Marion E.	Box 120 Rockwood	Synod of Mid-South
Mansell, Mrs. Marion E.	"	
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Metcalfe, Dr. Robert M.	301 N. Main St., Crossville	Cumberland Clinic
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Patterson, Rev. Harley	Box 522 Oak Ridge	United Church
Paxton, Mrs. Charles E.	1419 Kenesaw Ave. Knoxville	
Price, Barbara	Gatlinburg	Pi Beta Phi Settlement Sch.
Qualls, Miss Helen	Tennessee Tech., Cookeville	State Library
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Silver, Patricia	Box 253 Madison College	Madison College
Seitz, Ben F.	Gatlinburg	McDonald's Pottery
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Sherlin, Miss Lou Ella	Greenback	Methodist Church
Shultz, E. B.	Box 4 Norris	T. V. A.
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Stout, Ed	244 E. Madison St., Athens	
Suddart, Miss Emma	Knox County Library, Knoxv.	Knox County Library
Tarwater, Lloyd	Sevierville	County Schools (Supervisor)
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Thomas, Eva (Mrs. Robert F.)	"	" " "
Trentham, Pat	Gatlinburg	Pi Beta Phi Settlement Sch.
Wakeman, Miss Myra	Sevierville	Pittman Community Center
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Ward, Dr. Frank B.	702 Forest Hills Blvd. Knoxville	College of Business Admin. University of Tennessee
Whetstone, Miss Rea	Knoxville 16, Knoxville College	

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Wilson, Dr. Theron D.	1606 Highland Ave., Knoxville	Tenn. Medical Foundation
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Winston, Arthur A.	Crossville	Uplands Cumberland
Winston, Mrs. Arthur A.	"	Medical Center
Young, Dr. Paul O.	201 State Office Bldg., Knoxv.	State Health Department
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Barclay, Mrs. Huston	" "	
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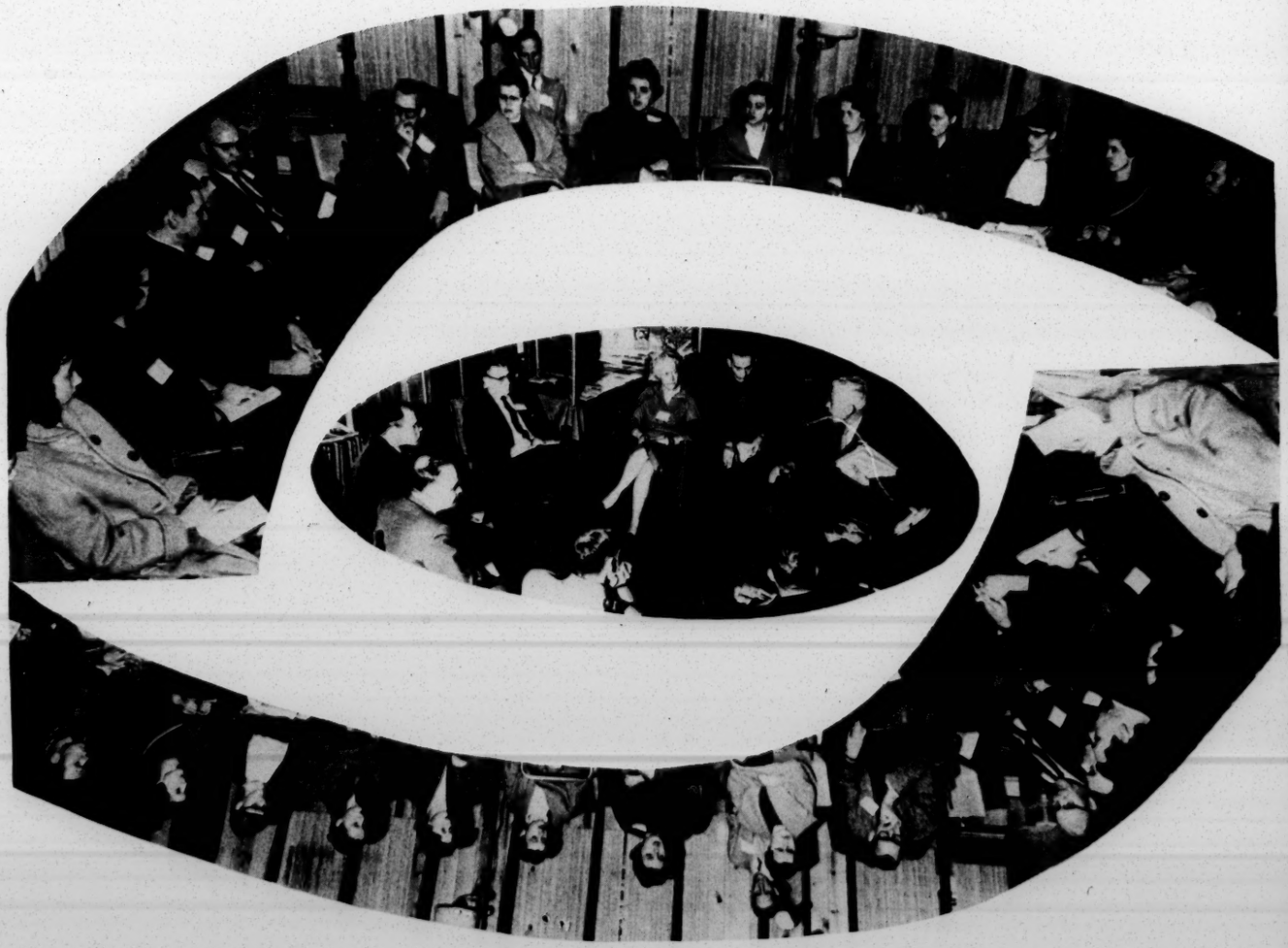
Hargraves, Mrs. J. S.	Abingdon, Barter Theater	Mr. Andrew Summers
Holdredge, Rev. Gene	Ferrum Junior College, Ferrum	Ferrum Junior College
Keys, Mrs. Anne	504 Fourth St., Radford	
Ogden, Jess	Univ. of Va. Charlottesville	University of Virginia
Pecktal, Lynn	Barter Theater, Abingdon	Mr. Andrew Summers
Porterfield, B. O.	Lebanon	Extension Service
Pryor, Miss Elizabeth	Ferrum Jr. College, Ferrum	Ferrum Junior College
WASHINGTON		
Yancey, Mrs. Audre'	18321 Ridgefield Road Seattle	Sigma Phi Gamma International Sorority (Pres.)
WEST VIRGINIA		
Baley, Rev. W. Ross	Box 223 North Fork	Episcopal Diocese of W. Va.
Butcher, Rush	Summersville	Agric. Extension Service
Busch, Miss Mary Ann	W. Va. University	Agric. Extension Service
Cox, Ada	Craigsville	4-H Club
Flood, Miss Jennie	Box 604 Roderfield	Women's Christian Service Methodist Church
Hunter, Johnny	Belle (Kanawha County)	4-H Clubs Youth Leader
Pantalone, Miss Margaret	Box 597 Logan	Logan County Schools
Shelton, Mary Earnest	Box 1285 Logan	Logan County Schools
Upton, Millicent	Alloy	4-H Club
WASHINGTON, D.C.		
Jones, L. I.	Fed. Extension Service	Federal Extension Service
Kepner, P. V. (Deputy Adm.)	" " "	" " "
McClarren, Howard	744 Jackson Place, N.W.	American Institute of Coop. Director of Youth Ed.
Ramsey, John	3031 Macomb St., N.W.	U. S. of America A. F. of L. C. I. O.
Ramsey, Mrs. John	" "	
INDIA		
Lall, Rev. Benjamin	156 Fifth Ave., New York 10 (While in U. S. A.) Main Buri, India	United Church of Northern India
Quersechi, Miss Sarwat	Labore, W. Pakistan 19 Gulbarg	Pakistan - Thal Development Authority
PHILIPPINES		
Remolona, Ildefonso J.	149 Kanlaon St., Owzon City Philippines	

COUNCIL NEWSLETTER

THE COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS · COLLEGE BOX 2000 · BEREA, KY.

NO. 1, 1960

A REPORT ON THE 48th ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS AT GATLINBURG, TENNESSEE, FEBRUARY 24-27, 1960



DR.D.M.ALDRIDGE, NEW COUNCIL PRESIDENT

DR.ADRON DORAN GAVE CONFERENCE KEYNOTE ADDRESS.

DR.RAYMOND DRUKKER, NEW COUNCIL VICE PRESIDENT

MRS.STROMA WARWICK, SEATED, AND MRS.VI ZANITIS PRESENT DONATIONS TO COUNCIL FROM SIGMA PHI GAMMA.

OPEN INVITATION TO REVIEW A SUCCESSFUL CONFERENCE AND PLAN FOR ANOTHER YEAR

For 361 days a year, the Council of the Southern Mountains goes quietly about its business. People read its magazine, Mountain Life & Work; they receive announcements of regional meetings, read an occasional press release on Council activity. Many people have wondered just what the Council is, what it does, where it gets its unity and support. The answers to all these questions become strikingly clear during the other four days of the year when the annual Conference brings together between three and four hundred people, all of them sharing a mutual concern for the inhabitants of the Southern Appalachian Mountains.

The newcomer at such a conference is understandably amazed at the diversity of interests represented, at the number of authorities in many fields who are present, and at the enthusiasm which is generated on the first day, and compounded on the days that follow.

Held for the last 12 of its 48 years in the famous resort town of Gatlinburg, Tennessee, this annual Conference might seem to the uninformed merely an excellent opportunity for a good time—a vacation under the guise of "business". Gatlinburg, however, offers nothing but scenery during the winter months, and for Conference participants, very little of that, since time for sight-seeing is at a minimum. The most interesting sights at Gatlinburg at this time are the faces of speakers, the faces of listeners, the interest groups crowding into rooms, halls, even corners—wherever a circle of chairs can be arranged.

What good comes from such a conference? Of what value are the millions of words spoken by three hundred people in four days? What do the participants learn about the problems of Southern Appalachia that they don't already know? What do they take away from the Conference that they did not bring to it?

The answers are obvious to anyone fortunate enough to attend.

Hardworking leaders in all fields (social, religious, educational, extension, health work, recreational, etc.) may sometimes pause to wonder how many people are behind them for support, how many are even aware of their work; occasionally they may even wonder if what they are doing is worth all the effort. The Conference brings together these leaders from different fields, and many interested laymen, organization representatives and part-time volunteers.

MR.P.F.AYER, COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

MRS. JOAN SOMMER AND BILLY EDD WHEELER ENTERTAIN.

THE REV.DR.RUFUS MORGAN, LEFT, INTRODUCES OUT-GOING PRESIDENT DR.HENRY S. RANDOLPH

Here they meet their co-workers, their supporters—and their new recruits. Here they find better ways of carrying on their work, an opportunity to help and advise others, and ways of blending their efforts with the work being done in other fields. And at Gatlinburg they find the true meaning of conference: the interchange of views and the inspiration to renew their efforts.

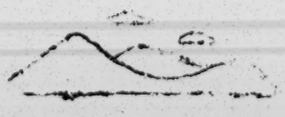
They bring back from the Conference new ideas, new friendships, strengthened convictions, a re-awakened sense of urgency. What they carry home within them cannot be bought; cannot even be priced. It cannot be touched nor weighed nor seen. But, in the year ahead, its force will be felt throughout Southern Appalachia.

This year the general theme of the Conference was COMMUNITY RESOURCES, a theme that was developed in many variations by the following interest groups:

HEALTH
BUSINESS
RELIGION
SCOUTING
FOLKLORE
EDUCATION
HANDCRAFTS
AGRICULTURE
AID TO MIGRANTS
MOUNTAIN WRITERS
PROBLEMS OF YOUTH
PLANNED PARENTHOOD
PROBLEMS OF THE AGING
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
SOCIAL WELFARE AGENCIES
LITERACY & COMMUNICATIONS

It would have been impossible for any one person to attend all meetings since as many as six were held concurrently. The amount of discussion going on at any one time and the number and variety of subjects, all related to the Appalachian South, being seriously considered, was nothing short of unique. There is no organization other than the Council of the Southern Mountains which brings together in a common focus of interest (the Appalachian South) so broad a representation of authoritative and implemental personnel. It is a time when the experts and the field workers can compare notes; it is a time of research and re-evaluation—a maintenance halt on the road to progress.

Running parallel to all this activity are meetings by the Council Board members. For them the Conference means long hours of deliberation on factors that concern the future of the Council itself. Theirs is the task of weighing value received against money spent, of facing the problems of financing next year's deficit. All the minutiae of Council activity for the future must be considered, discussed and passed upon during the many closed-door sessions that are held throughout the Conference. This is also the occasion for meetings by the various commissions and committees which determine future Council action in the fields of education, recreation, spiritual life, health, promotion, publications and others.



Space restrictions prevent a complete run-down on activities, but since this year's Conference placed special emphasis on the youth of Southern Appalachia, they deserve special emphasis in this Newsletter.

YOUTH GROUP

One of the strongest and most positive youth contingents ever to attend the Conference held many meetings to discuss their role in the Appalachian South of tomorrow. By means of panels and discussion workshops, they brought into the open their problems in their individual areas. Through speakers such as the Rev. Mr. T. B. "Scotty" Cowan, Union Church, Berea, Ky., Dr. Raymond B. Drukker, Berea College, and the Rev. Mr. Phillip H. Young, Weaverville, N. C., they were handed the challenge to become the future leaders in their communities. "If you are not willing to bet on yourself," said Dr. Drukker, "why should we bet on you?" But it is important to point out that the Youth sessions did not merely consist of groups of young people sitting around listening to inspirational talks. The young people had a chance to express their own ideas; to challenge the challengers, as it were.

A survey was made of their opinions and feelings concerning eight questions posed by Rev. Mr. Cowan covering the churches, schools, health, facilities, politics, social activities, and the persons and organizations who had done the most for their individual communities. The answers revealed a degree of awareness and maturity that spoke well for their qualifications as future leaders. These young people showed concern for their area and a sense of responsibility toward it. The survey served not only to reflect the feelings of the youth toward their community, but the conditions in the community itself. The following answers, chosen at random from the entire survey, run the gamut from deep concern to complete cynicism and at the same time show a talent for social appraisal which is refreshing in its bluntness.

On churches: "Some are too heavenly-minded to be of any earthly use."
Social life: "If you've seen the movie, and there's no dance, you've had it."
Politics: "The blind leading the blind."
Reason for being at the Conference: "I am here because I believe in my mountains. They are a blessing from God to man. I would like to find some of the answers to the problems that men face who live in them. If some of the problems are solved, the youth of the South will take a pride in their land and work for its bright future."

If present conditions in the mountains seem to produce a generally negative attitude on the part of the young people, it does not seem to carry over in their thinking about the future of the region. One girl, interested in the field of health, afforded graphic evidence of the value of the Conference when she wrote: "The meetings helped me a lot. I found that I was not the only one interested in medicine and the nursing needs of the mountain people. It helped me to really see where my people need my help the most. There are many fields into which I could go where I could do mountain work, but now, because of these meetings, I have been shown where God wants me to work. I hope that when I go back to my community, I can stir up in other students what has been stirred up in me."

The organizational efforts of Berea College student James Blair, out-going vice-president and chairman of the Youth Group, resulted in a total Youth Conference program that was a model of coordination and efficiency. The youth interest groups in education, health, recreation, religion, business, agriculture, as well as problems of youth were under the moderatorship of experts in each field.

A final business meeting resulted in the election of the following officers:
President: David Hall, Warren Wilson College, Swannanoa, North Carolina
Vice-President: Rose Ellen Hayes, Berea College, Berea, Kentucky
Secretary: Minnie Sue Martin, Berea College, Berea, Kentucky

CONFERENCE CAPSULES

MOUNTAIN WRITERS: "We should not write as a way of making a living, but as a way of making a life."... James and Wilma Stokely, co-authors of NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE, in discussing the involvement of a writer with his craft.

SOCIAL WELFARE AGENCIES: "Our procedure was to list the problem areas, let our resource people present their material, and then try to answer questions, either by formal presentations, or by direct answer to each direct question." ...The Rev. Mr. Robert McClure, explaining how his interest group discussed eight problem areas in social welfare agency work.

CRAFT INTEREST GROUP: "It was evidenced last year at the Conference that the people who attended wanted concrete help instead of discussion, so this year the Southern Highland Handicraft Guild tried to plan such a program for them." ...Miss Louise Pitman, Director of the Guild, describing field trip made by interest group members who saw craftsmen working in prints, pottery, stitchery, puppetry and enameling.

AID TO MIGRANTS: "The future task is mainly one of trying to find ways we can do a better job for the Southern Appalachian area in two regards (1) preparation of people for outmigration and (2) trying to expedite the outmigration process itself by means of informing people about what the opportunities are and ways in which they may make contact with people in these northern cities who can be of help to them when they get there."...Dr. Roscoe Giffin, in explaining the annual Berea, Kentucky, workshop on Urban Adjustment of Southern Appalachian Migrants.

FOLKLORE: "There is always trouble trying to define folklore, especially in a partly or semi-civilized group; but in talking about a primitive group where there is no written language, we would have no trouble—it would all be folklore. Because folklore is that which is handed down orally among people."...Dr. Leonard Roberts, in tracing the beginnings of folklore as we know it today.

RELIGION: "Are we trying to lift the people to a certain level without having actually met them first to lift them up? We need to get down to the people, and to give them a deeper and richer understanding of the real meaning of this whole thing called Christian living."...The Rev. Mr. J. Nelson Jackaway, referring to a previous discussion on what is wrong with ministers.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: "The economic development panel group was concerned with bringing to the attention of those who came to the meeting some resources that are available in all this mountain area for the improvement of the standards of living of the people in the area."...Dr. Donald Fessler, summarizing the aims of his interest group.

PLANNED PARENTHOOD: "Every woman, of every race, rich or poor, has a right to know how to plan her family, and then she can decide, with her husband, what to do about it."...Dr. Louise Hutchins, Pediatrician, in expressing her philosophy on this important subject, to the interest group.

PROBLEMS OF YOUTH: "We asked the yount people what their problems are. They can be summed up in one single word: ADULTS."

Ever since 1944, the annual Conference has been highlighted by a special occasion: the presentation of a check to the Council of the Southern Mountains by the Sigma Phi Gamma International Sorority, to be used as specified. Starting with the original contribution of of $500, the Sorority has increased the amount through the years. This year, presenting

the highest amount ever granted the Council, Mrs. Vi Zanitis, International President, and Mrs. Stroma Warwick, International Welfare Secretary, gave checks for $1995.93 and $300.00 for health and recreation, respectively. The Council appreciates not only the money, but the spirit behind it.

No conference is without its after-dinner speakers; those men who bring to such an occasion food for thought. Dr. Adron Doran, President of Morehead State College, Morehead, Ky., and voted by the Kentucky Press Association the "Outstanding Kentuckian of the Year" of 1959, gave the keynote address. Using a broad brush, Dr. Doran painted a not very rosy picture of the problems that face Southern Appalachia but pointed out that we have the resources, the personnel, the agencies, the brains to meet these problems. By propounding thought-provoking questions such as "what kind of individuals and communities are we seeking to develop?" and "what is the place of the various agencies (education and government) in the development of the resources?" he outlined the steps to be taken in the future growth of this region.

Dr. Raymond Drukker, Assistant to the President of Berea College, Berea, Kentucky, who spoke on Thursday, was concerned with the strength we have to build within ourselves if we are to withstand the tensions and difficulties that are inherent in today's global living. He pointed out that we are not even confined to the earth in our modern day concepts; we must develop a cosmic consciousness. But while we should have this awareness of our ever-extending horizons, there are local problems demanding our attention before we get to the moon.

Mr. Perley Ayer, Executive Secretary of the Council of the Southern Mountains, pointed out at the final dinner meeting that one straw in a sage broom can do very little, but put together with many others, it can do a real job. "Let us look to the mountains honestly, critically, and with pride and hope—let's look at the Appalachian South and its total contribution to the world" he said during his plea that we all work together in a common cause.

In an address of challenge on the final day of the Conference, Dr. Paul Lynn Ross, Professor of Practical Theology, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Connecticut, said, "For us to feel that our task is to work for the mountain people is not right; our task is to work with them."

While all work and no play might make jack (to corn a phrase) for some people, it was not the case for those who attended the Conference, and after a long day filled with lectures, discussions, and note-taking, the people were ready for the relaxation and entertainment arranged by the Council Recreation Committee. Folk dancing and games, movies in the hotel lobby, group singing led by The Rev. Mr. J. T. Jones and Raymond McLain and the nightly after-dinner entertainment by folksinger-composer Billy Edd Wheeler, provided just the right antidote to counterbalance the long periods of concentration. On Friday evening, special guest Mrs. Joan Sommer, actress-singer in Berea College's outdoor drama "Wilderness Road", teamed with Billy Edd in a memorable evening of song.

VITAL STATISTICS

There were 319 registered participants from eighteen states and Washington, D. C.

This is your Council budget for 1960. . . . . $51,635.00.
This ambitious goal is about $10,000.00 more than we actually spent last year—but it represents part of needed growth.

Meet your Officers and new Board Members:
Dr. D. M. Aldridge, President, Pineville, Kentucky
Dr. Raymond Drukker, Vice President, Berea, Kentucky
Miss Florene Brooks, Secretary, Berea, Kentucky
Mr. Orville Boes, Treasurer, Berea, Kentucky
Dr. Henry S. Randolph, Outgoing President, New York, New York
Mr. Stuart L. Faber, Board Member, Cincinnati, Ohio
Mr. T. Henry Jablonski, Board Member, Washington College Academy, Tennessee
Rev. Phillip H. Young, Board Member, Weaverville, North Carolina

Meet your Council staff. Call upon them as you need them.
Mr. Perley F. Ayer, Executive Secretary
Mr. Loyal Jones, Associate Executive Secretary
Mr. Robert F. Connor, Director of Council Publications
Mr. Milton Ogle, Community Development Counselor
Miss Suzanne Camp, Recreation Counselor
Miss Delight Wing, Recreation Interne
Mrs. Charles Byrd, Senior Secretary-Bookkeeper
Mrs. Robert Batie, Staff Secretary
Plus student workers

NEXT YEAR'S CONFERENCE DATES: FEBRUARY 7 - 11, 1960

EASTERN KENTUCKY REGIONAL MEETING: March 26 at Clear Creek Baptist School near Pineville, Kentucky. The meeting begins at 9:30 A.M. and everyone is welcome to attend.

WEST VIRGINIA REGIONAL MEETING: April 30, place yet to be announced. If you wish to be notified of this information, please send your name and address to the Council.

We have high hopes for other regional meetings soon, tentatively set for Cullman, Alabama, Cullowhee, North Carolina, Glade Valley, North Carolina, somewhere in Eastern Tennessee, and somewhere in Virginia, best located to serve those counties not within ready reach of any of the other meetings.

A list of names of people who attended the Conference, along with their addresses and the organizations they represented, may be had by writing to the Council. These lists will be available as long as the original supply lasts.

The Council faces a new year; a year that promises to be the greatest in its history. This is based on the phenomenal acceleration of Council growth in recent years. Consider the following budget figures:

1951.....	$ 1,700	1956.....	$27,000
1952.....	4,600	1957.....	27,000
1953.....	9,600	1958.....	27,146
1954.....	11,475	1959.....	41,901
1955.....	16,477	1960.....	51,635

As you can see, in nine years our budget has increased an incredible 3000%! Is any stronger evidence of Council growth needed?

A budget figure does not represent money alone. It symbolizes ambitions, programs and achievements. Before the budget figure materializes in the form of tangible benefits to the area, the actual money must be raised. Possibly two-thirds of it is anticipated from usual Council resources—sale of publications, subscriptions, memberships, and donations. The balance must be found in new money.

What you give to the region through the Council, you give to the betterment of life in the Appalachian South and, ultimately, to yourself and your children whether you live in the region or not. As the people of the Appalachian South are helped, so is the nation helped, and when the nation profits, you profit. It is not paradoxical to say: BE SELFISH—GIVE!

The business world says: "Time is money." The Council says: "Time is action." It takes money to keep the Council in action. Won't you help us complete ALL the plans for 1960? Join the Council and work with us. If you are already a member, please share this letter and your interest with your friends, and with organizations which may also wish to join. Thank you.

COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS, INC.
Publishers of MOUNTAIN LIFE & WORK
COLLEGE BOX 2000
BEREA, KENTUCKY

NON PROFIT
U.S. POSTA
PAID
Berea, Ky
Permit No.

Fred Routh
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California

October 7, 1966

Dr. John A. Griffin
Executive Director
Southern Education Foundation, Inc.
811 Cypress Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Dear Dr. Griffin:

I understand you will reimburse Mr. Ashmore for his round-trip air fare from Santa Barbara to Atlanta for attending the Southern Education Foundation conference on September 16. The charges were $315.84.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy J. Andon

Nancy J. Andon
Secretary to
Harry S. Ashmore

October 12, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ruth Alexander

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please draw a check for $315.84 and take this, too, from Special Projects Seminars.

See letter to Mr. Harry S. Ashmore

PA/km

Fire
Conf on Adult Educ

October 12, 1966

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore
Box 4068
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Harry:

Enclosed is our check for $315.84, representing the travel expenses for your attendance at the Conference on Adult Education.

It was good to have this opportunity to get to know you and to spend the weekend with the infamous cousins.

In time, I will try to give the response it deserves to your recent letter.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc. - Check $315.84

EXPENSES IN CONNECTION WITH CONFERENCE ON ADULT EDUCATION IN THE FIELD OF RACE RELATIONS

Supplies for receptions		$ 94.76
Food		
Hearn's Catering Service	$ 68.50	$288.53
Fan & Bills	$116.00	
Other	$104.03	
Domestic Help		$ 50.00
Linen & Rental of beds		$ 39.39
Flowers for table		$ 5.15
	TOTAL	$477.83

SEF will pay for the rental of station wagon which was used for transportation and also for the tape recorder and tapes.

Pay to John A. Griffin
Southern Education Fund
RA

October 12, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ruth Alexander

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please have a check for $477.83 drawn from the account on Special Projects Seminars.

See letter to Dr. John A. Griffin
Southern Education Foundation

PA/km

NO
needing
file
co

file Southern Ed. Fd.
Make folder "Conf. on Adult Education"
cr. ref. Southern Educ. Fd.

October 12, 1966

Dr. John A. Griffin
Executive Director
Southern Education Foundation, Inc.
811 Cypress Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Dear John:

Enclosed is our check for $477.83, representing payment of the expenses for the Conference on Adult Education.

We are also sending Harry Ashmore travel expenses in the amount of $315.84.

It was a good conference and we appreciate this opportunity to work together.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc. - check $477.83

J. L. CLARK, CHAIRMAN

R. B. ELEAZER, SECRETARY

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Conference on Education and Race Relations

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
710 STANDARD BLDG.
Atlanta, Ga.

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EDWIN L. CLARKE

January 18, 1936

Dear Friend:

The enclosed folder expresses the mature convictions of a hundred Southern educators as to a serious educational need, and suggests means by which the public schools may help to meet it.

The method proposed is not an experiment. It has been examined and approved in every State Department of Education in the South, and has been tried with notable success in hundreds of schools. Not a single unfavorable reaction has been reported; on the contrary hundreds have testified to its success and value. We are able, therefore, to recommend it confidently.

Please read the folder carefully. Then let us submit samples of the available materials for your examination, with a view to their use in your school, should you find them suitable. No charge or obligation will be involved. Blank below is for your convenience in ordering.

Hoping to have your reply by return mail, we are

Yours very truly,

CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION AND RACE RELATIONS

R B Eleazer

Secretary.

- -

Conference on Education and Race Relations,
710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Ga.

Gentlemen:

Please send me, without charge, sample copies of bulletins suggested for study in public schools. I shall be glad to examine them carefully, with a view to their use, if found suitable.

Name .....

School .....

Address .....

J. L. CLARK, CHAIRMAN

R. B. ELEAZER, SECRETARY

Form letters to 200 Negro High School Principals

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:
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Conference on Education and Race Relations

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

710 STANDARD BLDG.

Atlanta, Georgia

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AQUILA CHAMBLEE
MARGARET M. EDWARDS
S. A. KRUSE
FRED C. FREY
J. T. DORRIS
EDWIN L. CLARKE

December, 1936

Dear Friend:

For several years the Conference on Education and Race Relations has been emphasizing the need of an educational approach to the problems of race relations, and urging that "units of teaching" based on this problem be introduced in all our schools.

Materials for such a unit on the high school level are now available. These comprise three major booklets: "Population Problems in the South", "America's Tenth Man", and "Singers in the Dawn", for use respectively in the departments of civics, history, and literature. A number of other bulletins are available for reference, and the unit may be further enriched by first-hand study of local conditions.

Several hundred schools are being invited to introduce this unit. We believe everyone will be amply repaid by the profit derived from the study. Nevertheless, to add to the interest - but more especially in order to get reports from the various schools participating - one award of $100 and two of $50 each will be paid to the three schools reporting the best work.

We would like very much to submit for your consideration the materials available for this project and to have your school or schools take part in it. If you wish to consider the matter, with the possibility of participating, please advise us and the bulletins will be sent you at once without charge. The blank below is for your convenience in ordering.

Yours very truly,

R. B. Eleazer

R. B. Eleazer

- -

Conference on Education and Race Relations
710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Ga.

Please send me without charge or obligation the materials suggested for a high school unit on education and race relations. They will be given careful consideration, with a view to their possible use in this school.

Name .....

School .....

Address .....

J. L. CLARK, CHAIRMAN

R. B. ELEAZER, SECRETARY

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Conference on Education and Race Relations

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710 STANDARD BLDG.
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J. T. DORRIS
EDWIN L. CLARKE

February 20, 1937

Dear Friend:

Some days ago you gave us the privilege of submitting materials suggested for a unit of work on the racial situation in the south. We trust you found them suitable for use and that your school is planning a unit on this subject.

The purpose of this letter is to renew the offer to send your school, without charge, a limited supply of the source pamphlets; or if funds are available for their purchase, as many as may be needed at the prices indicated, which are less than cost of printing and postage.

Our purpose, as you doubtless know, is in no sense commercial. We are concerned solely with the effort to work out and demonstrate an effective educational approach to one of our most serious problems. When no funds are available, we take as great pleasure in supplying these materials as when they are paid for. So, in either case, we hope you will send in your order promptly, so the unit may get under way as soon as possible. Blanks are enclosed for your convenience.

Your school, no doubt, will want to submit a report of its work in this connection, in order to be eligible for one of the three cash awards aggregating $200. To be considered for these awards reports will need to be postmarked not later than May 1st. There is still ample time to carry out the project, but not a great deal to spare. Hence we confidently hope to have your order in the next few days.

Yours very truly,

CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION AND RACE RELATIONS

R B Eleazer

R. B. Eleazer.

THIS LETTER AND EDUCATION PAMPHLETS ADDRESSED TO HEAD OF SOCIAL SCIENCE DEPT. in selected list of SOUTHERN HIGH SCHOOLS - 3,000

J. L. CLARK, CHAIRMAN

R. B. ELEAZER, SECRETARY

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J. T. DORRIS
EDWIN L. CLARKE

Conference on Education and Race Relations

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
710 STANDARD BLDG.
Atlanta, Georgia

October 8, 1937

Dear Friend:

You are pleased, of course, with the increasing emphasis on the social sciences, as a necessary preparation for right human relations. This is by far the most notable trend in modern education, and lies at the center of the extensive "curriculum building" studies and "programs for the improvement of education" that are going on throughout the Southern states.

This emphasis, it is obvious, has peculiar significance here in the South in connection with our interracial problems. Curriculum study groups in many states are pointing this out, and urging that the schools take definite steps to prepare their students to deal with these problems wisely and justly.

For some years the Conference on Education and Race Relations has recognized this need, and has taken steps to provide materials for meeting it. The accompanying folder lists materials now available, together with suggestions for the development of a unit of work, along lines successfully demonstrated in a great many schools.

If you are interested in the possibility of developing such a unit in your school, we would like to send you samples of these materials prepared for use in classes in history, civics, and literature. Should any of these meet with your approval, we shall be glad to have you order such as you may wish to use.

If funds are available for their purchase (and we hope they will be), we will supply them <u>at less than actual cost</u> of printing and carriage. If funds are not available, we hope you will <u>write for materials just the same</u>. Merely indicate the number of classes and students to be enlisted and enough for desk copies and library use will be sent <u>without charge</u>. Blanks are enclosed for your convenience in ordering.

Hoping to have your order at an early date and promising immediate attention to your requirements, we are

Yours very truly,

CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION AND RACE RELATIONS

R B Eleazer

Secretary.

MISSOURI	200
TEXAS	250
ARKANSAS	172
VIRGINIA	199
ALABAMA	202
KENTUCKY	197
GEORGIA	200
FLORIDA	202
MISSISSIPPI	200
N. C.	234
TENN.	200
S. C.	201

12/3/37 - Louisiana - 205

THIS LETTER SENT TO 2,300 High Schools in the Southern states.
Encl. - EDUCATION FOR SOUTHERN CITIZENSHIP

J. L. CLARK, CHAIRMAN

R. B. ELEAZER, SECRETARY

(151 Virginia
212 South Carolina
167 Alabama
104 Florida
200 Georgia)

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Conference on Education and Race Relations

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
710 STANDARD BLDG.
Atlanta, Georgia

Oct 31, ~~September 20~~, 1938

Dear Friend:

The most notable trend in modern education is the conviction that education should be more directly related to life, as a necessary preparation for right human relations. This conviction underlies the curriculum building studies that are now engaging thousands of teachers throughout the country.

Among the subjects which these groups are marking for special attention here in the South are the peculiar problems due to the racial situation. Units of work on this subject have been outlined and recommended in official curriculum bulletins recently issued by the State Departments of Education of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Virginia, and perhaps other Southern States.

To meet the need for materials suitable for use in such units, the Conference on Education and Race Relations is making available a number of bulletins which have already been widely used in this way. The accompanying folder describes these materials, together with suggestions of methods successfully demonstrated in a great many schools.

If you are interested in the possibility of developing such a unit in your school, we shall be glad to send you samples of these materials on ~~return of the accompanying blank No. 1.~~

If you are already familiar with these materials and wish to recommend them for use to your teachers of history, civics, and literature, fill out and return the second blank.

Quantities of any of the bulletins for the use of students may be had at the prices indicated in blank three.

Hoping at an early date to have your order under one of these heads, we are

Yours very truly,

CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION AND RACE RELATIONS

R. B. Eleazer
Secretary

~~(Use whichever blank suits your purpose)~~

I

Conference on Education and Race Relations,
710 Standard Building,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Please send without charge sample copies of "Population Problems in the South," "America's Tenth Man," and "Singers in the Dawn." I will examine them carefully, with a view to their use in our school, if found suitable.

Name _____

School _____

Address _____

~~II~~ I

As offered, please send without charge desk copies of "America's Tenth Man," "Population Problems in the South," and "Singers in the Dawn" for _____ teachers of history, _____ teachers of civics, and _____teachers of literature. I will request that these bulletins be used as teaching materials in the several classes.

Name _____

School _____

Address _____

II III

Please send the following materials for a unit of work:

_____ copies "Population Problems," at $2.00 per hundred $ _____

_____ copies "America's Tenth Man," at $1.50 per hundred _____

_____ copies "Singers in the Dawn," at 5¢ each _____

_____ copies "Southland Spirituals," 25¢ each _____

Remittance (or requisition) is enclosed in payment $ _____

We plan to enlist in the study _____classes enrolling_____students

Name _____

School _____

Address _____

(Use whichever blank suits your purpose)

Conference on Education and Race Relations,
710 Standard Building,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Gentlemen:

Please send the following materials for a unit of work on education and race relations:

_____ copies "Population Problems," at $2.00 per hundred $_____
_____ copies "America's Tenth Man," at $1.50 per hundred _____
_____ copies "Singers in the Dawn," 5¢ each _____
_____ copies "Southland Spirituals," 25¢ each _____

Remittance (or requisition) is enclosed in payment.

We plan to enlist in the study _____classes enrolling _____students.

Name _____

School _____

Address _____

Conference on Education and Race Relations,
710 Standard Building,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Gentlemen:

We wish to introduce the unit of work on education and race relations in _____classes in civics with _____students; _____classes in American history with _____students; and _____ classes in American literature with _____students.

Please send <u>without charge</u> such materials as are available for this purpose.

Name _____

School _____

Address _____

SUGGESTIONS FOR UNIT OF WORK IN POPULATION PROBLEMS

"Population Problems in the South," studied in classes in civics and American problems.

"America's Tenth Man," used as text in history classes.

"Singers in the Dawn," studied in classes in literature and English.

Study of Negro spirituals in music department.

School and city libraries consulted for additional materials.

Surveys of Negro community made by civics department, including housing, sanitation, churches, schools, economic status, etc.

Special attention given to conditions and needs of Negro schools.

Newspapers and magazines watched for significant articles.

Reports made and essays written in the several classes.

Posters produced and put on exhibit.

Plays written and enacted by dramatic club.

Assembly and home room programs featuring papers, readings, music, reports on surveys, etc.

Programs presented by students before civic, business, and religious groups.

Announcements and articles in local newspapers and school journal.

Copies of source materials put in school and town libraries and in public reading rooms.

Some of these suggestions should be practical in every school. Other possibilities will occur to those directing the work.

EDUCATION AND RACE RELATIONS

Schools May Render South Invaluable Service, Say Leading Educators

CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION AND RACE RELATIONS
710 STANDARD BUILDING
ATLANTA, GA.

Composed of one hundred representative Southern educators—college presidents, professors, and public school administrators—the Conference on Education and Race Relations for several years has met annually at George Peabody College to consider the need of an educational approach to the South's peculiar problems of race relations.

Since preparation for intelligent citizenship is an essential function of education, and since the most serious problems of citizenship in the South are connected with the bi-racial situation, the Conference is convinced that schools and colleges can render the South a vastly important service by preparing future citizens to understand these problems and to solve them in wisdom and justice.

With that conviction, the Conference is seeking to enlist all our colleges and public schools in a definite effort to prepare their students for intelligent, constructive leadership in this field.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Following are extracts from recommendations made by the Conference in its successive annual meetings:

"We desire to see a better understanding in race relations and believe that this can be brought about through education."

"The teaching of a class in race relations once every year is excellent, but it is not sufficient. Units of teaching based on this problem should be outlined in all subjects where possible. Suggestions and outlines of extra-curricula work and lesson plans for elementary and high schools should be prepared and made available for all the schools and colleges of the South."

"There should be taught in both white and colored schools those things that will build up in both races such knowledge and mutual understanding as will promote good will, fair play, and a spirit of cooperation that will enable us all to work together for a safer, saner, and more fruitful civilization. A book giving a faithful account of the contributions of the American Negro to the life of our country should be prepared under proper guidance for use in all our schools. . . . The state superintendents of education with their staffs are urged to take immediate necessary steps, in cooperation with our higher institutions of learning, to put these suggestions into effect."

The representative character of the Conference will be seen from the personnel of the following committees, which are responsible for it:

SPONSORING COMMITTEE

Bruce R. Payne, President, George Peabody College.

Frank Graham, President, University of North Carolina.

Willis A. Sutton, Superintendent, Atlanta Public Schools.

R. E. Blackwell, President, Randolph-Macon College for Men.

Robert H. Wright, President, Eastern Carolina Teachers College.

H. Y. Benedict, President, University of Texas.

James H. Hope, State Superintendent of Schools, South Carolina.

R. E. L. Sutherland, former President, Mississippi State College for Women.

H. L. McAllister, President, Arkansas State Teachers College.

Aquila Chamlee, President, Bessie Tift College.

Margaret M. Edwards, North Carolina College for Women.

S. A. Kruse, S. E. Missouri State Teachers College.

Fred C. Frey, Louisiana State University.

J. T. Dorris, Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College.

Edwin L. Clarke, Rollins College.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

W. C. Jackson, Dean of North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro.

J. L. Clark, State Teachers College, Huntsville, Texas.

N. C. Newbold, State Supervisor of Negro Schools, Raleigh, N. C.

Dennis H. Cooke and U. W. Leavell, Department of Education, Peabody College.

W. F. Bond, State Superintendent of Education, Jackson, Miss.

T. H. Harris, State Superintendent of Education, Baton Rouge, La.

W. W. Alexander, Jessie Daniel Ames, and R. B. Eleazer, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Atlanta.

HUNDREDS OF SCHOOLS COOPERATE

The Executive Committee has brought the recommendations of the Conference widely to the attention of Southern educators and has provided supplementary materials for use in classes in history, literature, sociology, and education. These have been utilized in not less than 200 colleges and 1,000 public schools. Many gratifying results have been reported and no unfavorable reactions whatever. Suggestions for a unit of work on this subject appear on the next page. Among the materials for study now available are:

"America's Tenth Man," sixteen-page survey of the Negro's contribution to American civilization. More than 100.000 copies have been used in classes in history and American problems. Samples free on request.

"Population Problems in the South," an objective examination of interracial conditions from the standpoint of citizenship. For use by classes in civics and American problems, 24 pages. Sample copies free.

"Singers in the Dawn," an excellent brief anthology of American Negro Poetry, 24 pages and cover. Ten cents per copy. Special quantity price to schools quoted on request.

"Recent Trends in Race Relations," twelve pages of latest data on Negro population, education, health, economic conditions, standing in the courts, etc. Suitable for classes in sociology, civics, and American problems. Sample copies free.

"The Quest for Understanding," what to teach children regarding race relations; 24 pages and cover. Five cents per copy.

"Southland Spirituals," sixty-four of the best known Negro melodies, words and music. All the old-time favorites; 64 pages and cover. Twenty-five cents.

For above materials or further information, write

CONFERENCE OF EDUCATION AND RACE RELATIONS
R. B. ELEAZER, Secretary
710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Ga.

TYPICAL HIGH SCHOOL PROJECTS

Albertville, Alabama

"America's Tenth Man" studied one week by three classes in American History, with 75 enrolled.

"Singers in the Dawn" studied by five classes in literature, 175 enrolled.

Glee Club made study of "Southland Spirituals" and gave a number of public programs.

Paper on Professor George Carver presented before three Science classes, with 76 students.

Essays written, prizes awarded, and winning essays published in local newspapers.

Programs presented by students to local clubs and societies and broadcast over radio.

DeQueen, Arkansas

Seventy pupils participated in study of the Negro in American History and of his achievements and contributions in education, literature, religion, and music.

Pupils visited the Negro school, investigated local conditions, interviewed Negro leaders, and wrote sixty papers on the Negro in DeQueen.

Negro newspapers were collected and analyzed, posters and workbooks were made, and a program was presented before the assembled school.

"Pupils greatly interested; results entirely satisfactory."

Hazelhurst, Georgia

The principal writes: "Our senior class devoted two weeks to a study of the question. I think they acquired a more openminded attitude on the subject. I endorse your work and wish it much success."

Training School, State Teachers College, Johnson City, Tenn.

This school developed in practice an 18-page unit of study in appreciation of the Negro's native ability, skills, and achievements. Student reactions highly satisfactory.

Arcola, Mississippi

Under advice and observation of a professor and students of Delta State Teachers College, a unit of work on race relations was carried through the

departments of History, Civics, English, Science, and Mathematics in this school. The Social Science teacher writes: "I have never enjoyed any project more than this. The students also enjoyed it thoroughly."

STUDENT REACTIONS TO RACE RELATIONS UNIT
CLINTON, MISSISSIPPI

"This study has broadened my knowledge of the Negro and given me a different attitude toward him."

-- Lucile Ryan

"The study has been interesting and helpful. To hold the Negro as a semi-slave is unfair not only to him, but to the whole country."

-- Alpheus Waggener

"Through the impartial discussion of this subject my attitude has become very different."

-- Ann Scott

"I did not realize how bad conditions are. I think every student should be shown these conditions, for tomorrow they will be our problem."

-- Grace Lovelace

"The study of this problem has awakened us to the fact that we must do something about it."

-- Homer Peden

- -

Pikeville High School, Pikeville, Ky.

"The results of the project have been most gratifying. The general tone is one of liberality and tolerance, where previously there had been considerable antagonism. I think we often find people eager to be broad-minded if they have the opportunity.

"The results of our study include:
The careful preparation of 225,000 words in written work;
Probably near a million of less carefully chosen oral words set free, and certainly an increased interest in the subject."

-- Catherine Hendricks
Dean of Girls

TYPICAL UNITS OF WORK

High School, St. Petersburg, Florida

Three weeks were given to the project in four citizenship classes enrolling 129 pupils. An intensive study of "America's Tenth Man" and "Population Problems" was made, and books and other supplementary materials from the school and city libraries were read and reported on. These included Moton's "What the Negro Thinks" and Brawley's "History of the American Negro."

The newspapers and magazines were watched for constructive articles regarding Negroes.

A number of committees worked on specific phases of Negro life - economic conditions, political and civil rights, educational facilities, cultural contributions, etc.

Visits were made to the Negro schools and churches, Negro leaders were interviewed, and surveys were made of Negro business and residential areas and recreational facilities. The findings were compiled in four booklets which were typed by the commercial classes and illustrated by the art students.

Four classes made a study of Negro literature and presented a program on it to student assemblies numbering 440. "Singers in the Dawn" was used as the basis of this study.

A music class gave two programs of Negro selections.

Central High School, Chattanooga, Tennessee

Two hundred students studied "America's Tenth Man" and "Population Problems in the South."

Essays were written by 150 students and posters and scrapbooks were made.

Open forums on race relations were held in the Hi Y Club.

Two outside speakers addressed the students on the racial situation.

A radio broadcast was given, with four student speakers. It is estimated that this broadcast reached 25,000 people.

Copies of the source pamphlets were presented to the editors of the local papers, and commendatory editorials were published. Copies were sent also to all the junior high schools in the city.

High School, Biloxi, Mississippi

"America's Tenth Man" was studied for one week by 188 students in three sections of American history, three junior home rooms, and two sections of European history. Seventy papers were written on the subject and a prize was awarded the best.

A study of the native African in contrast with the present-day Negro was made in four history classes, enrolling 118 pupils.

A general assembly program and three junior home room programs were presented, dealing with Negro progress, health, education, literature, religion and music.

Books and equipment were presented to the Negro school.

Newspapers and magazines were watched for current events reports. Several articles on the project were published in the school paper.

Essays, posters, and booklets were made by ten classes in English and civics, enrolling 224 students.

The project enlisted the interest of practically every student and the results were highly satisfactory.

I
HS Projects

REPORT OF "TENTH MAN" PROJECTS

* * * *

HIGH SCHOOL, BILOXI, MISSISSIPPI

"America's Tenth Man" was studied for one week by 188 students in three sections of American history, three junior home rooms, and two sections of European history. Seventy papers were written on the subject and a prize was awarded the best.

A study of the native African in contrast with the present-day Negro was made in four history classes, enrolling 118 pupils.

A general assembly program and three junior home room programs were presented, dealing with Negro progress, health, education, literature, religion, and music.

As a result of a book shower 48 books and other equipment were presented to the Negro school. Thirty-two students presented the books and wrote reports regarding their visit.

Newspapers and magazines were watched for articles about the Negro for current events reports. Several articles on the project were published in the school paper.

Essays, posters and booklets were made by ten classes in English and civics, enrolling 224 students.

Copies of the "Tenth Man" were placed in the Negro school, the Carnegie library, the community reading room, and the five grade schools.

The project enlisted the interest of practically every student and the results were highly satisfactory. Superintendent G. W. Ditto writes:

"The Biloxi City Schools have participated in the 'Tenth Man' project for several years. We find that it has been very beneficial. The students have gained a deeper understanding of the problems of the American Negro - more sympathetic and more thoroughly American than would have been possible without the study. The city officials, the school board, and the public spirited citizens of Biloxi are in accord with this program."

* * * *

R. J. REYNOLDS SCHOOL, WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

The "Tenth Man" project was carried on by three classes in American problems, assisted by the departments of commerce, art, journalism, and printing. Over 350 students took part in the project, which covered eight weeks. The school paper carried information concerning it to all the rest.

Visits were made to the Negro high school and the teachers' college located here, to the colored Y. W. C. A., the Bethlehem House, orphanage, and reformatory, and to a number of business concerns, churches, and homes. Conferences were held with Negro citizens, books were borrowed from the teachers' college, and Negro papers, magazines, and college catalogs were studied.

Twelve volumes of reports were compiled by the students, treating Negro history, education, health, business, inventions, etc. Some of these ran to seventy-five pages. They were typed by the commercial department and covers were printed and applied by the printing department. Many attractive posters were made, and plays of Negro life were written.

Programs were given by groups of students before a number of local civic clubs, religious and business groups. Not less than 1,200 citizens were reached in this way. All the reactions were favorable.

* * * * *

HIGH SCHOOL, ALBERTVILLE, ALABAMA

Three senior high school girls prepared a course on "America's Tenth Man" and taught it for a week to three sections of junior high school history, with 75 pupils. The interest was so great that two additional periods were devoted to discussion and debate.

"Singers in the Dawn" was studied by five literature classes with 175 students. One of these read a selection from this anthology at a church service on Easter morning. A voice ensemble of ten students read selections on a school assembly program.

The Glee Club studied "Southland Spirituals" for several weeks and gave selections from it on a number of programs. Piano selections from Negro composers were given also.

Programs were presented before the local Civitan Club, the Women's Study Club, and two missionary societies.

Prizes were given for the best essays on race relations and the winning papers were published in the local press.

A thirty minute radio program was broadcast, including talks, papers and musical numbers.

* * * * *

HIGH SCHOOL, ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA

Three weeks were given to the project in four citizenship classes enrolling 129 pupils. An intensive study of "America's Tenth Man" and "Population Problems" was made, and books and other supplementary materials from the school and city libraries were read and reported on. These included Moton's "What the Negro Thinks" and Brawley's "History of the American Negro."

The newspapers and magazines were watched for constructive articles regarding Negroes.

A number of committees worked on specific phases of Negro life - economic conditions, political and civil rights, educational facilities, cultural contributions, etc.

Visits were made to the Negro schools and churches, Negro leaders were interviewed, and surveys were made of Negro business and residential areas and recreational facilities. The findings were compiled in four booklets which were typed by the commercial classes and illustrated by the art students.

Four classes made a study of Negro literature and presented a program on it to student assemblies numbering 440. "Singers in the Dawn" was used as the basis of this study.

A music class gave two programs of Negro selections.

* * * * * * * * *

CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL, CHATTANOOGA

Two hundred students studied "America's Tenth Man" and "Population Problems in the South."

Essays were written by 150 students and posters and scrap books were made.

Open forums on race relations were held in the Hi Y Club.

Two outside speakers addressed the students on the racial situation.

A radio broadcast was given, with four student speakers. It is estimated that this broadcast reached 25,000 people.

Copies of the source pamphlets were presented to the editors of the local papers, and commendatory editorials were published. Copies were sent also to all the junior high schools in the city.

REPORTS OF "TENTH MAN" PROJECTS

- - - -

HIGH SCHOOL, BILOXI, MISS.

Miss Frances Everett

"America's Tenth Man" was studied for one week in three sections of American history with sixty-eight pupils, in three junior home rooms with seventy pupils, and in two sections of modern European history with fifty pupils.

A study of the native African in contrast with the present-day Negro was made in two American history classes and in two modern history classes, enrolling 118 pupils. Two sets of stereopticon views were shown, portraying the Negro in Africa and in America.

Three junior home room programs were carried out, dealing with Negro progress, health, education, literature, religion, music, and race relations.

A general assembly program on the Negro was sponsored by the junior class, including papers, readings, and music.

Seventy papers were written on "America's Tenth Man" and a local award was made for the one adjudged best.

As a result of a book shower conducted by the junior class, forty-eight books were presented to the Negro school. This school was visited by twenty-two students in American history and by ten on the assembly program, who presented books and other needed equipment. Written reports regarding their observations were made by the students.

Newspapers and magazines were watched for articles about Negroes for current events reports.

Several articles on the subject were published in the school paper.

The project was used as supplementary material for essays, posters, and booklets in four English classes, numbering ninety-six, and in six civic classes, enrolling 128.

Copies of the "Tenth Man" were placed in the Negro school, the Carnegie library, the community house reading room, and each of the five grade schools for use in history classes. The project enlisted the interest of practically every student and the results were highly satisfactory.

R. J. REYNOLD'S SCHOOL, WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

Mrs. H. S. Anderson

The "Tenth Man" project in our school has had a number of angles. It was carried on by three classes in American problems, with the assistance of the departments of commerce, art, journalism, and printing. Over 350 students took direct part in the project, which covered a term of eight weeks. The school paper carried information concerning the project to every student and teacher, a total of 1,900.

Visits were made to the Negro high school and the teachers' college located here, to the colored Y. W. C. A., the Bethlehem House, orphanage, and reformatory, and to a number of business concerns, churches, and homes. Conferences were held with prominent Negro citizens, books were borrowed from the library of the teachers' college, and Negro papers, magazines, and college catalogs were studied.

Twelve volumes of reports were compiled by the students, treating at length as many phases of Negro life and achievement-history, education, health, business, inventions, etc. Some of these studies ran to seventy-five typewritten pages. They were typed by the commercial department and the covers were printed by the printing department, by which they were also bound. Many attractive posters were made, and some plays of Negro life were written.

Programs on Negro progress were put on by groups of students before a number of local civic clubs, religious and business groups. The reception of these programs was invariably favorable. Not less than 1,200 prominent citizens were reached in this way.

It has been interesting to see the favorable reactions of the students.

HIGH SCHOOL, KIRKSVILLE, MISSOURI

Mrs. Pauline D. Knobbs

(A) Project in the high school proper.

1. The problem of the American Negro was studied in two classes in American problems, enrolling seventy-three students. Four weeks were given to this study, with daily recitation periods. A mimeographed outline was prepared for the study, each student was supplied with a copy of "America's Tenth Man," and a large number of reference books were consulted. At the conclusion a thorough test was passed by seventy of the seventy-three students.

2. Four classes in American history devoted two weeks to the study of the Negro in American life, with forty-five minutes of recitation daily.

3. In the several departments 102 essays on "America's Tenth Man" were written, each of a thousand words.

4. Two local prizes were awarded for the most effective essays, and two for the best poster work in connection with the project.

THE CHURCH WOMAN

WORK

FAMILIES ALIVE TO RELIGION
Evelyn Millis Duvall and Sylvanus Milne Duvall

THE NECESSITY OF PRAYER *Muriel Lester*

UNITY *Mrs. Harper Sibley*

DAUGHTERS OF DORCAS *Iris V. Cully*

A NEW WAY TO BE CHRISTIAN
Joy Hume Falk

COMMITTEE SUGGESTIONS *for* 1946-7

NEWS AND NOTES

DIRECTORY

MAY, 1946

CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND WORLD ORDER

On April 4, 1947 letters went to the following people telling them the amount which SRC will pay toward their expenses at the Conference:

Mrs. W. H. Ratliff --$25.00 yes
Southeastern Jurisdiction W.S.C.S.
Sherard, Mississippi

Mrs. Una Roberts Lawrence --$70.00 no
Hilltop, Fox Woods
Route 8
Kansas City 16, Mo.

Mrs. R. Thompson Hollis --$75.00 yes
210 N. Stiles Street
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Mrs. Thomas Weeks --$20.00 no
Springfield, Ga.

Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen, Jr. --$50.00 Mrs Cather → yes
1564 Valmont Street
New Orleans, La.

Mrs. John K. Witherspoon --$10.00 again on 4-18
311 Crestway Drive
Chattanooga, Tenn.

~~Mrs. William Grimball~~ --$30.00 Mrs Boswell
~~#5 Colonial Street~~
Charleston, S. C.

Mrs. J. W. Bennettt --$15.00 — yes
614 Thomas Street
Waycross, Ga.

Mrs. Ethel Temerson --$25.00 again 4-18-47
President, District #7
B'nai B'rith
Tusca loosa, Ala.

Speakers' Expenses

MRS. TILLY SOS!

HOPE THIS OK SENT ATTACHED LETTER
TO ALL ON THIS LIST, NOT KNOWING WHO
HAD TOLD YOU SHE OR HE COULDN'T SERVE.

rr

CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Cards Sent 4-7-47 for meeting 4-10-47

THOSE INVITED TO SERVE
ON ADVISORY & PROGRAM
COMMITTEE

JUNIOR LEAGUE: Mrs. Hugh Dorsey, Jr., President
2593 Dellwood Drive, N.W.
Atlanta -Ch. 6298

COUNCIL OF
JEWISH WOMEN: Mrs. Siegfried Guthman, President
867 Berkshire Rd., N.E.
Atlanta - He. 5239

ATLANTA WOMAN'S
CLUB: ~~Mrs. J. Low Zachry, President~~
~~3909 Club Dr., N.E.~~
~~Atlanta~~

GEORGIA
EDUCATION
ASSOCIATION: J. Harold Sason, Secretary
704 Walton Bldg.
Atlanta -Ja. 3028

A.A.U.W.: Mrs. Frances C. Beebee, President
3900 Tuxedo Rd., N.W.
Atlanta -Ch. 0895

23

ATLANTA P-T A: Mrs. Warren H. Bradley, President
1132 Oglethorpe Ave., S.W.
Atlanta -Ra. 8253

Mrs. Addie ~~Lott~~ Gilbert, 410 Callan Cir., NE

BUSINESS &
PROFESSIONAL
WOMEN'S CLUB: ~~Mrs. James E. Fuller, President~~
~~Tucker Wayne & Co.~~
~~10 Pryor St. Bldg. - Wa. 6701~~

PILOT CLUB: Mrs. C. Neese, President
2909 N. Fulton Dr., N.E.
Atlanta -Ch. 1697

- -

Mrs. E. N. Good, 556 Moreland Ave., N.E.

Mrs. Carl Schanche, ~~943 Highland View, N.E.~~ 1191 Emory Drive NE

23 COUNSA

23

Mrs. Leonard Haas, GA. LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS, ~~Hurt Bldg.~~

Miss Mary Jane Willett, Y.W.C.A., Wesley Memorial Bldg.

need 6

Miss Mary Kate Duskin, 37 Auburn Ave, N.E.

Miss Lucy Mason, 75 Ivy St. Bldg.

Mrs. C. M. Lancaster, 992 Cumberland Road, N.E.

Mrs. E. G. Mackey, 1221 Clifton Road, N.E.

Miss Annie Tait Jenkins, Woman's Work, Presbyterian Church, U.S., Henry Grady Bldg.

Miss Grace Arnold, 112 Brown Ave., S.E.

Mrs. W. H. Borders, 24 Yonge St., N.E.

Dr. Guion Johnson, 11 Pryor St.

Dr. E. G. Mackey, 1221 Clifton Road, N.E.

Mrs. Chester Martin, 3590 Ivy Rd., N.E.

Mrs C R Yates
1221 W. Hunter
Atlanta Ga

Mrs A. M. Towns
594 University Pl., NW
Atlanta Ga.

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

May 1, 1947

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE
FOR THE
CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND WORLD ORDER

I hope you will make every effort to meet with us

Monday, May 5, at 2.00 P.M.

in my office, 401 Wesley Memorial Church Building, for a last-minute going over of our Conference plans. A copy of the program as it has developed thus far is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

MET:r

The Georgia Council of Church Women
The Woman's Society of Christian Service, The Methodist Church
The Southern Regional Council

Invite You
to participate in

A CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND WORLD ORDER

to be held at the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, Atlanta
May 8 and 9

The Program will be as follows

11:00 A. M. May 8th

Introductions and Greetings - Mrs. C. M. Lancaster

Purposes and Plans - Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Chairman

Basic Spiritual Foundations - Rev. Harrison McMains, Pastor
First Christian Church

Luncheon Hour

The lunch will be the cereal served to children of war devastated countries. Persons will be privileged to pay any amount they wish for the lunch and it will be sent to overseas relief.

1:45 P. M. May 8th

Workshops

I. Human Rights and World Order
Mrs. Chester Martin, Chairman
Leader - Dr. W. B. Stubbs, Emory University

Panel-
Dr. Richard Fagley, Federal Council of Churches.
Representative on United Nations
Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor, Atlanta Constitution
Dr. Forest C. Weir, Southeastern Inter-Council Office
Foreign Students
Discussion

II. Human Rights Under the Law
Mrs. A. A. Hardy, Chairman
Leader - Col. Devereaux McClatchey

Panel-
Mr. Turner Smith, Chief, Civil Rights Division of U. S. Dept. of Justice
Mr. Alex Miller - Anti-defamation League
Mrs. Agnes Douty, Georgia Workers Education Service
Col. A. T. Walden, N. A. A. C. P.

II. Human Rights Under the Law

Panel Cont.

Dr. A. E. Elder, Atlanta University
Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Southern Regional Council
Dr. E. G. Mackay, President of Christian Council

III. Human Rights in Earning a Living

Mrs. C. M. Lancaster, Chairman

Panel-

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Southern Regional Council
Mrs. Olive Haskins, Georgia Workers Education Service
Mr. Nelson Jackson, Southeast Area, National Urban League
Mr. R. L. Van Sant, Georgia Farm Home Administration
Mr. Frank Prohl, Southern Conference Teamsters
Rev. Rembert Sisson, Pastor, Haygood Memorial Church
Miss Lillian Schearer, Woman's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, Social Security Administration

Evening Session

7:30 P. M.

Worship - Rev. William Holmes Borders, D. D.

Woman's Right To Make A Living - Miss Lillian Schearer, Woman's Bureau

Our Civil Rights - Mr. Turner Smith, Chief Civil Rights Division, U. S. Dept. of Justice

Human Rights and World Order. - Dr. Richard Fagley

May 9, 1947

9:30 A. M. to 10:30 - Continuation of Workshops

10:30 A. M. to 12:00 - Discussion of Findings and Action Program

Challenge - GO FORWARD - Rev. John A. Brokhoff, Pastor Lutheran Church of the Redeemer

Memo from GUY B. JOHNSON

to

NOTES FOR TALK TO CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS
Atlanta, May 8, 1947

Workshop on "Human Rights Under the Law" 7 min.

The Police and Human Rights

All citizens are supposed to enjoy equal protection of the laws, and it is the function of the police and the courts to give them that protection. I shall talk briefly about the relation of the police to our largest underprivileged minority group, the Negro group.

First, I want to pay tribute to the policeman and acknowledge that he has one of the most difficult jobs in the world. He often works under trying conditions, with too little pay and very little security. I am not here to make a sweeping condemnation of police, but to point out wherein I think they can do a better job.

To all who have given this matter some thought there are some facts which can hardly be disputed:

1. Negroes do not get as good police protection as they need. Too many offenses are committed with impunity in the Negro community. Most of these are offenses of Negroes vs Negroes, but some are whites vs Negroes. There are not enough policemen in these areas, and they do not as a rule exert as much effort and skill in handling such cases as they do among the more well-to-do people.

2. Police are too quick to use abusive language and to resort to club and gun on Negroes whom they are arresting or whom they have placed in jail. Naturally some force is needed to subdue and handcuff a person who is resisting or is trying to harm the policeman, but the the use of force too frequently goes far beyond the call of necessity. ~~I~~ I am sure that some of our police derive a sadistic pleasure from beating or shooting Negroes.

3. Closely related to the preceding point is the fact that the police often forget their common-sense and their scientific methods in handling cases involving Negro offenders. Many of us could cite cases like the following: a Negro suspected of a brutal assault was arrested and made to sign a confession on threat that if he didn't sign it he might be turned over to a mob. He was convicted, but a civil rights agency came in and appealed the case on the ground that the confession was obtained by force. The trial court was reversed, and eventually the man went free. The perfectly good objective evidence --bloody finger prints on a stick of wood-- which would have shown whether he was guily or not, was not taken at the time of the crime, and it had been burned up long before the appeal was decided.

4. The treatment of the Negro as a sort of sub-human over a long period of years has built up a set of defensive and aggressive attitudes on the part of the Negro toward the law and the police. In its milder expression, it is simply an attitude of evasion or non-cooperation; but in its more extreme expressions it is a matter of bitter hatred of police officers. Too many Negroes have had experiences which have brought them to the point of desperation. They are ripe for martyrdom, and they are quite willing to quit this life in burst of gun-fire provided they can take a policeman with them.

Thus we have an unfortunate situation which will take many years to correct. But we had better get started on doing something about it before it gets any worse. Here are my suggestions:

1. Training of the police in higher professional standards in dealing with <u>all</u> citizens, with more emphasis on common courtesy and respect for human life. Police can be so selected and trained that they can do a better job, with less violence and with more community cooperation.

2. Greater use of Negro policemen. This is not a new idea. About 40 Southern cities use them. (Cite some).No one has a right to be a policeman merely because he is white or black, but because he can do a good job. Negro police have some obvious advantages in handling things in their communities,

and the cities which employ them are almost unanimous in ~~their~~ saying that they have helped law enforcement and have helped attitudes.

3. Better communication between police officials and Negro citizens. There is too little intelligent communication at present, and one big reason is that there is no regular channel, no machinery. I think that every police chief would be doing himself and his city a great service if he would have an informal advisory committee of Negro citizens who could meet with him at least once every three months.

4.Finally all of us as individuals can not only work toward the realization of the three suggestions that I have just made, but we can also dig a bit deeper into the situations in our local communities. E.G.:

What are the police laws and ordinances in your state and city?
What are the qualifications, salaries, etc, of your police?
What rules and regulations are issued by your police department concerning use of force, handling of sick or injured offenders, handling of drunks, holding persons incomunnicado, etc.?

Why not find out just what goes on and then try to see wherein you can help to do something constructive?

CONFERENCE

HUMAN RIGHTS AND WORLD ORDER

Sponsored

by

Georgia Council of Church Women
Woman's Society of Christian Service, the Methodist Church
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

The Lutheran Church of the Redeemer
Atlanta, Georgia
May 8 and 9, 1947

They shall set every man under his vine and under his fig tree. None shall make them afraid; for the mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken it. - Micah 4:4

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights.....-Declaration of Independence

We, the people of the United Nations, determined.....to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small...and to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors....
-- Preamble of Charter of the United Nations

One World, One People, One Father of Us All

May 8, 1947

11:00 A.M.

Hymn - America, The Beautiful

Introductions and Greetings - Mrs. C.M. Lancaster,
President, Georgia Council of Church Women

Purposes and Plans - Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Chairman

Our Civil Rights - Mr. Turner Smith, Chief, Civil Rights
Section of U. S. Department of Justice

Basic Spiritual Foundations - The Rev. Harrison McMains,
Pastor, First Christian Church, Atlanta

Luncheon Hour

The lunch will be the cereal served to children of war devastated countries. Persons will be privileged to pay any amount they wish for the lunch and it will be sent to overseas relief.

Film Strips - BROTHERHOOD OF MAN
SEEDS OF DESTINY
(Courtesy, Georgia ~~Workers~~ Education Service)

1:45 P. M.

Workshops

I. Human Rights and World Order
Chairman - Mrs. Chester Martin, President
Atlanta Council of Church Women
Leader - Dr. W. B. Stubbs, Emory University

Panel -
Dr. Richard Fagley, Secretary of Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America
Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor, Atlanta Constitution
Dr. Forest C. Weir, Executive Secretary of the Southeastern Inter-Council Office
Mr. Sady Machado, Brazil; Student, Emory University
Mr. Robert Chaplin, England; Student, Emory University
Mr. Sophocles Lolis, Greece; Student, Emory University

Discussion

II. Human Rights Under the Law
Chairman - Mrs. A. A. Hardy, Secretary Christian Social Relations, Georgia Council of Church Women
Leader - Atty. Devereaux McClatchey, Atlanta

Panel -
Mr. Turner Smith, Chief, Civil Rights Section of U. S. Department of Justice
Mr. Alex Miller, Director Southeastern Regional Office, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Mrs. Agnes Douty, Assistant to Director, Georgia Workers Education Service
Atty. A. T. Walden, Atlanta, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Dr. A. E. Elder, Head Department of Education, Atlanta University
Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Consultant, Southern Regional Council
Dr. E. G. Mackay, Atlanta, President of Christian Council

Discussion

III. Human Rights in Earning a Living

Chairman - Mrs. C. M. Lancaster, President Georgia Council of Church Women

Leader - Dr. Glenn Rainey, Georgia School of Technology

Panel--

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Olive Haskins, Field Program Leader, Georgia Workers Education Service

Mr. Nelson Jackson, Director, Southeastern Area, National Urban League

Mr. R. L. Van Sant, Director, Georgia Farm Home Administration

Mr. Frank Prohl, Southern Conference Teamsters, American Federation of Labor

The Rev. Rembert Sisson, Pastor, Haygood Memorial Methodist Church, Atlanta

Miss Lillian Schearer, Woman's Bureau, Social Security Administration

Discussion

Evening Session
7:30 P. M.

Worship - The Rev. William Holmes Borders, D.D., Pastor Wheat Street Baptist Church, Atlanta

Woman's Right to Make a Living, Miss Lillian Schearer, Woman's Bureau, Social Security Administration

Human Rights and World Order - Dr. Richard Fagley, Secretary of Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America

May 9, 1947

9:30 A. M.

Continuation of Workshops

10:30 A. M.

Worship
Discussion of Findings and Action Program

12:00 A. M.

Challenge - GO FORWARD
The Rev. John A. Brokhoff, Pastor
- Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, Atlanta -

"So long as there are homes to which men turn
At close of day;
So long as there are homes where children are
And women stay;
If faith and loyalty are found
Across these sills,
A stricken nation can recover
From grievous ills.
So long as there are homes where fires burn
And there is bread,
So long as there are homes where lamps are lit
And prayers are said,
Though a people falter in darkness
And a nation grope,
With God Himself back of these little homes
We still have hope."

HUMAN RIGHTS AND WORLD ORDER CONFERENCE

MAY 8-9, 1947

LUTHERAN CHURCH OF THE REDEEMER

ATLANTA, GA.

SPONSORS -

GEORGIA COUNCIL OF CHURCH WOMEN
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL -

PURPOSE — To bring together "representative" individuals of various racial, cultural, and economic groups for the purpose of interpreting "HUMAN RIGHTS" in the world scene today, and adapting them to local, regional and national practices.

PROGRAM — 11 A. M. m May 8th -

Purposes and Plans -- Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Chairman
Basic Spiritual Foundations - Rev. Harrison McMains, Pastor First Christian Church, Atlanta.

Luncheon Hour -- 12;30 to 1;30
The lunch will be the same type of cereal served to the children of the war devasted countries.

Moving Pictures -- Seeds of Destiny-
Brotherhood of Man.

Afternoon Session - 1;45 - 4;30

Workshops -

1. Human Rights and World Order - Dr. W. B. Stubbs, Chm.
   Panel -- U. N. Representative - United Council of Church Women-
   Dr. Philip Weltner, Dr. Guptil
   Foreign Students- Emory, Oglethorpe, Agnes Scott University of Georgia.
2. Human Rights Under the Law -
   Panel -- Mr. Turner Smith, Civil Rights Division- Atty. General's Office United States Dept. of Justice
   Capt. Walder, Atlanta
   Mr. Alex Miller-Anti-defamation League
   Dr. A. E. Elder, Atlanta University
3. Human Rights in Earning A Living - Glenn Rainey Chm.
   Panel - Dr. Maris, U. S. Dept. Agriculture
   Miss Schearer, Woman's Bureau, U. S.
   Representatives of labor and management, Urban League

Panel will be followed by discusion - out of which will come program of action.

7; 30 -- Speakers - Mr. Turner Smith, Miss Schearer, U. N. representative.

May 9 - 9;30 to 10;30 - continuation of Workshops-
10;30 to 1- Discussion of findings & action program growing out of workshops-
Go Forward -- Rev. John R. Brokhoff, Pastor - Lutheran Church of the Redeemer.

The Georgia Council of Church Women
The Woman's Society of Christian Service, The Methodist Church
The Southern Regional Council

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to participate in

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to be held at the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, Atlanta
May 8 and 9

The Program will be as follows

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First Christian Church

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1:45 P. M. May 8th

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Mrs. Chester Martin, Chairman
Leader - Dr. W. B. Stubbs, Emory University

Panel-
Dr. Richard Fagley, Federal Council of Churches.
Representative on United Nations
Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor, Atlanta Constitution
Dr. Forest C. Weir, Southeastern Inter-Council Office
Foreign Students
Discussion

II. Human Rights Under the Law
Mrs. A. A. Hardy, Chairman
Leader - Col. Devereaux McClatchey

Panel-
Mr. Turner Smith, Chief, Civil Rights Division of U. S. Dept. of Justice
Mr. Alex Miller - Anti-defamation League
Mrs. Agnes Douty, Georgia Workers Education Service
Col. A. T. Walden, N. A. A. C. P.

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Confidential

II. Human Rights Under the Law

Panel Cont.

Dr. A. E. Elder, Atlanta University
Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Southern Regional Council
Dr. E. G. Mackay, President of Christian Council

III. Human Rights in Earning a Living

Mrs. C. M. Lancaster, Chairman

Panel-

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Southern Regional Council
Mrs. Olive Haskins, Georgia Workers Education Service
Mr. Nelson Jackson, Southeast Area, National Urban League
Mr. R. L. Van Sant, Georgia Farm Home Administration
Mr. Frank Prohl, Southern Conference Teamsters
Rev. Rembert Sisson, Pastor, Haygood Memorial Church
Miss Lillian Shhearer, Woman's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, Social Security Administration

Evening Session

7:30 P. M.

Worship - Rev. William Holmes Borders, D. D.

Woman's Right To Make A Living - Miss Lillian Schearer, Woman's Bureau

Our Civil Rights — Mr. Turner Smith, Chief Civil Rights Division, U. S. Dept. of Justice

Human Rights and World Order. - Dr. Richard Fagley

May 9, 1947

9:30 A. M. to 10:30 - Continuation of Workshops

10:30 A. M. to 12:00 - Discussion of Findings and Action Program

Challenge - GO FORWARD — Rev. John A. Brokhoff, Pastor Lutheran Church of the Redeemer

R E P O R T

O F

CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND WORLD ORDER

The Lutheran Church of the Redeemer
Atlanta, Georgia
May 8 and 9, 1947

Sponsored by

Georgia Council of Church Women
Woman's Society of Christian Service
Southeastern Jurisdiction
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Chairman

I. PURPOSE

The Conference was planned in order to bring together "representative" individuals of various racial, cultural, and economic groups for the purpose of interpreting "Human Rights" in the world scene today, and adapting them to local, regional and national practices.

An added purpose was to undergird the forthcoming report of President Truman's Civil Rights Committee and to prepare the leaders of women's organizations of the South to face clearly and understandingly that the denial of human rights to any group anywhere affects the peace and safety of all people everywhere.

II. DELEGATIONS IN ATTENDANCE

A. A total of 212 persons attended the Conference.

B. States represented were Alabama, Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, New York, Tennessee, Mississippi, Kentucky, California, Washington, D.C., Virginia, Oklahoma. - Total 13

C. Denominations represented were Methodist, Episcopal, Christian (Disciples), Lutheran, Presbyterian, Jewish, Salvation Army, Baptist, Congregational, Baha'i World Faith, Unitarian-Universalist, African Methodist Episcopal Church, Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. Total 13.

D. Organizations represented were

Agnes Scott College
American Red Cross
Americans for Democratic Action
Anti-Defamation League
Atlanta Christian Council
Atlanta Civil Liberties Committee
Atlanta Journal
Atlanta Urban League
Atlanta University

Baha'i World Faith
B'nai B'rith Women of Atlanta

Civil Rights Division, U. S. Dept. of Justice
Committee on Woman's Work, Presbyterian Church, U. S.

Emory University

Organizations represented (Continued)

Farm Home Administration
Federal Council of Churches

Georgia Citizens Council
Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation
Georgia Conference on Social Welfare
Georgia Council of Christian Women (Disciples)
Georgia Council of Church Women

Athens Council of Church Women
Atlanta Council of Church Women
Augusta Council of Church Women
DeKalb Council of Church Women
Macon Council of Church Women
Marietta Council of Church Women

Georgia School of Technology
Georgia Workers Education Service

Jewish Council of Women

League of Women Voters

Metropolitan Council of Negro Women

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Northern Conference, Woman's Society, Lutheran Synod Georgia-Alabama

Piedmont College

Salvation Army
Scarritt College
Spelman College
Southern Field Division, Nat'l. Urban League
Southern Regional Council
Social Service Index

Teamsters of A. F. of L.

Woman's Auxiliary to the National Council (Episcopal)
Woman's Auxiliary, Synod of Georgia, Presbyterian U.S.
Woman's Bureau, Department of Labor
Woman's Connectional Council, C.M.E. Church
Woman's Division Christian Service (Methodist)

Womans's Society of Christian Service,
Southeastern Jurisdiction

Alabama Conference
Atlanta Conference
(Central Juris.)
Florida Conference
Holston Conference
Kentucky Conference
Louisville Conference
Mississippi Conference
Mississippi Conference
(Central Juris.)
North Alabama Conference
North Carolina Conference
North Georgia Conference
North Mississippi Conference
Savannah Conference
(Central Juris.)
South Carolina Conference
South Carolina Conference
(Central Juris.)
Tennessee Conference
Upper South Carolina Conference
Virginia Conference

III. PROGRAM

Although thirty people are listed as speakers and resource people, we had only one substitution.

A. The first session was for orientation.
Mr. Turner Smith, Chief of Civil Rights Division of U. S. Dept. of Justice defined civil rights under Federal and State legistation.
Dr. Harrison McMaims, First Christian Church, Atlanta - gave the basic spiritual foundations that should underlie study and action in the field of Human Rights. The session was followed by a lunch of cereal served to children of war devasted countries. Persons were privileged to pay any amount they wished for the lunch, the money to be sent to overseas relief. The collection amounted to $100.00.
If the film strips "Seeds of Destiny" and "Brotherhood of Man", shown during the luncheon had preceded it, the collection would have been larger.

B. Three afternoon workshops ran simultaneously for three hours. In the workshops discussion was intensive and full and sometimes heated. Agreement or compromise was attained on all points before others were taken up.

C. The findings committees met from 4:30 to 6:00 o'clock. The reports were mimeographed overnight. The next morning an hour was given to the quiet study of reports so that every person had an opportunity to read through them and have his or her notations ready for discussion.

Two hours were given over to the discussion. Great pains were taken with phrases, etc. I have never been with a more serious or hard working group.

See Report of Findings Attached.

D. The night session presented 3 speakers, Dr. Williams Holmes Border Miss Lillian Schaerer, Dr. Richard Fogley.

IV. FROM THE CLOSING CHALLENGE BY DR. JOHN A. BROKHOFF:

"We have been sitting here, discussing and deciding about basic human rights. If you could put into action the recommendations you have here, you would change society - you would be bringing the Kingdom of God on earth. You have done well in terms of knowledge, but knowledge is not enough - and if there is any unforgivable thing about a convention or conference or study group it is that we spend so much time in studying and thinking and do nothing. We merely work out nice phrases in terms of "we recommend" and do nothing. We need action now. One of the things we have to possess in addition to knowledge is determined aggressiveness. Jesus went to meet his enemies - He did not wait to be called. Aggressive determination depends upon this fundamental: Are these rights or are they not? If they are right, they are a part of God. If they are a part of God, they must be put into action. Too, you must have the courage of your convictions. If you want action, then you must sense the urgency of this day. Communism and fascism flourish on lack of these very human rights. The greatest stake we have is our stake in "Christianity itself."

V. EXPRESSIONS AND EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS FROM DELEGATES IN ATTENDANCE

A. President Kentucky Conference W.S.C.S.: "...The Greatest experience I ever had."

B. A South Carolina minister: "What a great Conference! It should be repeated in every state and community."

C. From Alabama: "'Twas surely a worthwhile Conference. How grateful I am to the Southern Regional Council for this experience."

D. A Social Worker: "It was most stimulating."

E. From Tennessee: "The Human Rights meeting gave me a working inspiration."

F. From Oklahoma: "Thanks sincerely for the grand privilege of being in that very significant meeting. I think I have never attended a meeting any where more progressive and far-reaching in its objective."

G. Vice-Chairman, the Woman's Advisory Committee, Woman's Auxiliary, Presbyterian Church: "I had no idea of the magnitude of that Conference on Human Rights and World Order. Not until I began to meet the people and hear the speakers and until I heard the report of Credentials when all the states and organizations were listed. Thank you with all my heart for what it meant to me personally."

IV. FINDINGS AND ACTION-
Work Shop Groups.

Preamble

> This day... I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing; therfore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live.

The root problem of world order are spiritual and moral. Character is the fundamental issue in the control of the new weapons of mass destruction. A new sense of human solidarity, of community, is prerequisite to adequate reconstruction and development of war-torn and underprivileged areas. A deeper belief in common moral principle, and in methods of tolerance is necessary to a solution of Soviet Western tension. A greater recognition of the rights of undeveloped peoples is needed to meet the problems in dependent regions. The basically moral and spiritual character of these world order issues challenges the people of our churches.

To meet our Christian responsibility we need to do all we can to help build a common foundation of moral principles to undergird international organization. Central in this task is an effort to restore the sense of the dignity and worth of the human person. This means to present and to practice the concept of man as the child of God in all its implications.

Within the United States there are 13 million Negroes, 2 million or more Mexicans, 5 million Jews, 750,000 Indians and 250,000 Orientals. Add to these the Puerto Rican and the Italian and we have a total of 20 million (between 1/6 and 1/7 of our population) who are restricted as to where they can live, work, go to school, or have recreational advantages. A large part of these groups have no voice in the government under which they live and can get neither protection nor justice in courts.

Human hands must reach up and pull into realization the dreams of the prophet that "They shall set every man under his vine and under his fig tree. None shall make them afraid; for the mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken it" (Micah 4:4)... the dream of the Declaration of Independence that "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights".... the dream of the Charter of the United Nations that "We, the people of the United Nations, determined...to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small...and to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors...."

The right to earn a living is a basic human right without which the human personality becomes undermined by fear, the most devastating of all human emotions. Yet there are an estimated 20 million people in our American population whose right to work is constantly abridged because of economic uncertainty, displacement, prejudice, and discrimination. Among those against whom such factors operate are Negroes, Mexicans, Japanese, Italians, Porto Ricians, Jews, and women of all nationalities and creeds.

Our economy is organized so tightly on the side of capital and management that the right of workers to earn a living can best be safeguarded through unions. Yet unions themselves sometimes limit the right of certain groups to work.

Christian attitudes can settle these differences between groups if we will but apply these principles in a spirit of cooperation and brotherhood. It is the responsibility of the church to minister to all peoples and all groups to the end that the welfare of all groups may be served with equity. The community centered church functions best in such a capacity.

WORKSHOP NUMBER I

HUMAN RIGHTS AND WORLD ORDER

Findings

Because human progress can be based only upon certain rights which must be enlarged to include fundamental freedoms of humanity, we must assume as citizens the responsibility of bringing about a situation in which orderly change can take place.

In our acceptance of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, we must contribute individually to world order.

1. By education. Inform ourselves of world problems, such as the hunger and destruction in many areas, the Palestine Question, minority groups, displaced persons, and understanding and appreciation of cultural distinctions of other countries.

2. By developing right attitudes, influencing public opinion, and making definite plans. "We must be careful," as Mr. Turner Smith pointed out, "of name-calling," because it is making many people afraid to do good and stand up and be counted on the right side lest they be labeled with some odious ideology.

3. Acting upon plans. With the new educational process keying the human personality as most important, the church can reach out into local communities and bring together in forums and discussion groups the best thoughts of religious leaders, industrialists, scientists, politicians, educators, and other lay people and thus shape the order of the world which will include and be representative of all people.

Action Recommendations

1. Without food and clothing and medical care to sustain life itself, human rights to political, religious, and intellectual freedom are hollow and meaningless. Therefore, we advocate: (a) prompt action in setting up an International Children's Emergency Fund, the primary United Nations relief agency succeeding UNRRA in the relief field, and urge United States participation to the full extent of our needed share in the Fund; (b) revitalization of our community overseas relief program by sending food and clothing through the Church, World Service, and other established private agencies of relief.

2. We recommend widespread study and discussion among church and other community groups of the draft using International Bill of Human Rights as a guiding set of principles for the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations. We also suggest the appointment of local committees to implement the findings of study groups.

3. Realizing that our own success in making basic civil rights universal at home has a profound bearing on our moral leadership in the United Nations, we urge unremitting efforts in putting Judeo-Christian principles of brotherhood into practice in our own neighborhoods and states. Violations of civil rights of Negroes and all minority groups should be condemned and brought to justice. Civic practices in our communities and churches should be checked against the principles we stand for in our own Bill of Rights and as a member of the United Nations.

4. As a basis for better understanding among nations, we urge an enlarged program of cultural exchange with other countries, and especially the increased exchange of students.

5. We urge adjustment of our immigration laws and the adoption of temporary legislation (HR 2910) to make possible the entry into our country of refugees from devastated war areas.

6. Develop and support the evangelistic, missionary, relief and reconstruction work of our churches in all of its phases.

7. Demonstrate in daily life and the life of our church and community that regard for human beings which we know to be essentially Christian.

8. Study, support and pray for the growth of the United Nations and its undertakings for human rights and welfare.

9. Hold firmly to our Christian faith in the possibility of a better world order, in the possibility of a new beginning through repentance and God's grace.

WORKSHOP NUMBER II

HUMAN RIGHTS UNDER THE LAW

Findings

The emphases made in the Workshop are given briefly as follows:

Necessity for understanding what constitutes Human Rights, what guarantees Human Rights, and the relation of Federal to State and to local government in safeguarding Human Rights.

Necessity for creating and maintaining a "climate" of public opinion that is right and just and that encourages obedience to the law. It is dangerous to have a "climate" that permits people to think that things can be adjusted beyond the law. Daily violation of decent rights is a serious thing.

People must know what is going on, must make sure of the caliber of men administering justice, and must continue an educational program that includes the teaching of human relations.

Citizens should know the rights that are guaranteed Labor by the First and Fourteenth amendments of the Federal Constitution and by the NIRA, and should constantly exercise their own rights and persistently help to safeguard the rights of others. A high sense of moral responsibility must be developed and we should seek to keep on the Supreme Court men who value Human Rights above property rights.

Necessity to change attitudes, to plan and carry out a program for developing right and just attitudes in the home and in the school. Information alone is not enough; experiences are also needed.

Sensitivity to the needs of people and a sense of moral responsibility toward securing rights to all people must be developed. Influence of teachers and parents stressed.

The concept of segregation denies equality. (This statement was questioned by some in the group.) "Separate but equal" is an attitude that has crystalized into law.

Understanding the law is important. In enforcement of rights, difficulties are encountered. More people should know the law of the land as given in the State and Federal Constitution, White people should be willing to give testimony when it would set forward justice, and should be willing to accept jury service. We must create an atmosphere favorable to Negroes serving on juries. Ignorance maintains prejudice and mutual suspicion. The dominant group should maintain contact with a like-minded Negro group.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson spoke of the inadequate protection of Negroes due to:

a. the inadequate number of police and too few Negro police
b. police too quick to abuse Negroes at times
c. police often rely too much on show of force, and forget scientific principles in dealing with Negroes.

Such treatment of Negroes has built up over a long time an attitude of evasion of or non-cooperation with police, or even a bitter hatred of them on the part of Negroes.

Dr. E. G. Mackay emphasized the place of the home in teaching Christian ideals and the need to make real in the home things taught in the school. He encouraged the group, as he called to mind the evidence of progress being made by the Church and also by the press. "The Church is the basic workshop and most ministers are teaching social justice and the great Christian concept of the supreme value of human personality."

Action Recommendations

We recommend:

1. That we study our laws in order to learn a true definition of civil rights as they relate to Federal, State, or community.

2. That our efforts for social change start where we are—at home, next door, and across the tracks.

3. That individuals and groups voice their disapproval when the civil rights of any person or group is disregarded.

4. That we study the organization and education programs of labor groups as they relate to our total economy.

5. That we study the personal and public record of every candidate whose name is presented for public office.

6. That we continue our effort to build Christian attitudes toward all people through home, church, and school, realizing experiences as well as information are needed.

7. That we work toward the training of all public officers, particularly policemen. Work toward higher standards of personal conduct of all officers of the law.

8. That we accept jury service as a responsibility and opportunity to serve.

9. That we know conditions in penal institutions—who are there and why.

10. That the Christian idea of the supreme worth of individuals be put into actual practice.

11. We also earnestly deplore the injection of Race as an issue in any political campaign because doing so—.

provides a smokescreen to hide real issues:
breeds hatred, injustice and lynchings and encourages
Hate organizations;
destroys good government;
undermines World Peace by causing other nations to doubt
our sincerity.

12. And we pledge ourselves to work against such propaganda by publicly voicing our disapproval and requesting radio stations not to give time for political campaigns based on racial hatred.

WORKSHOP NUMBER III

HUMAN RIGHTS IN EARNING A LIVING

Findings

We, the Findings Committee, present the following report on Human Rights in Earning a living:

There is a definite ceiling to occupational opportunity for Negroes which acts as a blanket to the development of thrift, industry and ambition. The major obstacles to earning a decent living which the Negro faces are:

1. Occupations which are closed to him by organized labor, private enterprise, and political expediency in distribution of public jobs.

2. Limits to promotion and upgrading.

3. Restrictions on the purchase of good farm land.

The umhampered right of the Negro to earn a living considered controversial even where equal opportunity for health, housing, education and religion are granted. This is due to (1) fear within ourselves, and (2) fear of upsetting the status quo.

Some possible ways to surmount the obstacles are:

1. Labor unions should be open to all those who qualify, without restrictions based on race.

2. Employers have the power to make changes in the employment practices if they had the courage.

3. Fair employment practices should be extended at once to all federal employment and to other jobs where public funds are expended. In addition, someone should have the authority to inquire into private employment practices with the privilege of making recommendations.

4. Training in trades and industries should be provided on the basis of individual abilities regardless of race.

Earning a living in rural areas of the South has some problems that are peculiar to the Region, especially when the major crop is a southern crop. Some of the problems are:

1. Low average annual income due to seasonal demand for labor in cotton production.

2. The practice on the part of landlords of increasing the rent for land when the industrious tenant improves it. Insecurity of tenure, transient labor are direct results of such practice.

3. The tendency to retain old habits of production and marketing—to resist change.

4. Increasing opportunities for ownership for men of good character is needed.

Improvment of rural living included six major needs:

1. The rural worker needs education for production and for change to new and improved methods. So many rural families are so poor in experience that they do not want to change.

2. More non-farm work opportunities are needed.

3. Facilities for health and medical care are woefully inadequate.

4. A consistent program of land improvement is needed.

5. Too many rural people know how to do too few things well. Their workskills need to be increased and improved.

6. A most pressing need is for better rural preachers. The church occupies a very important place in rural life. Carefully chosen, adequately prepared ministers are needed for such service.

The law requires labor unions to represent minority groups as well as majority. Labor unions are a group of people getting together and deciding to do something about wages and better conditions.

With increasing pressure on a family to maintain standard of living, women need to work to supplement family income and to improve the standard of living. Women should have opportunity to work in their field of interest. Solutions are improved working conditions and plant facilities, vacation with pay, sick leave, maternity leave, equal pay for equal work.

The church must minister to all people and groups.

Christian attitudes if applied can settle all difficulties.

Actions Recommended

1. Make Community Surveys

The woman of the church have a definite responsibility for bringing about desired changes in the total picture of opportunities to make a living for all people. Church women in each community should assume the responsibility of finding out what kind of community they live in--information about workers, white and colored, men and women in the following areas:

1. Wages
    a. Health
    b. Recreation
    c. Living conditions
    d. Wage scales and working conditions
    e. Educational Opportunities
    f. Church life

2. Advance Education Program all along the line.
   a. Begin with public school system and church school program.
   b. Promote vocational education for all races, classes and groups.
   c. Work for Federal aid to education
   d. Study groups on: The right to make a living.

3. Advocate better employment practices.
   a. Work for civil rights as embodied in F.E.P.C.
   b. Work for protection of domestic employees and others not covered by social security.
   c. Womens rights to earn a living.
      Mimimum wages, maximum hours, better working conditions and wage scales based on job, not on sex.

4. Work for a rural program to include
   a. More concrete aid to give medical services to rural people.
   b. Cooperate and aid farm agencies for soil conservation.
   c. More skilled farmers through training programs.
   d. Seek security of tenure
   e. Encourage youth to prepare for farming as a vocation.

5. Arouse Church to its full opportunity.
   a. Revise the definition of Brotherhood.
   b. Make program of Church so comprehensive as to draw all men into it.
   c. Allow the church to be used for community meetings to include labor meetings.

Suggestions for Conference On

"Human Rights and World Order"

I. Purpose

1. To bring together "representative" individuals of various racial, cultural, and economic groups for the purpose of interpreting "Human Rights" in the world scene today, and adapting them to local, regional and national practices.

2. The following emphasis may be basic:

   a. Problem Areas as Applied to Educational, Political, Economic and Social Rights

      The Constitution and Civil Rights
      State Civil Rights Laws
      State "Jim Crow" and Basic Human Rights
      Education and Social Welfare

   b. Groups Affected

      Tenant and migrant farm families of all races in the United States
      Organized Labor
      Minority racial groups
      Jews, and foreign born in U. S.
      Displaced persons

3. To work out a strategy for the practical application of "human rights" in the region where the conference is held.

II. Workshop Groups

1. Human Rights - World Organization

2. Human Rights under the Law

   Law Administration
   Ballot
   "Separate but Equal"

3. Human Rights in earning a living

   Economic Security
   Industry
   Agriculture
   Women

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      State Civil Rights Laws
      State "Jim Crow" and Basic Human Rights
      Education and Social Welfare

   b. Groups Affected

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      Minority racial groups
      Jews, and foreign born in U. S.
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3. To work out a strategy for the practical application of "human rights" in the region where the conference is held.

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3. Human Rights in earning a living

   Economic Security
   Industry
   Agriculture
   Women

Conference on Human Rights & World Order.
May 8, 9, 1947
Atlanta, Ga.

ATTENDANCE - 212

1. STATE REPRESENTED --
Alabama, Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, New York, Tennessee, Mississippi, Kentucky, California, Washington, D. C. Virginia, Oklahoma - Total - 14

2. DENOMINATIONS --
Methodist, Episcopal, Christian (Disciples), Lutherans, Presbyterians, Jewish, Salvation Army, Baptist, Congregational, Baha'i World Faith Unitarian- Universalist - 12

3. ORGANIZATIONS --
National Council of Negro Women
Atlanta Christian Council
Christian Council of Church Women
Georgia Council of Church Women
Augusta Council of Church Women
Macon Council of Church Women
DeKalb Council of Church Women
Marietta Council of Church Women
B'nai B'rith Women of Atlanta, Ga.
Anti-Defanation League
Jewish Council of Women
Y. W. C. A.
Emory University
National Assn Advancement of Colored People
Metropolitan Council of ~~Church~~ Urban Women
Georgia Workers Education Service
Federal Council of Churches in America
Atlanta University
S. E. Area Urban League
Atlanta Urban League
Georgia School of Technology
Atlanta Civil Liberties Committee
Spelman College
Agnes Scott College
Ga. Committee on Interracial Cooperation
Farm · Home Administration
Social Service Index
Southern Regional Council
Teamsters A. F. of L.
Georgia Conference on Social Welfare
Woman's Bureau, U. S. Dept of Labor
Woman's Advisory Com. Synod of Ga. Presbyterian Church.
Salvation Army
Scarritt College
American Red Cross
Baha'i World Faith
Woman's Work, Presbyterian U. S.
League of ~~Voters~~ Women Voters

Woman's Society of Christian Service
North Georgia Conference
North Alabama Conference
Alabama Conference
Mississippi Conference
North Mississippi Conference
Florida Conference
South Carolina Conference
Upper S. C. Conference
North Carolina Conference
Tennessee Conference
Holston Conference
Virginia Conference
Kentucky Conference
Louisville Conference
Atlanta Conf (Central Juris)
S. C. Conference (Central Juri)
Savannah Conference (Central)
Mississippi Conf. (Central)

WORKSHOP NUMBER I

HUMAN RIGHTS AND WORLD ORDER

Findings

Because human progress can be based only upon certain rights which must be enlarged to include fundamental freedoms of humanity, we must assume as citizens the responsibility of bringing about an orderly situation.

In our acceptance of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, we must contribute individually to world order.

1. By education. Inform ourselves of world problems, such as the hunger and destruction of devastated areas, the Palestine Question, minority groups, displaced persons, and understanding and appreciation of cultural destructions of other countries.

2. By developing right attitudes, influencing public opinion, and making definite plans. "We must be careful," as Mr. Turner Smith pointed out, "of name-calling," because it is making many people afraid to do good and stand up and be counted on the right side lest they be labeled with some odious ideology.

3. Acting upon plans. With the new educational process keying the human personality as most important, the church can reach out into local communities and bring together the best thoughts of religious leaders, industrialists, scientists, politicians, educators, and other lay people and thus shape the order of the world which will include and be representative of all people.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND WORLD ORGANIZATION

Action Recommendations

1. Without food and clothing and medical care to sustain life itself, human rights to political, religious, and intellectual freedom are hollow and meaningless. Therefore, we advocate: (a) prompt action in setting up an International Children's Emergency Fund, the primary United Nations relief agency succeeding UNRRA in the relief field, and urge United States participation to the full extent of our needed share in the Fund; (b) revitalization of our community overseas relief program by sending food and clothing through the Church, World Service, and other established private agencies of relief.

2. We recommend widespread study and discussion among church and other community groups of the draft using International Bill of Human Rights as a guiding set of principles for the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations.

3. Realizing that our own success in making basic civil rights universal at home has a profound bearing on our moral leadership in the United Nations, we urge unremitting effort in putting Christian principles of brotherhood into practice in our own neighborhoods and states. Violations of civil rights of Negroes and other minority groups should be condemned and brought to justice. Civic practices in our communities and churches should be checked against the principles we stand for as a people and as a member of the United Nations.

4. As a basis for better understanding among nations, we urge an enlarged program of cultural exchange with other countries, and especially the increased exchange of students.

5. We urge liberalization of our immigration laws to make possible the entry into our country of refugees from devastated war areas.

WORKSHOP NUMBER II

HUMAN RIGHTS UNDER THE LAW

Findings

Emphasized:

Necessity for unterstanding what constitutes Human Rights, what guarantees Human Rights, and the relation of Federal to State and to local government in safeguarding Human Rights. (Mr. Turner Smith)

Necessity of building up a feeling of public opinion that encourages obedience to the law.

People must know what is going on, must make sure of the caliber of men administering justice and must continue an educational program that includes teaching of human relations.

Citizens should know rights guaranteed Labor by 1st and 14th Amendments and NLRA, and should constantly exercise their own rights and help to safeguard rights of others. A sense of moral responsibility must be developed and we should seek to keep on Supreme Court men who value Human Rights more than Property Rights.

Necessity to change attitudes; especially developing right and just attitudes in the home.

Sensitivity and a sense of moral responsibility toward securing rights to all people must be developed. Influence of teachers and parents stressed.

The concept of segregation which denies equality.

Understanding the law is important. Enforcement of the law causes difficulties. More people should know the law of the land as given in State and Federal Constitutions. White people should be willing to give testemony when it would set forward Justice. Ignorance maintains prejudice and mental suspicion. We must create an atmosphere favorable to Negroes.

Dr. Johnson spoke of inadequate protection of Negroes due to:
1. Small number of Negro policemen.
2. Police too quick to abuse Negroes at times.
3. Policemen often rely too much in show of force and forget right principles in dealing with Negroes.
He suggested a definite program for increasing number of Negro police.

Dr. Mackey:
1. Emphasized the place of the Home in teaching Christian ideals.
2. Encouraged the group because of evidence he sees in progress that is being made by the Church and also by the Press. "The Church is the basic workshop and most ministers are speaking for social justice and teaching the great Christian conception of the supreme value of human personality."

HUMAN RIGHTS UNDER THE LAW

Action Recommendations

We recommend:

1. That we study our laws in order to learn a true definition of civil rights as they relate to Federal, State, or community.

2. That our efforts for social change start where we are -- at home, next door, and across the tracks.

3. That individuals and groups voice their disapproval when the civil rights of any person or group is disregarded.

4. That we study the organizational program of labor groups as they relate to our total economy.

5. That we study the personal and public record of every candidate whose name is presented for public office.

6. That we continue our effort to build Christian attitudes toward all peoples through home, church, and school, realizing experiences as well as information are needed.

7. That we work toward the training of all public officers, particularly [illegible] policemen.

8. That we accept jury service as a responsibility and opportunity to serve.

9. That we know conditions in penal institutions -- who are there and why. (Our condemnation of early laws permitting imprisonment for debt is actually practiced when a victim is forced to serve a term when unable to pay fine.)

10. That the Christian idea of the supreme worth of individuals be put into actual practice.

WORKSHOP NUMBER III

HUMAN RIGHTS IN EARNING A LIVING

Findings

We, the Findings Committee, present the following report on Human Rights in Earning a living.

The obstacles the Negro meets are: occupations closed to him through private enterprise as well as unions; restrictions placed on farm land purchased by Negroes; limits placed on promotion of Negro in industry puts a blanket on thrift, industry, and ambition among the Negro people.

The solution would be: The Labor Union should open their membership to Negroes; Fair employment should be extended to all Federal Employment; somebody with authority should inquire into private practices with privilege to make recommendations; and vocational training should be opened for everybody.

1. The committee of church people should assume responsibility to find out what kind of community they live in. They should form a community survey and investigate incomes, white and colored, men and women, and how many telephones, newspapers, interest in churches, and dependents. To be recognized as individuals, or people.

2. If trade unions will recognize individuals as people and raise the standard of living we ultimately all become brothers. Our churches should offer their buildings, personal, and mechanical set-ups of our mill towns, not only to union leaders, but for educational programs.

The right of the Negro to earn a living is controversial. Equal opportunity to religion, health, housing, and education. People are not fundamentally sound in thinking.

1. Fear within ourselves.

2. Fear of setting Status Quo. In the south the fear is getting too high and not too close. In north, not caring how high but not too close.

Give Negroes opportunity in politics, education, and do away with malice.

The problem of rural people lies:

1. In the seasonal demand for labor in the production of cotton. These people do not earn enough income to support themselves.

2. The practice on the part of landlords to increase the rent when land is improved discourages additional effort on part of tenant, causes insecurity of tenure and transient labor.

3. Old habits and traditions change. To keep cotton farming but add to it dairying.

The law requires labor unions to represent minority groups as well as majority. Labor unions are a group of people getting together and deciding to do something about wages and better condition.

With increasing pressure on a family to maintain standard of living, women need to work to supplement family income and to improve the standard of living. Women should have opportunity to work in their field of interest. Solutions are improved working conditions and plant facilities, vacation with pay, sick leave, maternity leave, equal pay for equal work.

The church must minister to all peoples and groups.

Christian attitudes can settle all difficulties.

Action Recommendations

1. Community services.
   - Survey
   - Leaders and workers
   - Cross-section
     - Health
     - Recreation
     - Living Conditions
     - Church Life
2. Educational Program all along the line
   - (a) Vocational Education in all races, classes, and groups.
   - (b) Beginning with Public School system and church system.
   - (c) Work for Federal Aid to Education.
   - (d) Groups studying monors (Rights to make a living)
3. Work for Civil Rights as embodied in F. E. P. C.
4. Work for protection of domestic workers.
5. Face Controversial Questions.
   - (a) The right to earn a living.
   - (b) How and when is the time ripe.
6. Revise the definition of brotherhood.
7. Make the program of the church so comprehensive as to draw all people into it.
8. Allow the church to be used for labor meetings and all kinds of community meetings.

9. Work for rural program to include
   (a) More concrete aid to give medical service to rural people;
   (b) Cooperate and aid farm agencies for soil conservation;
   (c) Work for training skilled farmers;
   (d) Seek security of tinure;
   (e) Encourage young people to prepare for farming as a vocation.
10. Women's Rights to earn a living.
   (a) Minimum wages.
   (b) Maximum hours.
   (c) Better working conditions.

FOR MRS. TILLY

Catholic:

Called Office of Christ the King - Ch. 2145
Unable to obtain any name; asked that
request be made in writing.

Episcopal:

Called Mrs. J. F. Heard - De. 8974
Mrs. Mrs. William Brimball
#5 Colonial Street
Charleston, S.C.

(Provincial President - Province of Sewanee)

African Episcopal:

Called Bishop Fountain's office - Cy. 3936
He suggested the President
of the Missounary Society
(Georgia only)

Mrs. J. W. Bennett
614 Thomas St.
Waycross, Ga.

Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. - Ch. 0466
Called Dr. Herman L. Turner's office
Mrs. John K. Witherspoon
President, Chattanooga Presbyterial
311 Crestway Drive
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Christian Church:
Called Mrs. Chester Martin Ch. 2041
She'll write you exact name
& address - she thinks it's a
Mrs. Brodman.

Cumberland Presbyterian *

Didn't call
Couldn't locate.

Lutheran

Mrs. Thomas Weeks
Springfield, Georgia

(Obtained from Office of Church of Redeemer - Ve. 8251)

She's head of the Woman's Missionary Society,
Georgia-Alabama Synod

*Mrs. Tilly: Don't believe there's any local office of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. However, in Yearbook of Churches, I find

Board of Christian Education
President - Rev. J. Howard Scott
Harriman, Tenn.

Also, the Colored Cumberland Presbyterian Church
Moderator: Rev. O. F. Bishop
Lewisburg, Tenn.

Economic Security ----------	Dr. George Mitchell
Labor's Right to Earn a Living -----	Mrs. Olive Haskins Mr. Frank Prohl
Woman's Right to Earn a Living -----	Miss Lillian Schaerer (Women's Bureau)
The Farmer's Right to Earn a Living -	Miss Erna Proctor (Farmers Home Administration)
The Negro's Right to Earn a Living --	Mr. Nelson Jackson (Nat'l Urban League)
The Stand of the Church ----------	Rev. Rembert Sisson

SPWE
Post-Conf Corr

April 13, 1945

Mr. P. B. Young
Editor and Publisher
Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

We have finished our conference. We are pretty thoroughly exhausted and, of course, very much disheartened over the death of the president. We will not have a chance to write up a complete story of the conference in time to get it to you tomorrow so I am doing the next best thing, namely, enclosing some clippings from the Atlanta papers which will give you a pretty good record and some direct quotes from the addresses.

These clippings cover everything except the final session of the conference at which Professor Glenn Rainey and Mr. Lawrence Drake spoke. Rainey did not use a prepared script and our stenographic record has not yet been typed. The burden of his talk was that the South has been exploited by the powerful industrial interests of the North and East, aided by Southern reactionary politicians who have not served the real interest of the South. Drake's talk was more or less "in the family" and was not released to the press. It was by way of analysis and advice to the Council as an organization. Copies will be sent to members of the Council later on.

We feel that we had a fine conference. It got excellent news coverage and we hope that it will do something to stimulate more intelligent thinking about the South's problems in the postwar period. I am very sorry that you could not be with us.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j
Encl.
Clipping re Conference

SPWE
4 31 m

April 20, 1945

The Hon. Frances Perkins
The Secretary of Labor
Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Perkins:

On behalf of the officers and directors of the Southern Regional Council, I want to thank the Department of Labor for making it possible for Mr. A. F. Hinrichs to speak at the Conference on The South's Post War Economy which was held in Atlanta on April 11-12.

Mr. Hinrichs' address on "Impact of The War on Southern Labor" was one of the high points of the conference. It opened up a great deal of fruitful discussion.

At this conference, we brought together a group of Southern leaders in business, agriculture, labor, research, and planning. Our purpose was to stimulate more intelligent thinking and planning on the economic problems and potentials of the South as it faces the post war period. A copy of the program is enclosed. The conference addresses will be published as soon as possible. I shall be glad to send you copies as soon as they are ready.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosure

SPWE
6 2 4

April 20, 1945

Mr. C. F. Palmer
Palmer Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Chuck:

I just want to express again my sincere thanks for your excellent job of presiding over the Thursday morning session of our conference last week, and for the splendid luncheon which you gave at the Capital City Club. You certainly helped to make our conference a success.

I am delighted that you and Mrs. Palmer have joined the Council. We need many more people like you.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

SPWE
4-31-m

April 20, 1945

Mr. E. B. Schultz, Chief
Personnel Relations Staff
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Schultz:

I want to thank you again for the splendid job which you did in presiding over the Wednesday evening session of our Post War Economy Conference at the Biltmore last week. This session was definitely the highlight of the conference, and you helped to set it off just right.

We are publishing the conference addresses as soon as possible. I shall let you know when the booklet comes off the press.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

SPWE
631M

April 20, 1945

Dr. M. T. Van Hecke
1279 McLendon Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Van Hecke:

I just wanted to drop you a line to thank you for your good job of presiding over the closing session of our Post War Economy Conference at the Biltmore last Thursday. We are glad that we have friends like you whom we can call on for help on such occasions.

I wish you could have attended other sessions of the conference. The Wednesday evening program was particularly good. Incidentally, we are publishing the addresses just as soon as we can get them ready and arrange for the printing.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

The Journal and Guide

MEMBER OF AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

Published Weekly by
THE GUIDE PUBLISHING CO. INC.
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NORFOLK 1, VA.

SPWEC
Pos. cmt
cn

April 25, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Johnson:

Your letter to Mr. P. B. Young Sr. dated April 13, has been referred to me for reply. A story on the Southern Regional conference held in Atlanta, April 11 and 12,-based on the newspaper clippings you were good enough to submit--appeared in our National Edition dated April 14. In accordance with Mr. Young's instructions the clippings are being returned to you herewith.

Please accept our thanks for this favor and if we can be of further service to you, kindly let us know.

Very sincerely yours,

Albert L. Hinton

ALBERT L. HINTON
Managing Editor

Enclosures: 5
ALH:nb

SPWEC

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON

April 27, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I want to express appreciation for your letter of April 20 with regard to Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel's address at your recent conference in Atlanta. We are glad that Dr. Ezekiel could be with you and that you found his discussion of interest.

Very truly yours,

W. G. Minor

Assistant to the Secretary

FOR VICTORY BUY UNITED STATES WAR BONDS AND STAMPS

SPWE
431 M

April 20, 1945

The Hon. Claude R. Wickard
The Secretary of Agriculture
Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wickard:

On behalf of the officers and directors of the Southern Regional Council I want to thank the Department of Agriculture for making it possible for Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel to speak at the Conference on The South's Post War Economy which was held in Atlanta on April 11-12.

Dr. Ezekiel's address on "Southern Post War Agriculture and Industry" was a masterpiece. I think that there was almost unanimous agreement that it was the highlight of the conference.

At this conference, we brought together a group of Southern leaders in business, agriculture, labor, research, and planning. Our purpose was to stimulate more intelligent thinking and planning on the economic problems and potentials of the South as it faces the post war period. A copy of the program is enclosed. The conference addresses will be published as soon as possible. I shall be glad to send you copies as soon as they are ready.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosure

SPUEC

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
WASHINGTON 25

April 28, 1945.

Mr. Guy B. Johnson,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Your letter of April 20 has been received. I am pleased to learn that the contribution made by the members of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce aided in the success of the conference.

I am sure that members of the staff will be pleased to see the copies of the proceedings. I can assure you that I will do my best to find time to see you at any time you are in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

H A Wallace

Secretary of Commerce.

FOR VICTORY
BUY UNITED STATES WAR BONDS AND STAMPS

SPWE
431 n

April 20, 1945

The Hon. Henry A. Wallace
The Secretary of Commerce
Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wallace:

On behalf of the officers and directors of the Southern Regional Council I want to thank the Department of Commerce for making it possible for Dr. August Maffry and Dr. Wilford White to speak at the Conference on The South's Post War Economy which was held in Atlanta on April 11-12. Both Dr. Maffry and Dr. White made excellent addresses which contributed immeasurably to the success of the conference.

At this conference, we brought together a group of Southern leaders in business, agriculture, labor, research, and planning. Our purpose was to stimulate more intelligent thinking and planning on the economic problems and potentials of the South as it faces the post war period. A copy of the program is enclosed. The conference addresses will be published as soon as possible. I shall be glad to send you copies as soon as they are ready.

I hope that some time I may have the privilege of meeting you and telling you something about the work which our Council is trying to do. I am one of those many Southerners who has long admired and supported you and your policies, and I am trying to do my bit for the cause of liberalism and democracy in the South.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosure

Post-Conf
Cal

May 9, 1945

Mr. F. Preston Forbes
Foreign Trade Subcommittee
Special Senate Committee on
American Small Business
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Forbes:

Thank you very much for sending us the pamphlet "Will the War Leave Ghost Factories?". It is a very interesting document. We shall use it for our own information only as you requested.

As soon as we have published the addresses which were delivered at our conference on the "South's Postwar Economy" last month we shall send you a copy.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

SPWE Conf.

JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT., CHAIRMAN
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BRIEN McMAHON, CONN.

DEWEY ANDERSON, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

United States Senate

Special Committee to Study Problems of
American Small Business

May 2, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

At the request of Dr. Wilford White, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Affairs, Commerce Department, we are sending you herewith a copy of the pamphlet "Will the War Leave Ghost Factories?"

I would like to emphasize that this material is not for publication purposes, but merely for your own information.

Sincerely,

F. Preston Forbes

F. Preston Forbes
Economist, Foreign Trade Subcommittee

enclosure

Post-Conf-Cor.

May 9, 1945

Mr. C. P. Persons
Regional Manager
United States Department of Commerce
603 Rhodes Building
Atlanta 1, Georgia

Dear Mr. Persons:

The addresses which were given at our conference on the "South's Postwar Economy" are now ready for the printer, and I hope that the pamphlet will be out within two or three weeks. We shall send you some copies as soon as they are available.

Let me thank you again for your splendid display of Commerce Department literature at the conference. I am sure that the display opened up interests and contacts which will be helpful to your work and to ours.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

REGIONAL OFFICE
P. O. BOX 1595
603 RHODES BUILDING
ATLANTA 1, GEORGIA

SRWE

April 28, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63~~4~~ Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I want to take this occasion to thank you for the privilege extended me to take part in the recent meeting of your Council here in Atlanta.

I was particularly gratified with the manner in which you arranged for us to display our material. The results were most pleasing as quite a number of your members made use of the material on display.

I understand that shortly you will publish and distribute the entire proceedings, a copy of which I hope we may receive for use in this office.

Again thanking you and with kind regards and best wishes.

Sincerely,

C. P. Persons
Regional Manager

Post Conf. Cor.

May 9, 1945

Mr. Alfred J. Van Tassel
Staff Studies Director
Special Senate Committee on
American Small Business
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Van Tassel:

Your letter of May 2 addressed to Dr. Howard W. Odum has come to my attention. The addresses which were delivered at our conference on "The South's Postwar Economy" are going to the printer this week. We shall have several copies sent to you as soon as they are off the press.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

S-PWE Conf.

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ALLEN J. ELLENDER, LA.
JAMES M. MEAD, N. Y.
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THOMAS C. HART, CONN.

DEWEY ANDERSON, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

United States Senate

Special Committee to Study Problems of
American Small Business

May 2, 1945

Mr. Howard W. Odum, President
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Odum:

It is my understanding that a conference was held last month by the Southern Regional Council at the Biltmore Hotel to discuss postwar problems in the South's economy in the fields of agriculture, labor and small business.

As you know, the Senate Small Business Committee is vitally interested in these problems and if there are any transcripts available on these discussions, I would very much appreciate receiving a copy.

Sincerely yours,

Alfred J. Van Tassel

Alfred J. Van Tassel
Staff Studies Director

Winona Hall
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia
June 27, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
President of Southern Regional Council,
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Sir:

Will you kindly send me as soon as possible any information you have available on the subject: "Post War Plans for The Economic Development of The South."

I shall be very appreciative of any information you may offer.

Very truly yours,
Serena A. Carter

P for Info

SPWE

July 6, 1945

Miss Serena A. Carter
Winona Hall
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Dear Miss Carter:

Your letter of June 27 addressed to me at Chapel Hill, North Carolina has been forwarded to our headquarters here in Atlanta.

In April we sponsored a conference on the South's post war economy. A copy of the program is enclosed. There were some excellent addresses delivered at this conference, and they are now being printed, but it will be two to four weeks before they are ready for distribution. You might drop us a card about August 1 so that we shall be sure to see that you get a copy.

In the April and May issues of the Southern Frontier we published some excerpts from the conference addresses. Copies are enclosed. I hope that these will be of some use to you.

I suggest that you write to Mr. Wilford White, Acting Chief, Division of Small Business, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C., and ask him for recent publications of the Department of Commerce bearing on this question of post war economic development in the South.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosures
SPWEC program, april, may frontiers, No. 4

✓m

P. O. BOX 1259 PHONE 8108

THE FLORIDIAN
FLORIDA'S OLDEST NEWSPAPER — ESTABLISHED 1829
ST. PETERSBURG 1, FLORIDA

August 16,1945.

Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Bldg
Atlanta,Ga.

Gentlemen:-

I have been requested to do an article for Colliers on a rather phenominal farmer in this section,who has combined machines and good care and high pay for transient farm workers to achieve some rather remarkable results.

In the article two key points are:the enormous drift of rural people to cities during the war time but the increase in farm production in spite of that and through the more inteseive use of machines;second,the low family incomes of farm families in north Florida,south Alabama and Georgia. It is on this latter point I appeal to you for help. At the conference in Atlanta last winter charts and speakers presented either family or individual incomes for these areas. It was announced that the figures would later be released in pamphlet form. If this was done I failed to get a copy.As you can appreciate,I am anxious to use exact and authoratative figures.

Very truly yours,

Walter P. Fuller

Walter P.Fuller

Post Conf. Comes.

August 17, 1945

Mr. Walter P. Fuller
The Floridian
St. Petersburg 1, Florida

Dear Mr. Fuller:

Thank you for your inquiry concerning the data on incomes which were presented at our Conference on the South's Postwar Economy in April. The publication of the Conference addresses has been delayed by circumstances beyond our control, but the bulletin will finally come off the press within the next ten days.

If I can get an extra copy of the proof of this booklet I shall send it to you tomorrow, along with any other material on income that I can lay hands on.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director.

GBJ:IBT

Materials sent 8/20/45
JZM

INCOME PAYMENTS FOR 1942[1]

State	Per capita
United States	$852
Mississippi	407
South Carolina	459
Kentucky	477
Alabama	480
Tennessee	492
Georgia	498
Arkansas	514
North Carolina	523
Louisiana	534
New Mexico	558
Oklahoma	598
West Virginia	598
Florida	655
Texas	677
Virginia	697
Vermont	698
New Hampshire	719
North Dakota	721
South Dakota	725
Idaho	758
Minnesota	761
Missouri	762
Nebraska	774
Colorado	785
Maine	786
Wisconsin	786
Kansas	814
Iowa	823
Indiana	827
Arizona	832
Utah	850
Montana	860
Wyoming	883
Pennsylvania	894
Ohio	957
Michigan	960
Illinois	979
Rhode Island	1,016
Massachusetts	1,024
Oregon	1,046
Maryland	1,077
New York	1,106
District of Columbia	1,164
Washington	1,166
California	1,167
Delaware	1,186
Connecticut	1,296
New Jersey	1,304
Nevada	1,352

[1] Creamer, Daniel and Schwartz, Charles F.; State income payments in 1942, Survey of Current Business 23; 1-13 U.S. Department of Commerce, June 1943.

Participants in C. on S.P.W.E.

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Mary George Robinson Route 1 Stone Mt., Georgia	Committee for Georgia
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W.C. Cram Jr.

2 copies 164 Luckie St NW

Atlanta

2 copies Preston Funkes

This letter, with no postscript about expenses, to:

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o Harry Strozier
o Col. Alexander Fitz Hugh
o Edgar B. Stern
Leonard T. Beecher
o Alfred Holt Stone
o Cason J. Calloway
+ H. L. Mitchell
sub David Lilienthal
o Donald Comer
Carey Haigler
William Mitch
o Roscoe C. Martin
sub J. Lewis Henderson
John O. Boynton
A. R. Buhrman
o William Melcher
J. Roy McGinty
Horace Mann Bond
~~[illegible]~~
o Mark Ethridge
Harvey L. Marcoux
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A. D. Huddleston
o H. C. Nixon
Ernest Pugh
o C. C. Spaulding - o

+ George D. Palmer
~~James E. Ward~~
o D. F. J. Lynch
sub John E. Brewton
W. Ol Dobbins, Jr.
L. A. Hnery
+ L. V. Howard
~~George M. Ivey~~
F. E. Lawrence
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~~Robert L. Sutherland~~
Raymond V. Long
Dewey B, Hooten
+ John E. Ivey, Jr.
owen Q. Cheatham

Paul Chapman
+ James Dombrowski
o Warren Leach

40

SPWE

March 26, 1945

Mr. John Temple Graves, II
Editor
Birmingham Age-Herald
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Graves:

The Southern Regional Council is sponsoring a conference on "The South's Post War Economy" in Atlanta on April 11-12. The purpose of this conference is to stimulate a greater interest in the economic problems and potentials of the South.

In addition to local speakers we shall have the assistance of some of the leading government experts from Washington, such as: Roger Stevens, Smaller War Plants Corporation; A. F. Hinrichs, Acting Commissioner of Labor Statistics; Mordecai Ezekiel, Economic Adviser, Department of Agriculture; Wilford White, Acting Chief, Division of Small Business, Department of Commerce; August Maffry, Chief of International Trade Unit, Department of Commerce; Coleman Woodbury, Assistant Administrator, National Housing Agency.

I hope that you will attend this conference if you possibly can. Since attendance from outside the Atlanta area must be strictly limited in accordance with ODT regulations, we are inviting a specially selected group of Southern leaders in business, agriculture, labor, and education. Won't you please let me know, preferably by telegraph collect, whether you plan to attend and whether you want us to arrange overnight accommodations? The conference will be held at the Biltmore Hotel beginning at 10:30 A. M. on April 11 and closing on the afternoon of April 12.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

o- no
+- yes
sub- substitute

THIS LETTER WAS SENT TO THE FOLLOWING MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

March 26, 1945

o Wilson M. Brown
Louis E. Burnham
o Virginius Dabney
Z. A. Looby
o F. D. Patterson
sub Raymond R. Paty
John Garland Pollard, Jr.
o Homer P. Rainey
+ G. D. Rogers
sub P. B. Young
Ernest Delpit
o A. W. Dent

(later sent to entire board)

12

March 26, 1945

Mr. Wilson M. Brown
State Planters Bank and Trust Co.
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brown:

The Southern Regional Council is sponsoring a conference on "The South's Post War Economy" in Atlanta on April 11, 12. The purpose of this conference is to stimulate a greater interest in the economic problems and potentials of the South.

In addition to local speakers we shall have the assistance of some of the leading government experts from Washington such as:

Roger Stevens, Smaller War Plants Corporation
A. F. Henrichs, Acting Commissioner of Labor Statistics
Mordecai Ezekiel, Economic Adviser, Department of Agriculture
Wilford White, Acting Chief, Division of Small Business, Department of Commerce.
August Maffry, Chief of International Trade Unit, Department of Commerce
Coleman Woodbury, Assistant Administrator, National Housing Agency

I hope that you will attend this conference if you possibly can. Since attendance from outside the Atlanta area must be strictly limited in accordance with ODT regulations we are inviting a specially selected group of Southern leaders in business, agriculture, labor, and education. Won't you please let me know, preferably by telegraph collect, whether you plan to attend and whether you want us to arrange overnight accomodations. The conference will be held at the Biltmore Hotel beginning at 10:30 A.M. on April 11 and closing on the afternoon of April 12.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

SPWE

Entire Board

March 30, 1945

Mr. Charles W. Anderson, Jr.
602 W. Walnut Street
Louisville 3, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Anderson:

The Southern Regional Council is sponsoring a conference on "The South's Post War Economy" in Atlanta on April 11-12. A copy of the program is enclosed.

You are cordially invited to attend this conference. In conformity with ODT regulations, we can invite only a small group of people from outside the Atlanta area. Won't you please let us know at once, preferably by telegraph collect, whether you could attend and whether you would like for us to arrange any overnight accommodations? The meeting will open at 10:30 A.M. on April 11 and close with an afternoon session on April 12.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

This letter, with postscript about expenses, to:

Sub Nelson Poynter Fuller
+ T. D. Davis —
o ~~Harry D. Wolf~~
o ~~Walter J. Matherly~~ $10
o ~~P. O. Davis~~
+ ~~Gordon Blackwell~~
o ~~O. D. Duncan ($20)~~

~~Smith L. Johnston~~ Local expenses 9

o ~~Marco Smith ($20)~~
+ Charles Comillin ($10)
+ Giles Hubert ($10)
o ~~Wattier Nenting ($10)~~

o - Not coming
+ - Coming
sub - substitute

March 27, 1945

Dr. Harry D. Wolf
Department of Economics
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Harry:

The Southern Regional Council is sponsoring a conference on "The South's Post War Economy" in Atlanta on April 11-12. The purpose of this conference is to stimulate a greater interest in the economic problems and potentials of the South.

In addition to local speakers we shall have the assistance of some of the leading government experts from Washington, such as: Roger Stevens, Smaller War Plants Corporation; A. F. Hinrichs, Acting Commissioner of Labor Statistics; Mordecai Ezekiel, Economic Adviser, Department of Agriculture; Wilford White, Acting Chief, Division of Small Business, Department of Commerce; August Maffry, Chief of International Trade Unit, Department of Commerce; Coleman Woodbury, Assistant Administrator, National Housing Agency.

I hope that you will attend this conference if you possibly can. Since attendance from outside the Atlanta area must be strictly limited in accordance with ODT regulations, we are inviting a specially selected group of Southern leaders in business, agriculture, labor, and education. Won't you please let me know, preferably by telegraph collect, whether you plan to attend and whether you want us to arrange overnight accommodations? The conference will be held at the Biltmore Hotel beginning at 10:30 A.M. on April 11 and closing on the afternoon of April 12.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

P. S. The Council will take care of your expenses in Atlanta, and will allow $10 on your travel.

4/3

PERSONS WHO WILL NOT ATTEND CONFERENCE ON "THE SOUTH'S POST WAR ECONOMY:

Homer P. Rainey No.
H. D. Wolf — No
Edward A. McDowell
George M. Ivey
John H. Wheeler
Harold L. Trigg
Luther P. Jackson
Charles Clingman
Charles S. Johnson
James L. Robb
O. D. Duncan
R. B. Atwood
Jessie D. Ames
H. C. Nixon
A. Maceo Smith
Walter J. Matherly
Alfred H. Stone
Wilson M. Brown
C. C. Spaulding
D. F. J. Lynch
Harry Strozier
F. D. Patterson
Alexander Fitz Hugh
Mark Ethridge
P. O. Davis
Virginius Dabney
William Melcher
R. B. Herbert
Jacob L. Reddix
Donald Comer
F. D. Willeason
Charles Anderson
Gordon Hancock
Roscoe Martin
L. D. Naskew
Carter Wesley

Harriet Herring
Warren Leuch
A. W. Dent
Clark Foreman
Edgar B. Stern
T. S. Staples
Mrs. A. M. P. Strong
Cason J. Callaway
W. O. Dobbins, Jr.
Ernest Delpit — No
J. J. Hanck

April 3, 1945

SPWF

Mr. Warren Zeuch
Vero Beach
Florida

Dear Mr. Zeuch:

The Southern Regional Council is sponsoring a conference on "The South's Post War Economy" in Atlanta on April 11-12. A copy of the program is enclosed.

You are cordially invited to attend this conference. In conformity with ODT regulations, we can invite only a small group of people from outside the Atlanta area. Won't you please let us know at once, preferably by telegraph collect, whether you could attend and whether you would like for us to arrange any overnight accommodations? The meeting will open at 10:30 A. M. on April 11 and close with an afternoon session on April 12.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

SPWE

This letter, on same date, also to:

John Paul Jones
William E. Mitchell
Carlyle Fraser
H. Carl Wolf
Frank Constangy
Frances Schulter
George Guest

April 4, 1945

Mr. John Paul Jones
502 Manor Ridge Drive, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jones:

The Southern Regional Council is sponsoring a conference on "The South's Post War Economy" in Atlanta on April 11-12. As you will see from the enclosed program, we have an excellent group of speakers to discuss Southern economic problems and potentials. You are cordially invited to attend the meetings, which will be held in the ballroom of the Biltmore Hotel.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosures - SRC memo
Conference program

Also:
10 copies of program to George Mitchell

m

SPWE

April 4, 1945

Mr. M. E. Thompson
Executive Secretary
Executive Department
State of Georgia
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Thompson:

I am enclosing some information about a conference which the Southern Regional Council is sponsoring here on April 11-12 which I think would be of interest to you and Governor Arnall. I tried to see you one day last week about the possibility of Governor Arnall's speaking at this conference, but you were tied up and I had to hurry on to a previous engagement. However, I learned that the Governor was to be away until late in April, and was very much disappointed that there seemed to be no chance of his attending the conference. I shall appreciate your bringing the enclosed material to the Governor's attention.

Let me extend you a cordial invitation to attend the meetings, which will be held in the ballroom of the Biltmore Hotel. The program is definitely set, with the possible exception that Judge Watkins may be shifted to the April 11 morning session, and Mr. Rainey to the April 12 morning session so that the conference can close at noon on April 12.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosure - program(s) memo on SRC

✓m

SPWE

April 4, 1945

Dean Raimundo De Ovies
2744 Peachtree Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dean De Ovies:

I think you will be interested in the conference on "The South's Post War Economy" which we are sponsoring in Atlanta on April 11-12. I am enclosing a copy of the program and a memorandum about the Southern Regional Council.

The meetings are open to the public in the Atlanta area. Let me extend you a cordial invitation to attend.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosures

SPWE

April 4, 1945

Dr. James A. Dombrowski
506-507 Presbyterian Building
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Dombrowski:

The Southern Regional Council is sponsoring a conference on "The South's Post War Economy" in Atlanta on April 11-12. A copy of the program is enclosed.

You are cordially invited to attend this conference. In conformity with ODT regulations, we can invite only a small group of people from outside the Atlanta area. Won't you please let us know at once, preferably by telegraph collect, whether you could attend and whether you would like for us to arrange any overnight accommodations? The meeting will open at 10:30 A. M. on April 11 and close with an afternoon session on April 12.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosure

Comm SPWE

April 5, 1945

Mr. John Mebane
Atlanta Journal
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mebane:

I think you will be interested in a conference on the South's Postwar Economy which we are sponsoring in Atlanta on April 11-12. A copy of the program is enclosed. Let me extend you a cordial invitation to attend as many of the conference sessions as you can.

I understand that you are an old Tar Heel. I am a Texan by birth, but I am a North Carolinian by adoption, having spent twenty years at the University of North Carolina. I want to come around to see you soon.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j
Encl.

Program
Memo.

SPWE

April 5, 1945

Mr. Cherry Emerson
Georgia School of Technology
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Emerson:

I want to call your attention to a conference on the South's Postwar Economy which is being sponsored by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta on April 11-12. I hope that you will find the time to attend some of the sessions.

I am enclosing several copies of the program of the conference and a memorandum about the Southern Regional Council.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:J
encl.

P.S. I hope to meet you sometime soon. I know your brother, Austin, through the Coles whom we have known for many years. Before coming here last year Mrs. Johnson and I were at the University of North Carolina for twenty years.

SPWE

April 5, 1945

Colonel Blake Van Leer
President Georgia School of Technology
Georgia School of Technology
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Colonel Van Leer:

I want to call yourattention to a conference on the South's Postwar Economy which is being sponsored by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta on April 11-12. I hope that you will find the time to attend some of the sessions.

I am enclosing several copies of the program of the conference and a memorandum about the Southern Regional Council.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j
Encl.

SPWE

April 5, 1945

Mr. John Griffin
Emory University
Emory University,
Georgia

Dear John:

This is just a note to remind you of the conference which we are sponsoring here on the South's Postwar Economy on April 11-12. I certainly hope you can attend.

I am enclosing several copies of the program in the hope that you might pass them on to friends who might be interested in attending the conference.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

Encl.

4/5/45

PERSONS INVITED TO CONFERENCE ON S.P.W.E. WHO HAVE NOT YET REPLIED :

Horace Mann Bond
Charlotte H. Brown
Louis E. Burnham
[redacted]
Louis I. Jaffe
Z. A. Looby
T. James McNamara
Gerald P. O'Hara
John G. Pollard
[redacted]
J. G. Stuart
[redacted]

John Temple Graves II
Jennings Perry
[redacted]
Leonard T. Beecher
[redacted]
Carey Haigler
William Mitch
John O. Boynton
A. R. Buhrman
[redacted]
Harvey L. Marcoux
[redacted]
A. D. Huddleston
Ernest Pugh
[redacted]
L. A. Henry
F. E. Lawrence
[redacted]
Dewey B. Hooten
Owen R. Cheatham
Paul Chapman
[redacted]

Smith L. Johnson
[redacted]

PERSONS WHO WILL ATTEND THE CONFERENCE ON "THE SOUTH'S POST WAR ECONOMY" — April 11-12, Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta.

All Sessions:

T. D. Davis
H. L. Mitchell
George D. Palmer
L. Vaughan Howard
~~Hayden B. Johnson~~ G. I. Whitlatch & wife - double bed
Charles Gomillion
G. D. Rogers
William E. Cole
H. D. Goode
Giles Hubert
~~H. C. Newbold~~
Hershal Macon (TVA)
James A. Dombrowski
Dr. H. H. Chapman (Raymond Paty)
An editor (for P. B. Young)
Louis Armstrong (John E. Brewton)
Walter Fuller (Nelson Poynter)
Staff Member (J. L. Henderson)

Some Sessions:

Gordon Blackwell
Robert L. Cousins
Edwin B. Schultz
John E. Ivey, Jr.
Annie Tait Jenkins
M. E. Thompson

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

HOWARD W. ODUM, PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
HOMER P. RAINEY, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, THIRD VICE PRESIDENT

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ORIGIN The Southern Regional Council is the outgrowth of a number of factors. One was the growing consciousness among progressive Southerners of the need for a Southwide agency for the promotion of constructive social and economic reforms. Another was the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond Conferences of 1942-43, in which Southern leaders, white and Negro, covenanted together to work for a better South for all. The Council was chartered by the State of Georgia on January 6, 1944, and it held its charter meeting on February 16, 1944.

PURPOSE The Council represents the forward-looking conscience and efforts of liberal Southerners to give democracy a chance in the South. Although it is bi-racial in its membership and staff, it is not exclusively a "race relations" organization. It believes in the improvement of economic, civic, political, and educational conditions for the good of all the people.

STRUCTURE The Southern Regional Council is a membership organization and is controlled by its members. At the annual meeting, which is held in Atlanta on the second Wednesday in October, the members make decisions on policy and program. Every member in good standing is entitled to vote either in person or by proxy. The Council has a Board of Directors elected by the members; an Executive Committee and five standing committees, elected by the Board; and an executive staff which devotes its time to the promotion of the Council's program.

FUNCTIONS The Council believes that sound information, honest discussion, and cooperation, rather than agitation, are the best methods for promoting social progress. Its functions are: (1) research and survey to find the facts and to determine the possibilities of constructive action; (2) educational work through its own publications and through the press, radio, exhibits, conferences, and personal contacts; (3) cooperation with other agencies which have liberal and humanitarian aims; (4) consultative services to private or public agencies; and (5) formulation of constructive plans and porposals for "the South that could be."

REGIONAL APPROACH The Council operates in thirteen Southern states; Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia. Its voting members reside in these states. While the Council has a "regional" approach it is not a "defensive" organization. It has posted no "keep out" signs and has declared its willingness to cooperate with like-minded organizations--state, regional, and national.

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVES

President

Howard W. Odum
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Vice President

P. B. Young
Norfolk, Virginia

Homer P. Rainey
Austin, Texas

Carter Wesley
Houston, Texas

Executive Director

Guy B. Johnson

Associate Executive Director

Ira DeA. Reid

Secretary-Treasurer

Emily H. Clay

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Organizations and institutions are listed for purposes of identification.

+ Will W. Alexander
Vice President Julius Rosenwald Fund
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

O Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
Former Director of Field Work
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
Tryon, North Carolina

O Charles W. Anderson, Jr.
Member Kentucky Legislature
Louisville, Kentucky

O Rufus B. Atwood
President Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Kentucky

Horace Mann Bond
President Georgia State College
Fort Valley, Georgia

Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown
President Palmer Memorial Institute
Sedalia, North Carolina

O Wilson M. Brown
State Planters Bank and Trust Co.
Richmond, Virginia

Louis E. Burnham
Organizational Secretary
Southern Negro Youth Congress
Birmingham, Alabama

Rufus E. Clement
President Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

O Charles Clingman
Bishop Episcopal Diocese of Kentucky
Louisville, Kentucky

+ William E. Cole
Chief Program Review and Analysis Staff, Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

O Virginius Dabney
Editor Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

O- Not Coming
+- Coming
Sub- Substitute

Ernest Delpit
President Carpenters'Local A.F. of L.
New Orleans, Louisiana

A. W. Dent
President Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

O. D. Duncan
Professor of Sociology
O Oklahoma A. & M.
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Clark Foreman
President Southern Conference for Human Welfare
Black Mountain, North Carolina

C. H. Gillman
Southern Director, CIO
Atlanta, Georgia

H. D. Goode
+ Dentist
Pensacola, Florida

Leonard Haas
Attorney
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton
Executive Secretary Atlanta Urban League
Atlanta, Georgia

Gordon B. Hancock
O Professor of Sociology, Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Mrs. Henry Havens
Secretary Department of Christian Social Relations, Province of Sewanee, Episcopal Church
Jacksonville, Florida

R. B. Herbert
O Attorney
Columbia, South Carolina

O Luther P. Jackson
Chairman Department of History
Virginia State College

Louis I. Jaffe
Editor Virginian-Pilot
Norfolk, Virginia

Charles S. Johnson
O Director Department of Social Science
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Z. A. Looby
Attorney
Nashville, Tennessee

E. A. McDowell
O Professor Southern Baptist Theological Seminary
Louisville, Kentucky

T. James McNamara
Rector, Cathedral of St. John the Baptist
Savannah, Georgia

Benjamin E. Mays
President,Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

L. D. Milton
President, Citizens Trust Co.
Atlanta, Ga.

George S. Mitchell
Regional Director CIO-PAC
Atlanta, Georgia

Arthur J. Moore
Bishop Methodist Church
Atlanta, Georgia

N. C. Newbold
+ State Director of Negro Education
Raleigh, North Carolina

O Howard W. Odum
Head Department of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Gerald P. O'Hara
Bishop of Georgia, Catholic Church
Savannah, Georgia

F. D. Patterson
O President, Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

O - No
+ - yes
Sub - substitute

Raymond R. Paty
Sub. President, University of Alabama
University, Alabama

John Garland Pollard, Jr.
Belle Isle Farm
Somers, Virginia

Edmund M. Preston *
Attorney
Richmond, Virginia

Homer P. Rainey
O Former President, University of Texas
Austin, Texas

Jacob L. Reddix
O President, Jackson College
Jackson, Mississippi

+ Ira DeA. Reid
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

James L. Robb
O President, Tennessee Wesleyan University
Athens, Tennessee

G. D. Rogers
+ President, Central Life Insurance Co.
Tampa, Florida

R. L. Russell
Executive Secretary, Georgia Interracial Commission
McDonough, Georgia

Philip Shulhafer
Personnel Manager, Montag Brothers
Atlanta, Georgia

T. S. Staples
Dean Hendrix College
Conway, Arkansas

Edgar B. Stern
Cotton Factor
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mrs. A. M. P. Strong, President
O National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers
Marianna, Arkansas

J. G. Stuart
Physician
Columbia, South Carolina

+ Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Secretary, Christian Social Relations
Southeastern Jurisdiction
The Methodist Church
Atlanta, Georgia

Harold L. Trigg
O President, State Teachers College
Elizabeth City, North Carolina

Forrester B. Washington
Director, Atlanta University School of Social Work
Atlanta, Georgia

Carter Wesley
Editor and Publisher, Houston Informer
Houston, Texas

John H. Wheeler
O Cashier Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Goodrich C. White
President, Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

Josephine Wilkins
Administrator, Citizens Fact Finding Movement
Atlanta, Georgia

F. C. Willcoxon
O State Secretary YMCA
Vicksburg, Mississippi

Sub. P. B. Young
Editor and Publisher, Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

* Deceased

o - No
+ - yes
sub- substitute

Conference on SEO

WALTER F. GEORGE, GA., CHAIRMAN
DAVID I. WALSH, MASS.
ALBEN W. BARKLEY, KY.
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.
JOSIAH W. BAILEY, N. C.
HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA.
PETER G. GERRY, R. I.
JOSEPH F. GUFFEY, PA.
EDWIN C. JOHNSON, COLO.
GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, MD.
SCOTT W. LUCAS, ILL.
BRIEN MC MAHON, CONN.
ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., WIS.
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ROBERT A. TAFT, OHIO
JOHN THOMAS, IDAHO
HUGH BUTLER, NEBR.
EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, COLO.
OWEN BREWSTER, MAINE
HARLAN J. BUSHFIELD, S. DAK.
ALBERT W. HAWKES, N. J.
CHRISTIE B. KENNEDY, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

March 17, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Permit me to acknowledge your letter of March 13.

It will not be possible for me to attend the meeting of your Council in Atlanta April 11. It is likely that we will have a short vacation but it is necessary for me to go directly to my home, give some attention to pressing personal matters and return to Washington as early as I can. For this reason it will not be possible for me to make any speaking engagements within the next three or four months in Georgia.

Sincerely yours,

Walter F. George

Conference on South's Post-War Economy

March 13, 1945

The Honorable Walter F. George
Senator from Georgia
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator George:

On April 11, the Southern Regional Council is sponsoring a conference in Atlanta on The South's Post-War Economy. With the help of local authorities and government men from the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor, we are trying to do something which will catch the ear of Southern leaders and will challenge the South to some serious thinking on post-war economic problems and potentials.

I realize that it is almost a shame to ask a public servant who is as busy as you are to leave Washington, but I do want to extend an invitation to you to address this conference on the evening of April 10 or April 11. As Chairman of the Senate Special Committee on Post-War Planning, you could bring a very vital message on post-war planning as it affects the South.

Since the Southern Regional Council is a relatively new organization, you may not be very familiar with it. I am taking the liberty, therefore, of enclosing a memorandum which will tell you something about the origin and purpose of the Council. I shall be looking forward to hearing from you in the hope that you will find it possible to accept our invitation.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosure

Conference on
S.E.O.

March 19, 1945

Dear Dr. Logsdon:

Thank you for your letter of March 16. I regret very much that you will find it impossible to attend our conference here on April 11.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

Dr. C. S. Logsdon
Regional Economist
Special Studies Unit
Department of Commerce
Washington 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE

WASHINGTON 25

March 16, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Rm 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

This will acknowledge your invitation to participate in the April meeting of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., to be held at Atlanta.

Since the date of my tentative consent expressed to Mr. Lawrence Drake, I find that it will be impossible for me to attend and I must, therefore, decline your invitation.

Dr. Wilford L. White, Acting Chief of this Division of Small Business plans on taking part in the conference and will be entirely capable of presenting, himself, whatever contribution I may have made to the program.

I am very appreciative of your invitation and trust that you will call upon me if there is any other way in which I may be of assistance.

Sincerely,

C. S. Logsdon

C. S. Logsdon
Regional Economist
Special Studies Unit

Conference on
S.P.W-E

March 12, 1945

Dr. C. S. Logsdon
Room 3032
Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Logsdon:

Our special representative in Washington, Mr. Lawrence Drake, has informed us that you have consented to take part in a conference on the theme of The South's Economic Potential which the Council is sponsoring in Atlanta on April 11.

In this conference we are trying to do something which will catch the ear of Southern leaders in agriculture, business, industry, and labor, and which will challenge the South to some serious thinking about its post-war economic problems and potentials. In addition to several government people from Washington, we are lining up some local authorities for participation in the conference. We are deeply grateful for your willingness to speak at this meeting.

May we count on you to speak on the general topic of "Markets and The Industrialization of The South"? Please re-phrase the title if you wish and let us know exactly how you would like to have it appear in press releases. If you are speaking from a prepared manuscript, would it be possible to let us have an advance copy, since this would be helpful in obtaining complete news coverage? I might add also that we are anxious to have the privilege of publishing your address in full if there is no objection.

As the conference shapes up, it appears that we will have morning, afternoon, and evening sessions on April 11, and it may be necessary to extend it over April 12. If you have any preference as to the time of day you speak on April 11, or if you had just as soon appear on April 12, please let me know as soon as you can. In the meantime I shall make a hotel reservation for you for April 11, and I shall send you the complete program of the conference as soon as possible.

Since the Southern Regional Council is a relatively new organization and since you may not be very well acquainted with it, I am enclosing a memorandum which will give you some background information on the origin and purpose of the Council.

Again let me express our appreciation for your willingness to take part in what we believe is a very significant conference.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosure

P. S. Could you send us a photograph and a brief biographical sketch?

Conferences ES O

March 19, 1945

Mr. Ben W. Lawless
Industrial Plants Branch
Smaller War Plants Corporation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Lawless:

Thank you for your letter of March 16, 1945. We are looking forward with great pleasure to having Mr. Stevens with us on April 11.

I am enclosing a copy of the conference program as it looks now. We are trying to avoid a morning session, since this seems to be inconvenient for several of the speakers. There are one or two other speakers who might be added to the program for the morning of April 12, in which case we shall shift Mr. Milton to April 12 and move one of the evening speakers to the 4 P. M. spot. Do you think Mr. Stevens had just as soon speak in the afternoon as the evening?

Very cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure
Program

SMALLER WAR PLANTS CORPORATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 16, 1945

IN REPLY REFER TO:

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Mr. Stevens has asked me to acknowledge your letter of March 12 and inform you that the title suggested in your letter, "How Southern Government-Owned War Plants Can Aid Small Business," meets with his approval. He will be glad to speak at any time on April 11.

Upon his return from the West Coast, on March 24, he will answer your letter more fully.

Very truly yours,

Ben W. Lawless

Ben W. Lawless
Industrial Plants Branch

TOM CONNALLY, TEX., CHAIRMAN
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH
JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.
THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, R. I.
ALBEN W. BARKLEY, KY.
JOSEPH F. GUFFEY, PA.
CARTER GLASS, VA.
JAMES M. TUNNELL, DEL.
CARL A. HATCH, N. MEX.
LISTER HILL, ALA.
SCOTT W. LUCAS, ILL.
HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS.
ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., WIS.
ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE
HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.
WARREN R. AUSTIN, VT.
STYLES BRIDGES, N. H.
ALEXANDER WILEY, WIS.
ROBERT V. SHIRLEY, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

March 23, 1945

Honorable Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of March 14 in which you so kindly extended to me an invitation to address the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta on April 10 or 11.

I have already accepted engagements for this period which will make it impossible for me to attend. I do appreciate your asking me as I am tremendously interested in the work of the Council. I shall be glad to help in any other way I can.

Best wishes to you and,

Always sincerely,

Carl Hayden

CP:el

Conference on S.P.W.E.

March 14, 1945

The Honorable Claude Pepper
Senator from Florida
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Pepper:

Our Washington representative, Mr. Lawrence Drake, has told me that he has spoken to you about the possibility of your addressing a conference on The South's Post-War Economy which is being sponsored by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta on April 10-11. I realize that it seems a shame to ask a busy public servant to leave Washington in times like these, but I am hopeful that you will find it possible to address this conference on the evening of April 10 or April 11.

In this conference, we are trying to catch the ear of Southern leaders in business, industry, agriculture, and labor and stimulate some serious thinking upon the South's economic problems and potentials. It would be fine if you could find it possible to come and speak on the theme of "The New South" or "The South That Could Be."

Since the Southern Regional Council has been in operation only a little more than a year, you may not be very familiar with it. I am taking the liberty, therefore, of enclosing a memorandum which will give you some information on the background and purpose of the Council. Among its members and directors, the Council has some of the outstanding liberal leaders of both races in the South. It is trying to do a job of education and constructive social action rather than agitation.

Among the speakers at the conference will be: Dr. M. T. Van Hecke, Chairman of the Regional War Labor Board, Atlanta; Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel, Department of Agriculture; Mr. Wilford White, Department of Commerce; Dr. C. S. Logsdon, Department of Commerce; Mr. Roger Stevens, Smaller War Plants Corporation; and Mr. A. F. Hinrichs, Department of Labor.

I shall look forward to hearing from you at your convenience. Our mutual friend, Frank McCallister, tells me that he is also writing you and urging you to come.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
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TODAY

March 27, 1945

TO:

Mr. Coleman Woodbury
1600 Eye Street N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Delighted ~~xxxx~~ you can speak at Southern Regional Council conference on SOUTH'S POST WAR ECONOMY. We are scheduling you for morning of April 12. Have made reservation at Biltmore Hotel.

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

PAID

Charge to:

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue

Rm on 3 PWE
Em

April 6, 1945

(Dictated April 4)

Mr. C. F. Palmer
Palmer Building
Corner of Mariette and Forsyth
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Palmer:

I am awfully sorry to have missed you on the telephone today. I had to be out of the office most of the morning and when I called back you had gone. Since I have to leave shortly for Virginia and will not get back until Friday afternoon I am giving you the following information now.

Here are the names of some of the outside visitors who are coming to the conference other than the ones listed on the program.

T. D. Davis, Research Director Mississippi State Planning Board, Jackson, Mississippi
George D. Palmer, Secretary Southern Association of Science and Industry, Tuscaloosa, Alabama
L. Vaughan Howard, Director Georgia Agricultural and Industrial Development Board, Athens, Georgia
Hayden B. Johnson, Director of the Tennessee State Planning Commission, Nashville, Tennessee
William E. Cole, Department of Agricultural Relations, TVA, Knoxville, Tennessee
H. H. Chapman, Director, Bureau of Business Research, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Alabama
Louis E. Armstrong, Soughtern Rural Life Council, Nashville
E. B. Schultz, Chief of Personnel Relations Staff, TVA Knoxville

As I recall you planned to invite Hinrichs, Ezekiel, and Woodbury to your luncheon. I suggest E. B. Schultz particularly because he is going to preside over the evening session when Hinrichs and Ezekiel speak. It may be that you know some of the other men listed above and would want to invite them. Otherwise I suggest Palmer of Tuscaloosa; Davis of Jackson; Chapman of Tuscaloosa; and Howard of Athens.

I will try to reach you by telephone at your home before I leave this evening. If I fail to do so I will get in touch with you as soon as I return on Friday afternoon. It is swell of you to give the luncheon for our guests.

Cor dially yours,

A CONFERENCE

on

The South's Post War Economy

Atlanta Biltmore Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia

April 11-12, 1945

Sponsored by the

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Economic South . . .

- Is a community of approximately 42,000,000 people, containing approximately one-third of the Nation's total population, but more than one-half of its farm population.

- Has more children born per 1,000 women of each generation than any other region. It is able to offset the large migration to other regions by having the Nation's highest rural-farm net reproduction rate. Yet Southern urban communities have the lowest net reproduction rate in the Nation.

- Contains approximately one-third of the Nation's workers whose annual median salary or wage in 1939 (based on reports made by 9,000,000 of them) was $599—almost one-third *lower* than the national average wage of $877.

- Paid a lower per capita income tax in 1943 than any other region. For every dollar per capita of income tax reported from the United States as a whole, the southeastern states reported 63 cents and the southwestern states reported 77 cents.

- Has 42 per cent of the Nation's houses regarded as "needing major repairs." In every 1,000 Southern dwelling units there are 271 such structures; in every 1,000 houses for the United States 183 need major repairs.

- According to the United States Senate's Special Committee to Investigate Industrial Centralization, ten Southern states, having 15 per cent of the Nation's land area, 14 per cent of its minerals, 10 per cent of its manufacturing, and 39 per cent of its farm population, receive only 11 per cent of the national income and 20 per cent of the national farm income. They had a smaller volume of war contracts than any other region, and in 1943 had the lowest increase in value of manufactures over 1939—69 per cent. Other groups of states increased this value by 227 per cent, 270 per cent, and 639 per cent in the same period. The committee's report says if the "per capita income of these states were raised to the level of national per capita income, total national income would be increased by $10,000,000,000 annually."

- Pertinent to a discussion of current problems in this field is this statement from the *Monthly Review* of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta (September 30, 1943):

> "It would seem therefore that a soundly based regional economy should be related to the region's own great resources and to a peacetime market structure rather than be tied, as a result of uneconomic conversions of war plants, to capacity designed for a totally different economic situation."

Program

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 11

10:30 A. M.

THE PURPOSE OF THIS CONFERENCE. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council.

HOW SOUTHERN GOVERNMENT-OWNED WAR PLANTS CAN AID SMALL BUSINESS. Roger Stevens, Chief of the Industrial Plant Division, Smaller War Plants Corporation

* * * *

2:30 P. M.

Presiding: Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

POST WAR FOREIGN TRADE AND THE SOUTH. August Maffry, Chief of the International Trade Unit, U. S. Department of Commerce

SOUTHERN INDUSTRY AND POST WAR MARKETS. Wilford White, Acting Chief, Division of Small Business, U. S. Department of Commerce

* * * *

8:00 P. M.

Presiding: E. B. Schultz, Chief, Personnel Relations Staff, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville

IMPACT OF THE WAR ON SOUTHERN LABOR. A. F. Hinrichs, Acting Commissioner of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor

SOUTHERN POST WAR AGRICULTURE. Mordecai Ezekiel, Economic Adviser, U. S. Department of Agriculture

THURSDAY, APRIL 12

10:30 A. M.

Presiding: C. F. Palmer, President of Palmer, Inc., Atlanta

FREIGHT RATES AND SOUTHERN INDUSTRIAL GROWTH. Judge Edgar Watkins, Special Assistant Attorney General of Georgia, Atlanta

THE SOUTH'S POST WAR HOUSING PROBLEM. Coleman Woodbury, Assistant Administrator, National Housing Agency

* * * *

2:30 P. M.

Presiding: M. T. Van Hecke, Chairman, Regional War Labor Board, Atlanta

POLITICAL FACTORS IN ECONOMIC PROGRESS, Glenn Rainey, Georgia School of Technology

WHAT NEXT? Lawrence Drake, Research Specialist for Southern Regional Council.

The Southern Regional Council

ORIGIN The Southern Regional Council is the outgrowth of a number of factors. One was the growing consciousness among progressive Southerners of the need for a Southwide agency for the promotion of constructive social and economic reforms. Another was the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond Conferences of 1942-43, in which Southern leaders, white and Negro, covenanted together to work for a better South for all. The Council was chartered by the State of Georgia on January 6, 1944, and it held its charter meeting on February 16, 1944.

PURPOSE The Council represents the forward-looking conscience and efforts of liberal Southerners to give democracy a chance in the South. Although it is bi-racial in its membership and staff, it is not exclusively a "race relations" organization. It believes in the improvement of economic, civic, political, and educational conditions for the good of all people.

METHODS The Council believes that sound information, honest discussion, and cooperation, rather than agitation, are the best methods for promoting social progress. Its functions are: (1) research and survey to find the facts and to determine the possibilities of constructive action; (2) educational work through its own publications and through the press, radio, exhibits, conferences, and personal contacts; (3) cooperation with other agencies which have liberal and humanitarian aims; (4) consultative services to private or public agencies; and (5) formulation of constructive plans and proposals for "the South that could be."

MEMBERSHIP It welcomes to membership persons who believe in its purposes and methods. Voting members must be residents of the Council area: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Dues are one dollar a year, but members are urged to contribute additional amounts according to their financial ability. Members receive all Council pamphlets.

OFFICERS and DIRECTORS The officers of the Council are: *President:* HOWARD W. ODUM, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; *Vice Presidents:* P. B. YOUNG, Norfolk, Virginia, HOMER P. RAINEY, Austin, Texas, CARTER WESLEY, Houston, Texas; *Executive Director:* GUY B. JOHNSON; *Associate Executive Director:* IRA DEA. REID; *Secretary-Treasurer:* EMILY H. CLAY, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Among the members of the Board of Directors are some of the outstanding Southern leaders in education, religion, business, and labor.

A CONFERENCE ON

THE SOUTH'S POST WAR ECONOMY

Atlanta Biltmore Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia

April 11-12, 1945

Eaton's
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MADE IN U.S.A.

Sponsored by the

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

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& Company - - - - - -
111 Ten Forsyth St. Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

A Conference on

THE SOUTH'S POST WAR ECONOMY

April 11, 1945
10:30 a.m.

- - - - - - - - - - -

THE PURPOSE OF THIS CONFERENCE

By
Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council

The Southern Regional Council is very happy to be able to sponsor this conference on the South's Post War Economy. We think we have an excellent program laid out, and I hopw that we will all get a great deal of profit from it.

Some of you are not very familiar with the work of the Southern Regional Council, so I would like to say just a few words about the Council itself.

It is a relatively new organization. In fact, it was formed officially in January of 1944. It is a membership organization having members in thirteen Southern States. Our members are both White and Negro, and for that reason, of course, we have sometimes been called a radical organization. Well, if it is radical to have an organization with members of both races, who come together to discuss the problems of the Southern Region, then we are glad to be branded as radicals.

Our purposes in the Southern Regional Council are: First, to undertake research and surveys in order to get a better picture of the problems and conditions which exist here

in the South and in order to give us an indication of the best approaches toward solutions of these problems.

Second, to carry on educational work through conferences such as this, through our publications, through press, radio, and so on.

Third, to cooperate with other agencies, local, state, regional or national, which are also interested in the problems in the Southern Region.

Fourth, to offer consultive services to private or public agencies, which might be in a position to profit from the research or the experiences which this Council accumulates.

And, fifth, the formulation and promulgation of plans for the South that could be.

Now, in calling this conference, we have had several purposes in mind. We wanted to focus public attention in the South on these problems of our Post War economy. We are going to become more and more conscious of these problems as we get nearer the post war period. The problem is certainly timely, and we feel that it has not yet received the careful attention that it should have.

We also wanted to develop in this conference an authoritative body of information on the South's economic problems and potentials, which will form the basis for further thinking on this subject.

The addresses and discussions which you will hear at this conference will be published later and distributed as widely as possible, so that the effects of these gatherings will continue long after we have adjourned.

Furthermore, as an organization we wanted to develop a clearer picture of what we might do and how. We hope as a result of the discussions with the experts on these various economic subjects we will, as an organization, develop a good deal of knowledge and insight into the kinds of things that we can do. So we have brought together a group of authorities on these various economic problems to speak to you and to engage in discussion with you.

To these men who are here from Washington, Atlanta, and elsewhere, I would like now to express our gratitude and appreciation.

This conference is not an official meeting of the Southern Regional Council. We wish it could have been, but even if ODT had permitted, it would not have been fair, I think, to ask several hundred people from thirteen states to travel to Atlanta and use up the hotel accommodations. And so, while the meetings are open to the local public, we have invited a very limited group of people from outside Atlanta. Some of these are members of our Council; some are not. We have chosen leaders in business, labor, agriculture, research and social planning.

At a later meeting of the Board of Directors of this Council, or at our annual meeting in October of this year, the Council, as an organization, will take whatever official action it wishes on the proceedings of this conference.

Now, you will see here a chart on the South. I hope that later we can find some way of putting the chart up back there where you can get a more comfortable look at it, but at present all of the other display boards in the hotel are being used, and we could not do any better than this. We will try to change that later.

But here I want to say that we are indebted to Mr. Lawrence Drake of Washington, D. C., for the vast amount of work which has gone into the production of this chart. It is going to be printed in colors and will be distributed at the lowest possible cost, and I hope that eventually it will be displayed in thousands of offices and class rooms and libraries throughout the country.

I regret to say that Dr. Howard W. Odum of Chapel, Hill, North Carolina, who is president of this Council, was unable to be with us on account of serious illness in his family. We are very sorry for that and we shall miss him very much.

Now, as we approach the meat of this program, let me remind you that all sessions will be held in this room unless otherwise announced. We have other sessions this afternoon,

this evening, tomorrow morning and tomorrow afternoon. And let me urge you to feel free to take part in the discussion which will follow immediately after each address.

I now have the privilege of presenting our first speaker, Mr. Roger Stevens of Washington, D. C., from the Smaller War Plants Corporation, who will speak to us on the subject How Government Owned War Plants can Help Industry in the South.

HOW SOUTHERN GOVERNMENT-OWNED WAR PLANTS CAN AID SMALL BUSINESS

By
Roger Stevens, Chief of the Industrial PlantDivision, Smaller War Plants Corp.

About a year ago I was with the War Production Board in Washington, and Smaller War Plants Corporation asked me if I could make any suggestions to them that would further the programs that they were beginning to put together, looking to the improvement and re-establishment of the position of small business in the post war economy.

The question was asked specifically with reference to the wartime production plants, of which nobody had a very comprehensive view at that time. I made a brief study of the war plants and made a few tentative suggestions which led to a request that a more thorough study be made of them, with the result that last spring and summer I made a fairly intensive study of just what the war plants will mean in the post war period.

The first thing that appeared out of the study was that the war plants in general are bigger than industrial plants have any right to be, in general. I will give you a few figures that will outline the size of the problem. These figures are national and you can imply their application to your own local areas by taking the figures for those areas, which are available; you can get them without much difficulty.

When the war production period is over, the Government will own approximately fourteen hundred industrial plants, that is manufacturing plants. They will have cost somewhere in the neighborhood of some sixteen to seventeen billion dollars. They will include approximately 430,000,000 square feet of floor space; 430,000,000 square feet is pretty hard to visualize. Maybe it will be clearer if you look at it as ten thousand acres, ten thousand acres of industrial plant floor space.

The plants are large. Out of that 430,000,000 square feet approximately 94 per cent is in plants whose individual areas are one hundred thousand square feet or more. A one hundred thousand square foot war plant is a small war plant, but in order to get one hundred thousand square feet you might have a single building a hundred feet wide and a thousand feet long, or two hundred feet wide and five hundred feet long. That is a great big plant in most towns. Ninety-four per cent of the 430,000,000 square feet is in plants of one hundred thousand square feet or more each. About fifty-

five per cent of that 430,000,000 square feet is in plants having areas of one million square feet or more. And a million square feet would be ten buildings two hundred feet by five hundred feet. That is the size of the problem nationally.

The South, as we define it here, thirteen states, has somewhere in the neighborhood of three and a half billion dollars worth of that construction. Now, that is approximately one-fifth of the total on the dollar basis. The quantities are so enormous that that kind of approximation, I think, is justifiable; that is, you can take the total dollar value and assume that the distribution dollar-wise is indicative of the distribution area-wise, or in terms of manufacturing productive volume. Those plants represent as big a single problem as we have.

There are two further figures that will be of interest. The 430,000,000 square feet of industrial floor space represents somewhere near 20 per cent of the total industrial plant space in the country before the war. Now that figure is a little difficult to substantiate because, unfortunately, the Census Bureau did not carry any accurate figures on industrial plant space before the war. But it is, within reason, accurate. The figure probably would hit somewhere between seventeen and twenty-four or twenty-five per cent.

A further interesting figure is this: that approximately one-third of all the people now engaged in war production are

engaged in production in those Government owned plants; that is, one-third of the labor force involved in war production will inevitably be out of a job from the time that the war contracts are terminated in the war plants--in the Government owned plants--until we get those plants back into some kind of production or until they find jobs elsewhere in industry. It isn't difficult to see that the successful solution for the problem of getting these Government owned war plants back into production, the success or failure of that program will determine largely the success or failure of our attempts to get in some kind of normal production swing after the war.

Looking over those figures I have just given you and those conditions, over a period of weeks, it became very apparent that the answer to the problem of getting these plants into production would not be found in an attempt to find a suitable buyer for each of those plants, a suitable buyer who would put his industrial plant into the plant buildings and use the plant buildings. That becomes evident when you look at the process by which any industrial concern arrives at a decision when it once subscribes for a new plant.

If the Company wants to expand its industrial facilities, it looks over the whole country, or at least that part of the country that is suitable to its industry. It will spend a year or maybe two years investigating communities to see what the labor supply is, to see what the labor conditions are, what

wage rates are, what the tax situation is, whether the tax burden on the plant will be greater than it can carry, investigates the sources of raw materials to see that it can get raw materials that it needs and when it needs them with a reasonable transportation cost, looks over a given community from the standpoint of its location relative to its principal markets so as to insure that it won't use up all of its profits or all its spread between production cost and final sales price in transporting its product to the market.

All of these things take a long time. Then it decides what type of plant it wants and the type of construction it can afford to buy or build, and it goes ahead and builds or buys a plant.

Now if you start off with a group of thirteen or fourteen hundred plants whose sizes and types of construction were determined, not by ordinary peacetime production requirements, but by specific war conditions, whose locations were determined by war expediencies rather than by normal industrial considerations, you can see that it is an almost impossible thing to do to try to match up individual company requirements with individual plants.

That, together with the enormous size of the war plants, led to a decision, on my part at least, that the only feasible way to get these plants into operation in the post war period is to operate them as what we commonly call "multiple tenancy facilities; that is, we have got a plant in a given location

that is too big for any one company; it is physically not suited to the needs of any one company; its location is not appropriate to the needs of any one company; but there are always in any given locality a lot of small companies who need space. Obviously, the thing to do is to subdivide the big plant and rent space in it in suitable units, suitable sized units, to anybody that wants it. That is not a novel counsel, by the way. In fact, it doesn't represent any ingenuity on my part to come to this conclusion. The thing is done in practically every industrial community.

I was for a number of years in the engineering business in New York and was familiar with the Bush Terminal Company, the New York Dock Company and the Port of New York Authority Industrial Center. Each of those is exactly what I propose to make of the major war plants. One has about five and a half million square feet and the other about six million square feet extending two or three miles along the Brooklyn water front. You could go to them and if you are a little trucker with a fleet of trucks to rent out to manufacturers, you can get space for a garage in one of their plants. If you just want a place to take orders and have a girl at the telephone to schedule your trucks out, you can get a little space about half the size of this table to put a telephone on; or you can get a half million square feet of space in a multi-story building and go ahead and manufacture cocoanut products. The thing is done; it has background extending back over forty

or fifty years. Most of the bugs have been wiped out of that type of operation.

My proposal specifically is this: that we encourage local groups to form in a given case a corporation by a suitable local plant from the Government at the most advantageous terms that can be arranged, and I think we can provide for very advantageous terms, subdivide it as needed, re-run the utilities, water, sewer, steam, air, gas lines, lighting and ventilation, and rent space to all comers for whatever their businesses may be.

There is a field in the general picture that I have explored rather carefully that applies particularly, I think, to the Southern States. I think it applies particularly because you presumably are getting ready for a surge along these lines of industrial development. I think everybody agrees that a diversification and a development of industry in the South is essential to the development of the sound economy here, and the proposals that I make in connection with the use of the war plants will work toward a particularly wholesome development of that kind.

Take for example community which has a single large war plant. Take a community, for example, of fifty to sixty thousand people in which a war plant has been constructed that hires ten thousand people. That is a moderate sized war plant. If a single corporation buys that plant and fills it up with its

own manufacturing operations, we'll have ten thousand people working for the one corporation. That will be a fair-sized chunk of the total employable labor which is in that town of fifty thousand people. That corporation will probably carry one moderate-sized bank account in the city. It will carry its payroll account and current cash account. Almost surely the greater part of its funds will be carried in the banking correspondent in the nearest large financial center. That corporation will have its own closely integrated service departments. It will have its own lawyers, probably on salary. It will have its own engineering staff, on salary. It will run its own fleet of trucks. It will have enough trucks so that it will maintain its own service garage. It will buy its gasoline and oil at wholesale and run its own service station. It will do its own mimeographing and multigraphing, photography, blueprinting. It will have a fully integrated accounting staff. It will have an industrial physician on salary and run a first aid establishment. All of those relatively minor service operations will be carried on by the corporation itself.

Now, let us assume that a local group takes over that plant as a multiple tenancy facility and fills it up with a group of, we'll say, one hundred small concerns, each of whom hires a hundred people on the average. There you have your ten thousand people taken care of again. Each of those small concerns will probably have one or two or three trucks. That is

not enough trucks to run a garage for, so there is room for a number of commercial garages to operate in the town. None of those concerns can afford to buy gasoline at wholesale, or can buy gasoline at wholesale, so the local service stations will benefit. There will be from that hundred concerns enough business to support two or three or four local physicians with their industrial compensation business, and local hospitals will get first aid business. There will be room in that town for multigraphing, mimeographing, real estate offices, engineers, lawyers, blueprinting establishments, and all of the service industries that such a group of industries will support will find a place in the town.

Now see what that means. If a man wants to go into business, a returning war veteran, or any other young man starting in, he is considerably limited by the amount of capital he has available ordinarily as to the type of business he can go into. A man with two or three thousand dollars, or ten thousand dollars, is almost limited to service types of business. If we have a town that has catered to the establishment of a large group of small industries, that town is going to be in an incubator for new small businesses, and the only way we can get a wholesome big business economy is by fostering the establishing of small businesses.

The whole development of industrial towns has indicated the desirability of diversity, diversification, among the

industries.

One of the best examples of the multiple tenancy operation is the Amoskeg Mills in Manchester, New Hampshire. Manchester was a town of about forty or fifty thousand people, which grew up around the Amoskeg mills, the biggest cotton textile plant in the world. At the peak in the late twenties, Amoskeg Mills employed about thirteen thousand of the twenty-six thousand people employed in the town. Due to a number of operations, including Dry Dock Company management, and apparently the tendency of New England textile industry to move South and take advantage of lower wage rates and a number of other considerations, Amoskeg Mills closed down.

The town of Manchester was faced with the loss of just about fifty per cent of its total payrolls, and that means ruin to any town. This was in the early thirties. A group of local business men, the local hardware dealer, the local undertaker, the two bankers, the drygoods store people, and that kind of group of people got together and bought the mill property from the defunct corporation.

Over a period of about eight years they managed to fill up about half the company property with small businesses. They restored nearly half of the previous payrolls to the town. That made the difference between a town that was simply a ghost city and a town that was going along. When the war came they filled up all the space, of course, and Manchester

now is one of the most prosperous of the New England towns.

There is a warning in the case of Manchester for other cities which are on the make industrially. A one-company town can be wiped out by a general depression or by depression in the business in which that one company engages. A town with a whole lot of industries can't be badly hurt.

In every city in the country there were a great many industries that survived, and some industries actually prospered as a result of the depression.

It seems to me that any forward looking, intelligent planning for a community must see to it that at least a large part of its growth takes place in small industries. What that means to the South in its building upsurge industrially, it seems to me, is rather obvious. You have got some one-company towns now. You are not as badly cursed with them as some parts of the country have become. You have got your picture to make, and it seems to me that that should be kept always in the forefront of your planning minds, that you can't afford to get too great a proportion of the industrial development in any city tied up with a single company or a single industry.

Detroit is a good example. Detroit is 100 per cent an automotive town, practically. There haven't been serious slumps in the automotive industry in general except when we had an over-all slump, but you can see what would happen to Detroit if anything happened to cut into the automotive field

seriously.

There is another thing that has a bearing, and that is the labor situation. Detroit and Akron are good examples of one-industry towns. It certainly is unwholesome to have either side of the labor and management in controversy, if you want to call it that, get too strong an ascendancy at any given time. In Detroit and Akron we have had about as bad a case of overpowerful labor organizations as you will find in the country entirely, because of the fact that they are one-industry towns and labor simply can take over and dictate terms. That thing cannot happen in a town with diversified industry.

The post war industrial welfare of the country is going to be tied up integrally with the success or failure of our efforts to put these war plants into operation. The success or failure of the attempt of any single community to get into a wholesome post war industrial condition will be dependent largely upon its ability to use the war plants effectively. That statement, of course, is limited to those communities that have war plants. But where there is a war plant in a community, it will almost surely control the success or failure of the post war industrial development.

I think that is the outline of what I had to give you and I would be glad to have any questions asked that you would care to ask.

- - - -

DISCUSSION

Q The creation of that 94 per cent of those plants with such a large floor area, making the reconversion problems extremely difficulty, was that a matter of necessity or was it from accident?

A That is, you are asking: Is it necessary for a war plant to be large? Is that what you are asking?

Q Was that inherently necessary or was some element of accident in it, or post war fenagling?

A I am inclined to think it was pure expediency. Certainly it is an unwholesome condition. It makes a difficult condition. It think it occurred in exactly the same way one of the other things happened that has been unwholesome. That is in the procurement programs.

The men faced with the necessity for purchasing billions of dollars worth of commodities automatically bought from the biggest corporations they could find. The result was that small companies were threatened with elimination from the picture. Now that wasn't, I am sure, in all cases because the men who were buying were inherently big business men. It was because everybody is lazy enough to want to do his own job in the easiest possible way, and the man with a billion units of a given commodity to buy simply wouldn't let himself be faced with the problem of splitting those up into one million unite of $1,000 each. He would go and find a company

that could supply him a billion units.

The necessity of enormous production was so great that a man faced with a need to find theproduction facilities automatically bought in big terms. That is one factor, the inherent laziness of people.

Another factor was that for any given type of production a certain community or a certain part of the country will be peculiarly well fitted for that work, either type of labor, convenient to raw materials, or it will be near the point where the product must be delivered. Each of those factors will need concentration.

I don't think there was anything insidiously deliberate about the thing. It think it was a matter of expediency rather than anything else.

Q Mr. Stevens, you say rubber workers and auto workers were able to dictate terms. That is the first time I ever heard of that. My question is this: Wouldn't our general economy suffer if we got a dispersion of these plants, non-union, in all sections of the country with a lowered wage schedule? That is, the higher purchasing power follows Unionism. You don't get high purchasing power and then unionism; you get unionism and then higher purchasing power.

A That is correct, and it is a difficult subject to insert into any general discussion. I consider myself very bold to have done so. My feeling--and I can only cite my

own beliefs in the matter,--is about this: Certainly without labor organizations you wouldn't have anything like the wholesome industry that we have approached in the past. You have got to have all elements in the production picture getting a reasonable return for what they put into it. The pendulum swings back and forth periodically. We know in times of depression when we have got an oversupply of labor and an undersupply of market for that labor, management gets an undue measure of control. We also know that in times of booms and high prosperity when labor is scarse, that man who controls the supply of labor gets undue control.

It seems to me the desirable thing to do is keep the swings of that pendulum just as narrow as you can, providing the point of rest is at a fairly equitable point. I think that any extraneous condition that gives too much or too easy control to either of the two elements is inherently unwholesome. That is about as far as I intended that to go.

Q I still don't think the rubber workers and auto workers dictated to General Motors and U. S. Rubber.

A I am not in a position to say even as much as I did, because I don't know.

Q What arrangements are there, for instance, for people from overseas returning to the states who discover that there are Government plants in their communities, and they wish to utilize these plants. Now, suppose they decide to find out what they can do, how they can go about it, whom they should

contact, and so forth. Has the Smaller War Plants Corporation any special facility set up to help these people, or to whom shall they write?

A Thanks, Mr. Drake. I had missed that point and I intended to bring it in.

The whole matter of getting hold of the war plant is being worked on now, and I think we are beginning to see light. I will give you a rather general answer to that and go somewhat behind your question.

First of all, to answer your specific question, Smaller War Plants Corporation is setting itself up now to be the agency which will assist any community or elements in the community who wish to get hold of war plants. Since the Surplus Property Board was formed and the Surplus Property Act became effective, we have been working with the Board and and the Disposal Agencies, and we are beginning to see a fairly good picture now.

It will work out about this way. Let us suppose that any one of you people here in the room aspired to form a corporation and take over a particular war plant. This would be an appropriate method of approach, and this will outline about what could happen in a given case.

You would first of all get together suitable people in your community so that you know that you have a reasonable assurance of financial backing and the community backing.

Having gotten some such assurance, it would be appropriate to go to the local district manager or division director of the Smaller War Plants Corporation and outline your proposals. He would approach the local manager of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which is the disposal agency for industrial plants, and inform him of the desire of the local group. At the same time he would notify the industrial plants division of the Corporation in Washington. Industrial plants are being handled somewhat differently from other surplus disposals. They are being handled on a centralized basis by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in Washington, so, where in the other cases of surplus disposals, our local officers are operating almost autonomously, in the case of the industrial plants, we are trying to run a parallel negotiations, a negotiation in the community between the local agencies and a negotiation in Washington between the central offices of the agencies.

Our local office and my office in Washington would then attempt to get the most favorable, the most appropriate terms for the purchase of that property, and that is a great big negotiation.

I will outline a little bit of what we are up against and what we are trying to do. First of all, each of the operators of one of these industrial plants has an option for the purchase of the plant. That option provides that he can purchase the plant within ninety days after his production con-

tracts are closed or terminated, at a price which is represented by the cost of the plant, less five per cent per year depreciation on the building, less 12½ per cent depreciation per year on the equipment. The option specifically operates only as to the entire plant and equipment. And the options are not going to be taken up because they represent fodishly high prices.

The average industrial plant has cost--Reconstruction Finance Corporation doesn't like this, but it is a fact--they have cost from 1½ to six or eight times what a parallel plant would cost in peace times. That is not a criticism of anyone; it is a condition that is inherent in war time construction: labor high, material high; you have got to substitute materials one for another; inadequate superintendency; and plants have been built on two or three shift basis, which is inherently inefficient; so, costs have been high.

When you have costs as high as that, it is impossible to arrive at a rational selling price by the application of any depreciation factor. You may be able to get a reasonable price, but not a rational price.

So the first thing he has got to do is de-water the values of these plants. We are working now towards the establishment of a method of valuating the plants. The tendency up to now has been to make an appraisal based upon reproduction costs. We do not approve of reproduction cost as a basis for appraisals for this reason: Reproduction cost

is an effective criterion of value only if you can answer 'yes' to one question. That question is: Given the money, given the opportunity, would you now build exactly that plant in exactly that location? Obviously, you can't answer 'yes' to that question with a great number of war plants. Therefore reproduction cost is not any criterion of value.

In a great many cases the very existence of one of these plants in the community has increased the total amount of space available to the point where the value of industrial plant space in that community is automatically reduced.

We propose an astonishing rational approach to the problem. We propose that preferably an appraisal board be appointed, that appraisal board to consist of a local banker, a local industrial real estate man, a local civic representative, possibly appointed by the local chamber of commerce, and a local member of the disposal agency, which, in general, will be the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. We propose that they approach the valuation problem on this basis: First of all, that they examine the plant and determine what the total area of usable space in the plant is. And I explain the word "usable." A million square feet plant for the manufacture of synthetic rubber is not usable space for the manufacture of electrical supplies. If converted to the manufacture of electrical supplies, it would probably have a 150,000 square feet usable space.

We propose first of all then that they examine the plant and determine the actual usable areas; then, that they survey the community and determine the average long-time earning power of space of that kind in the community in terms of price per square foot per year; that they then apply the one to the other and say, "This is what we propose can reasonably be expected to earn over a long period of time," and can then capitalize that earning power and use that for the basis of establishing its value.

That is not going to be a popular proposal in most owning agencies and disposal agencies certainly, because it means an immense reduction in the price of the plant. And yet I am perfectly convinced that until we do use some such realistic basis for determining values, we are not going to get anybody to buy these plants, and if we do, we are not going to do any good for them or for ourselves.

Smaller War Plants Corporation will, when approached by a group that wants to buy a plant, make every possible attempt to arrive at some such reasonable basis for valuation as that.

Then there is the matter of purchase terms. Again we propose that the purchase terms be made very easy. It seems to me that five per cent cash payment on a plant of this type, considering the immense value that its operation will have to the community, is adequate. Maybe in some cases ten per cent would be better, but I think the plants should be

sold on very easy terms, both as to first payment and as to length of mortgage period and mortgage terms. I haven't been able to crystallize it very well, but the tendency certainly should be in the direction of making it just as easy as possible for a suitable buyer to acquire theproperty.

Q You have cleared that up very nicely. Southern communities, if they want to look around and plan to utilize Government property, will find Government assistance. But there is one proble m that is still not answered, and a very important problem.

Suppose the people get together and they have 150,000 square feet of space that they would like to take over. The question there is: What shall they manufacture? What can they do in that community? There are many groups that could probably offer some sort of assistance, or at least a starting point of these communities.

A Yes, Smaller War Plants Corporation is now equipped to render such assistance, is further developing its facilities for rendering that assistance. Each of our regional offices and, I believe, our district offices, certainly the regional office, has one or more representatives of our technical advisors service, and they are developing their technical staffs further in the hope they will be able to maintain files of existing information as to suitable local industry as to the fields of work, and in a good many cases I believe

they will be able to carry on some independent research to put together information relative to the location situation.

Certainly it is properly a function of Smaller War Plants Corporation to render that kind of assistance. We now offer that assistance to individuals; we are getting ready to offer that kind of assistance to returning service men. A purchaser of a Government plant is an appropriate beneficiary of this kind of service. And here in Atlanta I am pretty sure that you can get a real measure of assistance from our local offices.

Q Is the regional office for the South here in Atlanta?

A I am not sure how big the region is. Could you outline it?

MR. LOFTIN: The region consists of seven states, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, North and South Carolina, and Tennessee. The other states are in the Dallas Regional Office. Mr. Hosch, who is the head of their technical advisor service happens to be here at the moment. I would like to introduce him and ask if he cares to make any remarks about how he can help these people.

MR. STEVENS: Mr. Loftin is the regional director.

MR. HOSCH: I have nothing to say at this time. I would be glad to answer any questions.

MR. STEVENS: I did outline the situation about accurately, that you now have facilities for rendering

assistance, and you are developing facilities and information to have available?

MR. HOSCH: I might say that we have several functions of the Smaller War Plants Corporation operating right now. First we get contracts from the small manufacturer and help him to finance those contracts if he doesn't have financial ability and we offer to help him get out of trouble if he gets into trouble manufacturing the item. We have gone into some items of essential civilian goods, but we just get the information for him, take him by the hand, so to speak, and get up a report on any particular problem that he sends in. Of course we have plans for things after the post war period, but right at this time we are working on war production and essential civilian goods.

Any problem that they send in, such as how to get their problems ironed out, or any trouble they run into, we try to help them out.

MR. STEVENS: Thank you, Mr. Hosch. That is important to bear in mind, that this whole thing is now in a transitional state. Our organization was put together primarily to assist in the war production period. We are now, just as Mr. Hosch says, changing the facilities that have been applied to war production over to where we will be prepared to offer real assistance in the post war reconversion period.

Any further points?

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MR. DRAKE: Mr. Stevens, do you think it is worthwhile going into this point, the question of the disposal of surplus goods? Do you think small businesses will receive priorities in their access to the surplus goods, or, it is my impression that some sort of priorities of that sort exist for small business. I am not so sure about that.

MR. STEVENS: I am not dead certain as to the immediate condition. I knew something of that matter when it first started, but each of the elements of this thing got so big, I have confined myself now to industrial plants, and another division in our office is handling consumer goods, with the exception of aircraft; I am handling aircraft.

The method of thinking has been that we must protect small business in connection with all surplus property disposals. That is, take the machine tools as an example. There may be two possible conditions and nobody knows yet which of them exists. It is conceivable that the five hundred thousand machine tools that the Government now owns, which represent about twenty-five years' production by the machine tool industry, is enough machine tools so that we could simply throw the doors open and say to everybody, "Come and get the tools you want," knowing that there will be more tools than they can use. If that is the case, small business doesn't need any protection. On the other hand, it looks as though, at least in certain types of machine groups, there will be less tools available

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than are needed. Mechanisims are being designed right now to allow Smaller War Plants Corporation preferred access to machine tools that have become available. Now the method of waiving that preferred access isn't definite yet; it will probably take the form of one of several procedures. It is very probable that the Surplus Property Board will offer a regulation under which the disposal agency will be permitted to notify Smaller War Plants Corporation when a given lot of machine tools of a give type is to become surplus, and we will then have a period, probably ten days, not much more than that, during which we can say, "Of the six thousand lathes that you tell us will become surplus in the next thirty days, we require for small business thirty-five hundred of them." That type of mechanism would require that Smaller War Plants Corporation makes something approaching an accurate estimate of what the small business requirement of that type of equipment will be.

We now have such surveys under way. That looks like the most probable method of handling the thing.

Another way to do it is for small business to go to the local Smaller War Plants Corporation and get a certificate of eligibility for preference. In that case, if you are a small businessman, you would go to the Smaller War Plants Corporation office, demonstrate your eligibility as a small businessman and get a certificate which you could then take to the disposal agency and say, "I demand the appropriate preference that goes

with this certificate."

Whatever the method is it will be designed upon the basis that small business should be given the opportunity to rehabilitate itself to recover from the adverse effects of the war and to place itself into an advantageous position. How it will be done I don't know. You gentlemen probably know more about that than I do at the moment because I haven't been in touch with it.

MR. McCALLISTER: We recently had an original display of use of patents becoming available upon a small amount of money and I wonder if anybody knows whether anybody took up these patents?

MR. HOSCH: That particular display that was at the Piedmont Hotel was under my direction. We had several hundred applications for the abstracting of those patents. We have on display now about thirty thousand of them in our office in Atlanta. We also have made these abstracts available in each of our district offices over the seven states. Now they come out in book sections, abstracted in four books.

We have now on display in each of our offices over the seven states three of these books, and in about three more weeks, we will have the last book, and then we are going to put on a campaign to ask each manufacturer who didn't come into the exhibit to come in and get the complete information. If any of you would like, I would be glad to bring out the informa-

tion so we can have it at this meeting. We have over four thousand in these four states, eight hundred something in Charlotte, over eight hundred in Atlanta, seven hundred in Jackson and over thirteen hundred in Miami. This patent display was for the benefit of the manufacturers, and they were asked to send in and get copies of the patent and copies of the abstract, so they can study them with their men at the plant. Some of the manufacturers order as high as several hundred of them. And, of course, they can't do much with them until after the war. They are getting ready to use those patents. If any of you would like information on these patents, I would be glad to bring them out and give them to you.

MR. STEVENS: It might be well at the subsequent meetings to have one of those books available for people to look over.

Q What help could your agency give to acommunity such as a shipbuilding community, a type of operation that is common in the South for which there is very little opportunity of survival. Now, would the fact that this shipyard itself could not be continued operate to a disadvantage in the community, or is there any way by which you could make available to a group of business men and others who might get to work and attempt to find employment by setting up new manufacturers.

A Yes, the extent to which that can be done is still

pretty indefinite. The intent of ongress in prolonging the life of Smaller War Plants Corporation was that it would render assistance to that kind of a situation. That is, if a man or a group of men came to Smaller War Plants Corporation wanting to enter a production business that would result inthe employment of an appropriate or reasonable number of people that Smaller War Plants Corporation would be able and would be permitted to give them technical assistance, organizational assistance, actual advice in their marketing problems and their production problems, and also to lend them capital under certain circumstances. Now, those circumstances are not clean-cut or clearly drawn yet. Very specifically the Surplus Property Act of 1944 authorizes Smaller War Plants Corporation to lend money to business in connection with the acquisition or operation of surplus property.

Now if a business is designed around the acquisition of surplus property, either a plant or equipment, is a pretty clean cut case, then it is by that fact eligible for actual capital assistance from Smaller War Plants Corporation.

When surplus property is not involved, then the question becomes considerably foggier, and I don't know that the lines are clearly drawn nor that they will be clearly drawn until we are close enough to the end of the war that problems come up in connection with production. The attempt is, however, to lend that type of assistance and to give every help we

possibly can.

Our time, I suspect, is pretty nearly up. I simply want to reiterate my belief that these war plants hold the key to a large part of our successful reconversion in the communities where they have been constructed and that everybody in such a community should be actively thinking about what he can do to make those plants available to the community and himself to benefit by that process.

It seems to me that these plants represent one of the best opportunities that has come along for a long time for a man or a group to get control of a valuable and potentially profitable property with the risk of a relatively very small amount of money. I think it is an opportunity that should not be lost sight of.

Q I would like to ask one question with respect to the disposal of war plants. Say there is a community of five to ten thousand people which hasn't ordinarily been a production community. For that reason there is no past history on the value of space of that character. A plant of around 3/4 or a million to a million square feet; how does your proposal for the sale of war plants of that size apply to a community of that size where there will not be any plants coming in there right off the bat? What plan would be most practical, most effective, for inducing tenants to come in and utilize a place of that kind in order to make it profitable to buy a plant?

A First of all, as to the value of theplant. It

seems to me that the conditions outlined earlier apply with particular force to that plant. An industrial plant in a formerly non-industrial community, it seems to me, cannot be valued on a reproduction basis or any basis as to the cost of the plant. The determination of an actual use value, it seems to me, can only be made in the light of a specific plant, that is, where you don't have an industrialized community. You always make an assumption as to what the use of the plant will be. It seems to me there it would be necessary first of all to make your plans pretty definite, investigate your market, discuss the plant with prospective tenants and determine for yourself afout what that plant can earn; then capitalize that possible earning power and know the figure you are willing to discuss as the possible basis for sale. It seems to me it is most important in a case of that kind to plan ahead rather indefinitely so that you can say, "That plant cost $10,000,000; it has no value as a manufacturing plant for any existing need in that community. I can see where it might earn a reasonable return on $800,000." All right, $10,000,000 isn't the value of that plant; $800,000 is the value of that plant.

A battleship is the extreme example of that kind of thing. We spend $80,000,000 for a battleship, and as long as we have got a war on, it is worth $80,000,000, or something approaching it. If, conceivably, the war ended and we were convinced there would never be another war, it would be folly

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to try and arrive at a value of that battleship based either on the cost of construction or the cost of reproduction. Actually that battleship would have nothing more than scrap value, and it is conceivable it would cost more to get the usable value out of it than you could sell that material for. We must approach the problem of valuation on these industrial plants on the same basis. If there is no conceivable use of it, it is not only worth nothing, but it is a liability, because somebody has got to pay taxes on it. If the use for which it was designed is no longer available for its use, you must find out what it is going to be used for. If there is a use for it, that use will in itself establish a basis for determining an earning power, and then, by inference, a value.

Now as to the method of going about an establishing of industry in one of these plants in the form of a non-industrialized community, that is purely a matter for local ingenuity. In a strictly farming community the natural approach would be to see what you can do, what the farmers need and can use, and to manufacture products for the outside market based upon the raw materials the farmers can produce. It is an enormous subject and almost surely a successful answer could apply to any community, but it takes a lot of ingenuity and a lot of study to arrive at any such answer.

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AFTERNOON SESSION

Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, presiding. 2:30 p.m.

WHAT FOREIGN TRADE MEANS TO THE SOUTH

By
August Maffry, Chief of the
International Trade Unit,
U. S. Department of Commerce

(This speech was read. Following is an insert which I shall call No. 1 and I have so marked it on the speech.)

Insert I.

Some of you may not know that the Bretton Woods proposals providing for the establishment of an international monetary fund and an international bank, are now before the Congress. The hearings have started before the House Banking and Currency Committee. They have not yet been concluded, and it is not known at the moment whether there will be a favorable or unfavorable report from that committee. The hearings before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee are scheduled to begin later this month. The proposal to extend the trade agreements act, due to expire on June 10, is also before the Congress. Hearings are scheduled to begin next week, according to my information, and action must be taken, unless the legislature is to expire, before June 10.

Insert II.

You heard some very practical suggestions from Mr. Stevens this morning. I was particularly interested in his

reference to the Manchester experience following the closing down of the Amoskeg Mills there. I happened to be in New Hampshire at the time. The whole state was faced with disaster not only because of the threatened closing of the Amoskeg Mills, which happened to be the largest mills in the state, and in the country for that matter, but because of the threat of the closing down of the textile mills throughout that area.

There were at that time many prophets of dispair who said that industry in New Hampshire was gone forever, and there was no possibility of competing with other regions of the country. The people of Manchester proved these prophets of dispair to be completely wrong. The two things about the Manchester experience that impressed me then and which I think are of particular significance for the future of the Southern States: One of these is the principle of multiple industrial tenancy, which Mr. Stevens developed for you this morning. There can be no question but what it is a perfectly sound principle. The second thing about the Manchester experience that should be underscored is that Manchester solved its problem itself. It was a case of local self-help. Nobody came into Manchester and rescued the city. They did it themselves, and what Manchester did can be done by practically any community under the same circumstances. And, as you know, the circumstances at that time were extremely unfavorable.

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Insert III

If I had the time I should like to give you an example out of my own experience of an industrial development in a neighboring country.--It happens to be Mexico--which points , it seems to me, to some very useful lessons for any region. If we have time in questioning, I will tell you about this incident.

Insert IV

It is my personal conviction that the role of the Federal Government will be large or small depending directly upon what business does for itself and upon what localities and regions do for themselves. The role of Government will be large if individuals and organizations accomplish little. The role of the Federal Government will be correspondingly small if planning and the execution of plans by private institutions is successful.

Insert V

If the South is going to solve its economic problems it must start promptly.

DISCUSSION

Q I would like to hear that Mexican incident.

A Well, I wanted to tell you about what happened in a little town in North Central Mexico called Monclova.

Only three years ago Monclova was a sleepy, disease-ridden, proverty stricken Mexican provincila town, and there

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were, according to the best information I have, about five thousand people in that town. Some of you may know Montclova as it was a few years ago.

A group of Mexican businessmen and bankers became interested in establishing a steel mill in Monclova. It was considered well situated for a steel mill because of its proximity to iron ore deposits and coking coal. Transportation was available for both raw materials and finished products of the mill.

This Mexican group called in an American steel corporation to assist them in planning the mill. The plans were made, the assistance of a Mexican Government financial institution was obtained, and our own export-import bank pledged six million dollars for the enterprise. It happens that not a dollar of that six million dollars was ever used, because it wasn't needed. All of the capital was obtained in Mexico. But, at any rate, we did offer to assist.

Now the plant was built in spite of enormous difficulties growing out of wartime scarcities, and is now at least partially in operation. Monclova is a place transformed. It has a fairly large number of workers in the mill and in other related industries, including some service industries, who are enjoying decent wages, more than decent from Mexican standards.

The town had no paved streets. It had no sewer system; It had no central water system. There was only one bath tub

in town, which was in the local hotel, and it was little more than a hovel.

Monclova is getting streets. It is getting a central water system; it is getting a sewer system. Schools have been built. In addition to the public schools, some of the more promising young men of the town have been sent to the United States for training as supervisory men and foremen. The town has grown in population, has approximately doubled. People look different in Monclova than they did three years ago. They look different because they feel better.

Now there are other things about this experience that are worth mentioning. Its implications for our foreign trade I won't mention specifically because I think they are obvious enough. It will be a market after the war for American products that were never sold at Monclova before the war.

The two things that I would emphasize are quite apart from the foreign trade aspect. The sceptic said in 1942 when the plans were made that it would fail; it would fail because the local labor wasn't suitable. The local labor couldn't work in a modern steel plant. That fear or misgiving has been completely dispelled. The workmen are efficient man for man; on some operations they are producing as much as is produced in American mills.

The second thing is even greater significance and it reflects a policy which is gaining vogue among American corpora-

tions operating in foreign countries. And I leave it to you to apply this to the problem of the industrialization of the South.

The Company operating the steel mill decided not to hire local labor at the going rate, which was, say, three pesos a day, say five pesos at maximum. It decided instead to pay ten pesos. The results of their policy in the eyes of the management of the mill didn't seem economical, and I could name many other examples of the same sort of thing, all of them in foreign countries. It is often said that you can't raise wages, or you can't pay high wages, because productivity is low, and you have to wait until you get productivity up before you can pay higher wages.

I think we are accumulating a considerable body of evidence to show that you can raise productivity by raising wages.

We have time for one or two more questions.

Q Whenever imports are stretched, or foreign trade in general is stretched, I feel that you run up against an obstacle in the public mind, and that is a feeling that the United States lost a great deal of money in foreign trade and foreign investment before the war.

I think perhaps you can clarify that as to whether that popular theory is true or not true.

The second question: Obviously the small business man

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has not had much of a chance at foreign trade in the past and perhaps is not going to have a very good chance in the future unless we can somehow or other provide him with facilities which the large corporation can possess on its own, that is information in regard to foreign trade and information as to how his exports are, not so much abstract information, as the Government agencies to which he can write and from which he can get assistance in regard to where he can find markets perhaps for his products, or where he could purchase abroad certain ingredients for his product. Is there a tendency to appreciate that and work on it, or is it still up in the air?

A With regard to your first question, during the Twenties, as all of you know, the United States invested a considerable amount of capital in foreign countries. In the decade as a whole, the amount averaged about a billion dollars. It is popularly believed that most of those investments resulted in losses to investors. Now there were substantial, and in some instances, ruinous losses to individual investors. If any of you held certain foreign securities after 1929, you know very well what your losses were.

That is one aspect of the matter and I think it is that aspect of the matter which is responsible in the public mind for the belief that our foreign investment experience as a whole has been unsatisfactory.

On the contrary it has been fairly satisfactory even under

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the most unfavorable circumstances. If you make a calculation which I will describe in a moment, you can show that since the last war, we got out of our foreign investments about $10,000,000,000 more than we put in, as a country. This has no application to individual cases. As a country we got out $10,000,000,000 more than we put in. And here is the calculation. Start with the value of our foreign investments at the end of our last war in 1919 and add to that figure the amount of new investment during the Twenties and the Thirties, primarily during the Twenties, because we didn't invest much during the Thirties. That is a measure of what we put in; that is what we had in 1919 plus the additional amount we invested abroad.

Now set against that the amount we got out in the form of interest and dividends, amortization payments, and add the market value of our foreign investments in 1940 and you will find that the second figure is between nine and ten billion dollars larger than the first figure.

On that basis I would say that as a country we got out of our foreign investments about ten billion dollars more than we put in.

There is a good deal more to the story than that. Many of the investments that have been made during the Twenties were unsound, at the outset. They were made for bad purposes, or they were made for ostensibly good purposes and the proceeds of the loans were diverted for bad purposes. There were, however,

a great many good loans made during the Twenties which became bad loans during the Thirties simply because the behavior of our own economy made it impossible for foreigners to meet their commitments on account of interest and amortization. When our economy went into a tailspin in 1929, we were supplying to the rest of the World something more than seven billion dollars annually through imports or investments, foreign trave, and so forth.

In 1932 the amount had dropped to something like two and a half billion dollars, and out of that two and a half billion dollars something like nine hundred million dollars would have been needed to meet contractual service on United States investments in foreign countries. If all of that service had been paid according to contract terms, there would have been left about a billion and a half dollars to buy exports from the United States. As it turned out, there were some defaults, and, of course, our exports were greatly depressed.

The point is that the behavior of our own economy made it impossible for good loans to pay off. And so we stress repeatedly when we advocate renewed investment of American capital abroad that we must keep our own economy on a high and reasonably stable level if we expect that foreign investment program to work out. It is the only condition under which it can work out.

Your second question, Mr. Drake, the problem of the

participation of small business in foreign trade is a very difficult problem because small business is under greater disabilities with respect to foreign trade than it is with respect to domestic trade without any doubt in my mind. There has never been any agency of Government that concerned itself primarily with the problems of the small importer and the small exporter with the exception, I think it is fair to say, of the Department of Commerce, and as a member of the Department of Commerce, I would express doubt that it has given as much special attention to the participation of small business in foreign trade as it might have.

The issue is taking shape in Washington. There is a subcommittee of a Senate commitee, a subcommittee on foreign trade for small business which will begin its hearings on next Monday. The first witness before that committee will be Secretary Wallace, and I believe that he will have a constructive program to offer to that subcommittee.

In the meantime the Department of Commerce is, I think, reorienting itself with respect to assistance to small business in foreign trade, and I hope and expect that it will be able to give much greater assistance in the future than it has in the past.

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THE SOUTH AND POST-WAR MARKETS

By

Wilford White, Acting Chief,
Division of Small Business,
U. S. Department of Labor

(Mr. White's speech was read.)

DISCUSSION

Q Dr. White, I don't want to detract at all from your very worthwhile emphasis upon Booker T. Washington. Small industries are the hope of the South. I don't think we need or want a lot of big industries, but for my own information, and I presume that this may help some of the others, with respect to those statistics used in an illustrative manner, that in 1940 there were one million seven hundred thousand retail stores in the United States doing an average sales output of $23,750, tell me if you can from memory what percentage of this gross total retail output belongs in the chain store category.

A Independent stores, instead of chain stores, in 1939 did about 65 per cent of the total dollar volume of business. Now that is not true, of course, in every trade. In the grocery trade it is practically reverse. For all retail sales combined, independent stores did 65 per cent.

Q That is dollar volume?

A Yes.

Q Dr. White, it occurred to me during both of the discussions--if there is any serious competition for the growth of cotton. Cotton is and has been and no doubt will be for some time the basic product of the South. And I am wondering is there any data that would give a trent of what is going to be

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the proportion of cotton in the post war, if it will probably be one of the basic industries that will furnish labor. I think you said we have about 42 million rural people. I feel quite concerned how we will raise the income level of the farmer and farm laborers. Is there a threat to the production of cotton in other countries, or does the price of cotton goods indicate that cotton will fare better in the post war than it has been faring.

A That is a question which is outside my field. Maybe Dr. Ezekiel will make a statement on that question.

DR. EZEKIEL: I will say something about that in my paper tonight.

Q In the field of commercial business in the South you were mentioning the sizes of business, and I am particularly interested in some of the department speakers on small retail outfits. In one of its reports, showing statistics by states on proprietary establishments, it indicates that the average sales for restaurants and grocery stores in the South was around $3,000 a year, and it says that very seldom is a business of this sort satisfactory unless it does a gross business of something like $14,000 a year. The gap between those two figures, which was about $10,000 a year, would seem to indicate that there was no hope for the masses of small business in the South. That is a problem that comes up again when you get ready to make loans with bankers and counsel people who want

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to go into business in the South. We seem to have a basic problem of building up the deficiency, of getting business adequate enough to survive. We don't have it in war times; what can we expect in post war times?

A If you can identify that particular publication for me, I would appreciate it.

Q Grocery Store--I think it is called "Retail Proprietors."

A I am not aware that any Department of Commerce publication has ever made such a statement as that. For years we have been trying to find out what is the minimum size and maximum size to invest, and we have come pretty much to the conclusion every time that that kind of a statement depends upon a lot of factors which change from one location to another and one trade to another and so on. It is probably true that a very small grocery store is not economical from the point of view of gross margin for the proprietor if he is going to make a profit. It is very difficult to say it begins at $13,000 or $3,000 or any other figure.

Q I will try to find it.

Q This group here primarily is interested in discharged servicemen, and a good many of the boys that we are discharging are going back to the Southern States. A lot of these men are interested in entering small business at the present time. In small business they must buy equipment like trucks and things

like that. I was wondering if you had any information as to whether or not these men will be given priority to buy direct rather than go through a middleman.

A The answer is 'yes'; it is in the Surplus Property Bill. The bill has been law now for some time. There are a number of groups that are given priority under that bill; the Surplus Property Board which only began to function in January is working on that problem at the present time. The two groups for which there are no regulations--small business is one and veterans is the other.

I think you can see some of the problems that are involved because you fellows are not going to buy in large quantity any particular item. The problem is how to get that from the Government warehouse, wherever it is, to you, whether to get it to you through legitimate distribution channels or try to get it to you direct or use the mail order catalog plan. There are many problems involved. The answer to your question is 'yes', but how soon I couldn't say. That is an important question.

I would like to point out, however, if I may use your question as a jumping-off point, that in the Department of Commerce we have a veterans council, a unit which has been and is in the process of preparing material based upon the contacts we have with veterans and veterans administration in Washington and throughout our 26 field offices, and I would like to

suggest that you gentlemen get in touch sometime with Mr. Persons, head of our office here and find out just exactly what those services and materials are and see if you would care to use any of them, because that is what they are prepared for, and we would like to have you make use of them. They don't answer all the questions, but they do answer some.

VOICE: We have already been in contact with the Major out at your place and made known the availability of this material through our office.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS -- By Dr. Johnson.

(Adjourned.)

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EVENING SESSION

E. B. Shultz, Chief, Personnel Relations Staff 8:00 p.m.
Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Presiding

IMPACT OF THE WAR ON SOUTHERN LABOR
By
A. F. Hinrichs, Acting Commissioner
of Labor Statistics,
U. S. Department of Labor

(This speech was read.)

DISCUSSION

Q Would you ask Mr. Hinrichs to summarize for us the provisions of the Full Employment Bill?

A As I read the Full Employment Bill, it can be rather sharply divided into two parts. The first section (2) of the Bill is a statement of policy, to some extent stating

the general means through which that policy is going to be carried out. The statement of that policy is that of maintaining a situation in which every individual who wants work, is able to work, shall be able to find a job. That is to be implemented by a variety of devices which are spelled out to some extent in subsequent sections of the Bill.

The Bill calls for two different kinds of measures. It perhaps is not going to be fully clear that those measures are regarded as of equal importance because one is more fully implemented than the other. First of all it is specified that the President shall each year submit what is called a National Employment and Production Budget, subsequently called the National Budget, and in the National Budget message he is to spell out the measures which seem to him to be necessary to achieve full employment in that year and to assist in achieving full employment in the more distant future. That budget message is to be received by a joint committee of the two houses of Congress the first of January. Their report is to be made the first of March.

The lines of action recommended are, in the first place, recommendations that have to do with income policy, having to do with taxation and wage policy, monopoly and competition, to the extent, however, that in any one year it would seem that the volume of expenditure, either by public or private funds sources is not going to equate the volume of production which would result under conditions of full employment.

The President is to recommend emergency measures. The emergency measure that is most clearly provided for is a recommendation for the expenditure of public funds for public works. There is an intermediate recommendation there that they shall recommend measures to private industry. It is also within the framework of the Bill that recommendation should be made for a lower rate of taxes on temporary basis. Receipts could vary as well as expenditures. But some form of Federal action is contemplated in any area in which employment jealousy is likely to exist. The underlying purpose is to create a situation in which, within relatively narrow limits, there would be a condition of constant full employment. And one of the things I regard as particularly significant there is where the terms of a Bill of that sort would be part of the framework in which business planning is done. It would be possible to get business men not to eliminate all business rights. God knows he wants a chance to figure out whether he is going to make more money, whether he wants to start a paper mill in the South, in New Brunswick. That is the kind of thing he is in business to do, the kind of thinghe does on the whole pretty well, very much better than could be done for him. What the business man can't do is to tell whether he is dealing with bust or boom. If there is an assurance of continued full employment on the levels of national income and expenditures that run along with that, there is an opportunity for a type of planning the businessman has not been able to make in the past.

That is briefly a description of the terms of the spirit of the Murray Bill which at the moment has not even had public hearing. It is to be heard by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee sometime within the next few months.

Q From your discussion it appears to me that we have this problem: What are we going to do to have full employment and full productiom after the war when our peacetime economy absorbs these twelve million soldiers, when we have the shift of the nine million men from munitions plants, war plants, to peacetime economy and when the Government ceases to be a purchaser of consumer goods to the point of eighty-five billions of dollars, and when these Government white collar employees cease to be Government employees and when these Negroes and White farm laborers from the South Pacific return to the shanties of the farms and the shacks across the railroad track? Now then, my question: What do we have to fear? What is the gun lock in thepathway of doing this job? What is the problem and what is the solution to it? What is the thing we have to fear? We have got a job to do. That is our problem. What is in the way?

A I don't think I am avoiding your question. I would say that I think the difficulty is very great confusion in the minds of the American people. I think on the whole it is a very honest confusion. If I were forced to do it, I could only identify one group that I would regard as a group that

was block, stock and barrel opposed to the kind of thing we are doing. I think the thing that is holding us back more than anything else is the fact that this is a job which cannot be done by the Government alone, can not be done by private industry alone and without reference to public policy.

Unless I am very much mistaken a great many people in this country are very much afraid and are very much confused. We regard Government as something that is set apart. We forget that Government is the way in which we achieve in common those desires that we hold in common. I think the desire is a common desire that there shall be full employment and full employment shall be achieved at almost any cost; but I think there are many people who are frightened to death of the notion that the Government has any responsibility.whatsoever.

Q Would you mind telling us what that fright is of, who has frightened them?

A Yes, I would.

Q May I ask a question by way of supplementing the idea which you expressed there in your talk. You mentioned two factors: One, the necessity of doing something about internal migration; the other, the necessity of having adequate employment service. Now we have done almost nothing about regulating migration. We have done employment service by way of having state control. Do you believe that a continuation of those policies with respect to migration and with respect to the employment service will help in bringing about this program of

adjustment, or will we have to redirect it? If we redirect it, shall we point to national control or federal employment service rather than state control?

A I would not have control of migration if you mean control in any limited sense. I think we can do a great deal toward controlling migration through sensible direction and advice. I don't think you have to set up a situation in which a hundred thousand people pour into Detroil when you want a thousand, and that has happened.

I think it is very important indeed in the post war period that we visualize our problems clearly enough so that we can give people sensible advice and so that there is a minimum of sheer milling around looking for opportunities that did exist and are no longer there. In that sense I think we do need a migration policy. I think that policy must be implemented through an employment service. I think that that service must have a common purpose and common inspiration. I am not technically sufficiently competent to speak on the form in which the employment service should be administered, whether it should be a Federal service or a system of state services that are in fact cooperative.

Either type is going to run into one type of difficulty, which to me is much more important than the question of who runs it. There is far too much tendency in public employment services to insure that employment opportunities are offered

first to people in the neighborhood and then assured to people in outside areas. You can put a job in clearance; we have not discovered any way, even during the war, in which a human being can put himself in the clearance. A man who wants to find employment in another community needs more help and guidance from the employment service than a man who lives in the community himself. That kind of obstacle which grows out of local feelings, serving ourselves first, would be equally characteristic either in the Federal service administered by human beings or in the state service, and something must be done to that problem. I don't know the answer as to how I would set the thing up. From the administrative point of view the cooperation and implication of the employment services, in terms of the purpose of operation, is, I think, indispensable.

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AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE SOUTH

By

Mordecai Ezekiel, Economic Adviser,
U. S. Department of Agriculture

(This speech was read.)

DISCUSSION

Q Of the hundred billion dollars private savings, what percentage is in the hands of the people who will normally spend it for commercial goods, things like tires and refrigerators and clothing? What part of it is in the hands of wealthy people representing money that would be spent normally for

investment?

MR. EZEKIEL: I think no oneknows exactly, but some estimates have been made of at least $40,000,000,000 of it is in moderate income hands. The Treasury is conducting some surveys now. When they are completed, it will give us a better picture of these ownerships. It is true that more than half is in high income hands, but about 40 billion dollars is in moderate income hands.

Q A large portion of that could be spent for things like automobiles and tires and so on, that 40 billion dollars.

Forgetting for a moment purchasing power, assuming that purchasing power is taken care of, of the 75 to 100 billion dollars a year now being spent for war purposes, what percentage represents needs that will simply cease when the victory over Japan is achieved; that is to say, things like tanks that we won't be buying any more, bombers--What percentage of needs will literally cease?

MR. HINRICHS: I think munitions expenditures are currently running about 70 billion dollars ayear and gross national product is somewhat over 190 billion, so that that gives you somewhat better than one-third of the product which is obviously a source that we are not going to want.

Q I simply wanted to make the point that apparently there are about 40 billion dollars of total purchasing power available in low income groups, but about 20 billion dollars

of purchasing power is going to be withdrawn, presumably, almost at once when the victory comes, or am I overstating it?

MR. EZEKIEL: Well, the problem is by no means that simple. Of course the 40 billion per year is the total savings of the total war period, but on the other hand, everybody is receiving a lot more money today than they are spending. Part of it is being taken through taxes, part of it is being taken in war bonds, so that there will be, after these war deductions on income are removed, if current incomes were maintained, more income available for current expenditure. So, trying to set up a balance sheet of how much goods will be produced and how much demand there would be, what you are talking about is projecting each year ahead what is the total income for goods including investment, what is the total value of goods of employment. Is the market going to be big enough to take the goods? If not, what are we going to do about it?

Q Let me have one more question. What are the estimates as to the total national purchasing power which we shall have to have in order to achieve full employment? What is your figure on that?

MR. HINRICHS: Well, let me give you a figure. I don't think it is worth anything. I would say that, assuming no substantial change in price level and gross national product such as we are now producing is close to maximum to be achieved over the next five to six years, somewhere in the

order of 200 billion gross product, 160 of national income. The reason I say the figures are not particularly good is that we value our goods in more or less traditional ways that are related, among other things, to the costs of producing them. I don't think it is going to be possible to establish automobile wage scales in the cotton textile industry in a period of a few years. Part of those people now in the automobile industry are now in airplane production on automobile wages. The cotton textile industry would show up in the form of a lower international income. You could conceivably have a full employment situation with gross national product somewhat lower. Guessing, the most probably figure would be in the order of 175 to 185 billion of gross national product. That is not an expert guess but it is the area within which most people agree.

While I am on my feet answering that question, I would like to take issue with the implication of your remarks about 70 billion and 40 billion. The problem is bad enough without trying to make the thing appear to be hopeless. What you are overlooking, and Mr. Ezekiel pointed out, is the fact that we do not have today the employment which would be normal to the kind of economy in which we are living, to this 70 billion of Government spending. All you have to do is try to live outside of your own home and eat anything except corn bread to figure out the fact that there are a great many jobs that

are not being filled today. We have in the order of nearly 17 million people employed in the manufacturing industry. You simply could not have 17 million people employed in the manufacturing industry in the United States in the full employment economy without one of two things happening, a drastic rationing of essential services, or compulsory work. To try to get more than as high a percentage of our working force in the manufacturing industry, in that 17 million people, there aren't that many people willing to work. We can stand some reduction of manufacture if we could find our way to a still substantial increase over what we had at the outbreak of the war; it would also be as a corollary of that increase in basic production. A very large increase in trade services, summer transportation and in professional and public services, just in order to make life tolerable; that is the way we readjust ourselves. That is where businessmen would find an opportunity to make money. Just think what you would be willing to pay for a restaurant in which you could sit down in privacy, or in which you could drink your last cup of coffee withing being pushed out by seeing twenty-five people standing behind you.

The job is by no manner or means in the hopeless category, but it is a job which is going to be terribly difficult to achieve under the best of circumstances, which is going to take imagination, which is going to take courage, which is going to take something in the way of a feeling on the part of everybody

that the job is going to be done, and then giving that feeling implementation, a whole variety of aids, some of which Mr. Ezekiel has indicated.

Q Regarding these 57 million jobs, I wonder what the increase in the number of consumers, increase in the population, will be between 1939 and the time you will have these 57 million jobs.

MR. HINRICHS: I don't have the exact figure in mind. About half a million wage earners a year is the normal increase.

Q What about the consumers?

MR. HINRICHS: Between 1940 and 1950 you would have a normal increase of nearly five million working forse anyway. That is one reason why the 57 million.

Q With respect to Secretary Wickard's conversion of agriculture in the South, you take a position that following the war, while we need increased diversified industry in the South, our major problem is going to be this agriculture program. I am sure that is true in Mississippi, American state of opportunity.

MR. HINRICHS: I might say Mississippi heads the list.

Q I recognize that; that is the reason I say it is the state of opportunity.

Assuming our natural indisposition towards it as probably the major problem from a national viewpoint, what is the next

major problem and how are you going to attack it?

MR. EZEKIEL: We have been doing a little bit on this post war planning. A lot of people in the Department of Agriculture hired for other jobs have been squeezing out, over the last year or two, part of their time in post war planning committees. I have nine regional consultants that are spending part of their time in communities to make community studies, and I have a handful of people in Washington squeezing out part of their time to develop some of these industry studies. As I indicated, we hope in the next month or two to have one little lone pamphlet for opportunities of employment in the concrete blocks industry. This is a mighty small part of the building materials, and building materials is a small part of the other industries, and yet working up that one pamphlet on concrete blocks, how far you can ship them and all that, has kept three or four able people busy half their time the last six months. We hope to have that in print in a month or two. What we need is a lot of resources of our own to do the job, human resources in state planning, state and local agencies. One thing is to have the Federal Congress aware of the fact that just as fast as war planning ends, or even before, peace-time planning is going to have to get going in a very big way, and insisting on further reduction in personnel that might help on this job as the best way to plan for peace.

Q I was wondering whether it was partly because of

the failure on the part of the people as a whole that we all go up and come down together or whether it was a conservative bloc.in Congress.

MR. EZEKIEL: Well, all of you are aware on the past fotes of Congress our National Resources Planning Board was an indication as to what the country thought as to where we should go from here. Whether the Congress interpreted it the same way isn't clear.

Q In your remarks that it is not altogether financial or industrial, but it is the spirit that is going to overcome these obstacles to full employment, I would like to ask you as a representative of organized labor if you think that the last recently held World Trade Union Conference, which included almost all nations of the World, was representative of the workers and the charter just lately drawn up between Eric Johnson, William Green and Phillip Murray is not an indication that there is an altogether different spirit to seeking full employment after this war and after World War I, and will not that be a major factor in bringing that about?

MR. HINRICHS: I think it will be. I have been very much encouraged myself by what seems to me to be the astonishing foresight of the labor groups. I have been serving on an inter-departmental committee that is working out problems of economic foreign policy, and the general line of foreign policy, which we have been pursuing, is inspired by Mr.

Hull, and I think has looked toward a liberalization of trade relationships throughout the World. Now that liberalization of trade can't possibly mean that every single industry, every single plant, every single worker, is going to be definite in his immediate job. It may mean for himself there is actually a loss, while as a Nation as a whole it may be a gain. That is a difficult problem for a trade union leader to face, quite as much as a Congressman. He holds his office by the election of his membership to serve their interests. Saying you can assume that if there is a full employment policy in the United States, if we are in a position to go to our membership and say, "There arejobs for you, not necessarily in this particular industry, in this particular plant; you may have to go through a period of re-training"--if we can say that we are prepared to go along with the program of liberalization of trade policy, because we think it is important to world peace and ultimate prosperity of the United States.

That comes awfully close to being statesmanship. I am not sure whether it is good politics or not.

I come back actually with a concrete illustration. I think labor has given a very real contribution. I am personally convinced that labor must make a real contribution, because we are not talking about the kind of situation in which one could organize and create monopoly privileges for a limited membership.

That is a danger that has to be recognized. It could happen that a trade union leader would take that direction and it must not happen. The trade union groups, as well as others, have a responsibility, but as far as I have seen their actions, I think they are coming very close to a realization of those responsibilities.

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FREIGHT RATES AND SOUTHERN INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

By Edgar Watkins
Before Southern Industrial Council
Atlanta, Georgia -- April 12, 1945

This discussion relates to what the economists call "place value." A commodity of little market value at one place may be much more valuable at another. Whether this increased value is obtainable depends upon the cost of transporting the commodity to the place of higher value. These are obvious statements, but Mr. Justice Holmes once said that we need education in the obvious.

That the development of industry is dependent, at least partly, on, and is stimulated or retarded by, the cost of transportation, will not be denied. The producer, the manufacturer, the entrepreneur, and the consumer, are all interested in the cost of transportation. If this cost is higher than the added place value, there will be no transportation; and, if this cost is less from one place than from another, the lower-cost place will be preferred for production, manufacturing and selling; if it is too high, consumption will decrease.

The South, like little Jack Horner, sat in a corner largely indifferent to this law, pulled out a plum labeled "state rights," and said, "How great am I!" The South had, and has, large natural resources of minerals, timber and water power, much fertile soil, an equitable climate, and pleasing "aspects of nature." Other parts of our nation, conspicuously the northeastern part, having received a more niggardly treatment from Nature, were driven to

manufacturing, using therefor the South's resources. To utilize these resources required low freight rates from the South, and to discourage the South from manufacturing her resources, the North needed and obtained lower rates on its finished goods than were accorded to such goods when manufactured in the South.

As early as 1869 the Supreme Court of Georgia found that "for several years" Georgia railroads had charged more per mile on shipments in Georgia than they charged on shipments in other states. Generally this unfair injury to Georgia was continued and increased. Similarly other southern states and the western states east of the Rocky Mountains, were discriminated against.

Within the last twenty years, some individual shippers sought to remedy the situation as to themselves. The textile industry obtained a mitigation of its handicap, but there still remains a freight charge discrimination of 10%. Cement and lime shippers and a few others obtained parity.

About 1934, the southeastern governors began a discussion of the situation, and in 1937, under the leadership of Honorable Bibb Graves, then Governor of Alabama, complaint was brought which resulted in a parity of rates on a limited number of commodities. Later the Interstate Commerce Commission began a general investigation of class rates in all that territory east of the Rocky Mountains. If the press is correct, and I believe it is, this investigation has resulted in findings which may end the unjust discrimination against both the South and West. The Commission has not yet published its decision.

In 1944, Governor Ellis Arnall, tired of the long delays in giving Georgia her rights, brought a suit in the Supreme Court of the United States designed to end the delays. The Supreme Court, on March 26, 1945, permitted this suit to be filed. While only one State is a party to this suit, all the states against which there is unjust discrimination will be helped by a favorable decision.

This history shows that after hope long deferred, equality, which is justice, is near of attainment.

As our difficulties in respect of rates are soon to be removed, there is less need for discussing their extent; but, that we may make some appraisal of the effect of this result, it is helpful briefly and generally to describe the extent of these difficulties.

Fully to understand the technical terms used, it may be of interest to you to define how transportation students use certain terms. You frequently hear reference to "classification." We have now three classifications in the United States, known as the Official, the Southern, and the Western. "Official" relates to that territory, broadly, east of the Mississippi River, and north of the Ohio and Potomac. "Southern" means, broadly, the territory east of the Mississippi and south of the Ohio and Potomac, and "Western" territory relates to all the territory west of the Mississippi River. "Classification" is contained in a large book of thousands of items, describing each item, the territory in

which it is applied, and classifying it according to its supposed relationship to the cost and value of transportation. Class I is the basic class. Other classes are percentages of Class I, sometimes above, generally below.

"Commodity rates" mean rates on those commodities that properly do not fall into a class. They have special transportation characteristics, and cannot always pay the class rate, so some commodities are given rates made with more regard to the particular commodity than to its relationship to Class I commodities. The document on which commodities are described and the applicable rates stated, is called a "tariff." Not an inappropriate use of a word taken from our protective tariff laws.

"Carload" rates are usually referred to as "CL," and less than carload as "LCL" rates. The "minimum" prescribed on commodities means that the carload rate is figured on a minimum weight and if less than the minimum is shipped, the CL or the LCL rates are applied, whichever is the higher.

The amount of the discrimination against the South is based upon a general scale of rates which are about 39% higher in the South than in the North, or Official, territory. This percentage above the Official territory rate is higher in the West and Southwest than in the South. The Commission, in describing this situation in the Commodity Rate Case, brought by the seven southeastern governors, said (235 I.C.C. 267):

> "The present north-bound interterritorial rates on a few of the commodities named in the complaint are somewhat more than 139 percent, on a few others about

> 139 percent, and on the remainder of such commodities considerably less than 139 percent, of the rates on like articles within the North."

From this it is seen that some rates from the South, generally on commodities which are not produced or grown in the North, had lower rates than rates in the North. Some had a percentage higher by 39% than in the North, and others, such as drugs (p. 194), electric supplies (198), paper articles (217), 60% higher, and pottery (230), 80%. A fair statement of the weighted average of the South's discrimination is that it is about 20% higher than the Northern rates.

Merely to state the discriminatory situation is, in the minds of most people, a sufficient argument in favor of the South's and West's claims for parity. Perhaps you may want to know some of the defenses set up by the northern carriers and northern shippers. The northern carriers act on the principle that the traffic should "pay all it will bear," and so testified in the Commodity Rate Case, as was reported in 235 I.C.C., beginning at page 255.

The northern shippers claim that if they did not get lower rates than the South, natural advantages possessed by the South would destroy the manufacturing industry in the North. Perhaps the argument of Governor Cross of Connecticut, in the Governors' Commodity Rate Case, is the frankest and best brief summary of the claims of the northern shippers. Governor Cross said (Vol.2, pp.26, 27, brief of complainants):

> "With all the natural advantages of climate which bring with them materially reduced living costs in fuel, clothing, recreation and food, the South has God-given aids which even the Interstate Commerce Commission cannot match." (Record, 1961).

Some southern shippers are representatives in the South of

businesses owned in the North. Some southern shippers, as stated above, on certain raw materials not competitive with the North, get lower rates than in the North. These two classes of shippers fear any change in rates, and generally they have sought to put brakes on the efforts of the South and West to obtain a parity. The southern carriers have always contended that because of less density and higher cost of traffic, they are entitled to higher rates than the northern carriers.

Without going into unnecessary details, it can be said, without fear of successful contradiction, that the claim of the southern railroads that their density of traffic is less than that of the northern railroads, while true in fact, is not a good defense, because when you take as a unit the investment of the southern railroads, and the investment of the northern railroads, the southern railroads are earning as much or more than the northern railroads, and the Commission itself found that there was no evidence that it cost more in the South to haul than it does in the North. The Commission, in the Governors' Commodity Rate Case, after hearing the evidence, which ran to some thousands of pages, said: (p. 326, 235 I.C.C.):

> "It is a fair conclusion from the record as a whole, and we accordingly find, that the cost of transporting the articles named in the complaint from producing points in the South into the North, compared with that of transporting like articles within the North, does not justify the maintenance thereon of higher levels of rates than are applicable on like articles within the North."

Speaking of costs, and on cross-examination, the record of

the testimony of the principal rate witness of the northern carriers in the Governors' Commodity Rate Case shows:

> "Q. (By Mr. Watkins) So, it does not make any difference to you in performing your function what it costs in the South, New England, or the North to haul the freight?
>
> "A. What we are interested in, Judge, is what the traffic will bear, and the revenue needs of the carriers.
>
> "Q. You get all you can regardless of what it costs you to haul it?
>
> "A. We will get what the traffic will bear, or we try to get what the traffic will bear."

****

> "Q. Do you think it is fair to exact a higher rate from the South, assuming that the cost of hauling the traffic in the South is less than it is in New England, than you exact from the New England shippers?
>
> "A. If the traffic will bear it, my answer is Yes."
>
> (Record 1284, 1285, 1286).

It is not unnatural that the northern industries oppose parity. Throughout history, you find no instance where the beneficiary of an unjust preference voluntarily gave it up. He thinks his existent preference has become a vested right. Indeed, the principal explanation of why the South and West have so long borne their handicap is that groups of people are slow to change what is. They generally prefer to suffer the evils they know, rather than to run the risk of greater evils. However, no fairminded person, free from the predilections of self-interest and geography, can fail to reach the conclusion that ours is a nation, that our

railroad system should be national in its treatment of the public, and that justice requires, in general, a parity of rates throughout the country.

That justice which will follow rate parity will injure neither shippers nor carriers in either the North, West or South. Thereby the growth of industry will be accelerated, and the chances of unemployment will be lessened in these formerly handicapped sections, thus adding prosperous consumers for the products of the now favored sections and increasing the amount of traffic the railroad systems will haul. This traffic these carriers will probably need after reconstruction and readjustments shall be made. The elimination of world trade barriers, for which we all hope, will be accompanied by the elimination of such barriers in our own country.

SPWEC
Ra

May 30, 1945

Dr. Glenn Rainey
50 Avery Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Rainey:

I have not forgotten that you wanted to get hold of a transcript of the address which you gave at our Post-War Economy Conference last month. There has been some delay because the young lady who took down the speeches did not finish all the typing before she had to go away for a while. At last we have two copies of your talk, one of which is being mailed to you today. I had hoped to have some extra copies run off in our office but we are so short-handed that I don't see much chance of it.

Incidentally, on account of the difficulty of getting priorities on paper, we have had to compress our booklet of conference speeches into a forty-eight page job. This means that we are limiting it to the more or less technical addresses by the men from Washington and that you and Drake and I are left out in the cold. It has been quite a headache getting the speeches ready for printing. We are expecting proof any day now and we are hoping that the job will be off the press within the next couple of weeks.

The Johnsons and Raineys must get together again sometime. If you are as busy as we are, you go like the devil all day and feel lucky if you get enough sleep at night to be ready to go again the next day.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GJ:AP

SPWE

April 20, 1945

Mr. Glenn Rainey
50 Avery Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Glenn:

This is just a line to express our sincere thanks for your splendid talk to the closing session of our Conference on The South's Post War Economy. I think that the discussion of the talk would have gone on for a couple of hours if there had been time.

We must get together sometime soon. There is a lot to talk about. Incidentally, I felt very badly about missing the Torch Club meeting, but there were so many things to clean up at the end of the conference that I just couldn't make it.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Consult
Fr

June 15, 1945

Mr. A. F. Hinrichs
Acting Commissioner of Labor Statistics
Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hinrichs:

At last we have printer's proof of the addresses which were delivered at our Conference on the South's Post War Economy in April. A copy of your address is enclosed. Will you kindly make whatever corrections you wish and return it to us as soon as possible?

The booklet containing the Conference addresses will be printed in double columns on a 9 X 12 page, and will have an attractive color in two colors.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

SPWE
speakers

April 19, 1945

Mr. A. F. Hinrichs
Acting Commissioner of Labor Statistics
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hinrichs:

I want to express our heartfelt thanks for your participation in our recent Conference on The South's Post War Economy. Knowing how very busy you are in these strenuous times, we are all the more grateful for your cooperation.

Your address on the war and Southern labor was splendid, and it contributed a great deal to the success of the conference. We have had a great many favorable comments on it.

The addresses which were delivered at the conference are being made ready for publication in a special booklet. Mr. Lawrence Drake, who is returning to Washington shortly, will check with you for approval of the copy of your address.

Again let me thank you for your part in the conference, and assure you that this Council wishes to cooperate in every way it can with the Department of Labor.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Conference on SEO

March 19, 1945

Mr. A. F. Hinrichs
Acting Commissioner of Labor Statistics
Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hinrichs:

Thank you for your letter of March 15. We are looking forward with much pleasure to having you with us on April 11.

I am enclosing a copy of the conference program as it looks now. We are trying to avoid a morning session, since this seems to be inconvenient for several of the speakers. There are one or two other speakers who might be added to the program for the morning of April 12, in which case we shall shift Mr. Milton to April 12 and move one of the evening speakers to the 4 P. M. spot.

I have been in touch with Mr. Dawson and Mr. Long of your regional office here. They are enthusiastic about the conference, and have been kind enough to offer their cooperation with local arrangements and publicity.

Very cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

Program
/m

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER

March 15, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

In my speech before the Council, I shall wish to place particular emphasis on employment aspects. The title might be "Impact of War Employment on Southern Labor" or "Impact of the War on Employment in the South". I prefer the second title but if you need the slightly greater breadth of the first, I will use it.

In view of the fact that I shall be leaving Atlanta by noon of the 12th, I shall appreciate being scheduled to appear on the first day of the Conference. I would prefer the afternoon or evening session rather than the morning.

I may be able to send you a copy of my speech in advance of the Conference. At any rate, I shall try to do so.

Thank you ever so much for sending such full information about the Conference. It will help considerably in the preparation of my speech.

Sincerely,

A. F. Hinrichs
Acting Commissioner of Labor Statistics

Conference on SP-WE

March 12, 1945

Mr. A. F. Hinrichs
Room 2307
Labor Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hinrichs:

Our special representative in Washington, Mr. Lawrence Drake, has informed us that you have consented to take part in a conference on the theme of The South's Economic Potential which the Council is sponsoring in Atlanta on April 11.

In this conference we are trying to do something which will catch the ear of Southern leaders in agriculture, business, industry, and labor, and which will challenge the South to some serious thinking about its post-war economic problems and potentials. In addition to several government people from Washington, we are lining up some local authorities for participation in the conference. We are deeply grateful for your willingness to speak at this meeting.

May we count on you to speak on the general topic of "Impact of the War on Southern Labor"? Please re-phrase the title if you wish and let us know exactly how you would like to have it appear in press releases. What we want is an analysis of what has happened to the Southern labor force during the war, how cut-backs may affect employment, and what the post-war outlook is, etc. If you have any charts or other illustrative material, they will be very much appreciated.

If you are speaking from a prepared manuscript, would it be possible to let us have an advance copy, since this would be helpful in obtaining complete news coverage? I might add also that we are anxious to have the privilege of publishing your address in full if there is no objection.

As the conference shapes up, it appears that we will have morning, afternoon, and evening sessions on April 11, and it may be necessary to extend it over April 12. If you have any preference as to the time of day you speak on April 11, or if you had just as soon appear on April 12, please let me know as soon as you can. In the meantime I shall make a hotel reservation for you for April 11, and I shall send you the complete program of the conference as soon as possible.

Since the Southern Regional Council is a relatively new organization and since you may not be very well acquainted with it, I am enclosing a memorandum which will give you some background information on the origin and purpose ofthe Council.

Again let me express our appreciation for your willingness to take part in what we believe is a very significant conference.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosure

Con SPWE

June 15, 1945

Mr. Roger Stevens
Chief of the Industrial Plants Section
Smaller War Plants Corporation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Stevens:

At last we have printer's proof of the addresses which were delivered at our Conference on the South's Post War Economy in April. A copy of your address is enclosed. Will you kindly make whatever corrections you wish and return it to us as soon as possible?

The booklet containing the Conference addresses will be printed in double columns on a 9 X 12 page, and will have an attractive cover in two colors.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

SMALLER WAR PLANTS CORPORATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

SPWEC

May 7, 1945

IN REPLY REFER TO:

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thanks for your letter of April 18 and the very kind things that it contained.

I enjoyed the conference very much and look forward to an opportunity for further cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Roger B. Stevens
Industrial Plants Section

SPWE
speakers

April 18, 1945

Mr. Roger Stevens
Chief of the Industrial Plant Division
Smaller War Plants Corporation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Stevens:

I want to express our heartfelt thanks for your participation in our recent Conference on the South's Post War Economy. Knowing how very busy you are in these strenuous times, we are all the more grateful for your cooperation.

Your address on "government war plants and small business" was splendid, and it contributed a great deal to the success of the conference. We have had a great many favorable comments on it.

The addresses which were delivered at the conference are being made ready for publication in a special booklet. Mr. Lawrence Drake, who is returning to Washington shortly, will check with you for approval of the copy of your address.

Again let me thank you for your part in the conference, and assure you that this Council wishes to cooperate in every way it can with the "Industrial Plant Division."

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

FOR VICTORY BUY UNITED STATES WAR BONDS AND STAMPS

SMALLER WAR PLANTS CORPORATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

March 23, 1945

IN REPLY REFER TO:

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of March 19 relative to the program for the meeting at Atlanta.

I have based my plans on being able to get away from Atlanta the evening of the eleventh or the morning of the 12th. If necessary, I can stay over for a date on the afternoon of the 12th, but if you can work it out I should prefer to have the program stand as it is.

Please let me know as early as you can.

Very truly yours,

Roger B. Stevens
Industrial Plants Branch

Conference on
South's P-W Economy

March 12, 1945

Mr. Roger Stevens
Room 746
Federal Home Loan Bank Building
101 Indiana Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Stevens:

Our special representative in Washington, Mr. Lawrence Drake, has informed us that you have consented to take part in a conference on the theme of The South's Economic Potential which the Council is sponsoring in Atlanta on April 11.

In this conference we are trying to do something which will catch the ear of Southern leaders in agriculture, business, industry, and labor, and which will challenge the South to some serious thinking about its post-war economic problems and potentials. In addition to several government people from Washington, we are lining up some local authorities for participation in the conference. We are deeply grateful for your aillingness to speak at this meeting.

May we count on you to speak on the general topic of "How Southern Government-Owned War Plants Can Aid Small Business"? Please re-phrase the title if you wish and let us know exactly how you would like to have it appear in press releases. If you are speaking from a prepared manuscript, would it be possible to let us have an advance copy, since this would be helpful in obtaining complete news coverage? I might add also that we are anxious to have the privilege of publishing your address in full if there is no objection.

As the conference shapes up, it appears that we will have morning, afternoon, and evening sessions on April 11, and it may be necessary to extend it over April 12. If you have any preference as to the time of day you speak on April 11, or if you had just as soonaappear on April 12, please let me know as soon as you can. In the meantime I shall make a hotel reservation for you for April 11, and I shall send you the complete program of the conference as soon as possible.

Since the Southern Regional Council is a relatively new organization and since you may not be very well acquainted with it, I am enclosing a memorandum which will give you some background information on the origin and purpose of the Council.

Again let me express our appreciation for your willingness to take part in what we believe is a very significant conference.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosure

P. S. Could you send us a photograph and a brief biographical sketch?

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE

WASHINGTON 25

June 21, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am returning the printer's proof, having found it necessary to make very few changes.

I hope that your booklet will reach many Southern leaders and business men interested in carrying out some of the ideas which your many conference speakers suggested last April in Atlanta.

Your courtesy in sending me a limited number of copies of the printed booklet will be appreciated.

Please let us know here or through our Atlanta office of any service we can do for you or the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

Wilford White

Wilford White, Acting Chief,
Division of Small Business.

Enclosure 31476

Cons Pub
P2

June 15, 1945

Judge Edgar Watkins
Citizens and Southern National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Judge Watkins:

At last we have printer's proof of the addresses which were delivered at our Conference on the South's Post War Economy in April. A copy of your address is enclosed. Will you kindly make whatever corrections you wish and return it to us as soon as possible?

Would you mind inserting two or three subheads at appropriate places in your article for the sake of the appearance of the printed page?

The booklet containing the Conference addresses will be printed in double columns on a 9 X 12 page, and will have an attractive cover in two colors.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

SPWEC
File

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE

WASHINGTON 25

April 21, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Pressure of duties in Washington has kept me from writing you to express my sincere pleasure on being with you recently in Atlanta.

I am indebted to both you and Mr. Drake for the invitation.

Mr. Drake tells me that shortly you will publish and distribute the entire proceedings, a copy of which I hope we may receive. In fact, if it seems proper, we would like to have about 50 copies, most of which we would like to send to our field offices for reference purposes. You may care to send more than this one copy to the offices in the Southern States. In that case, if you will get in touch with Mr. Persons of our Atlanta office, he can give you the names and addresses of the Managers of these offices.

I hope that through our Atlanta office and this office in Washington we may be able to be of further assistance to your Council as time goes on.

Sincerely,

Wilford White

Wilford White, Acting Chief,
Division of Small Business.

cc: Mr. Lawrence Drake

SPWE, speakers

April 18, 1945

Judge Edgar Watkins
Special Assistant Attorney General
Citizens and Southern National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Judge Watkins:

I want to express our heartfelt thanks for your participation in our Conference on the South's Post War Economy. Your address on freight rates was splendid, and it contributed very much to the success of the conference.

We are arranging for publication of the addresses which were delivered at the Conference. We hope that the booklet will be ready for distribution within a month or six weeks.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE

WASHINGTON 25

March 23, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Your idea of starting the program after lunch on April 11 appeals to me very much. Even though my train may be a few hours late, I still should be able to hear the key-note address.

Please feel entirely free to place me on the program at any time during the afternoon or evening.

Unless I hear from you to the contrary, I shall assume that you will have a reservation for me at the Biltmore Hotel available upon my arrival the morning of the 11th.

Your thoughtfulness in calling Mr. Persons is appreciated. I am glad to learn of the possibility that appropriate Departmental publications may be on display at the conference.

Sincerely,

Wilford White

Wilford White, Acting Chief,
Division of Small Business.

cc: Mr. Lawrence Drake

March 19, 1945

Conference
S.B.O

Dr. Wilford White, Acting Chief
Division of Small Business
Department of Commerce
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Dr. White:

Thank you for your letter of March 15. We are looking forward with great pleasure to having you with us on April 11.

I am enclosing a copy of the conference program as it looks now. We are trying to avoid a morning session, since this seems to be inconvenient for several of the speakers. There are one or two other speakers who might be added to the program for the morning of April 12, in which case we shall shift Mr. Milton to April 12 and move one of the evening speakers to the 4 P. M. spot. Had you just as soon speak in the afternoon as the evening?

I have talked with Mr. Persons of your regional office here. He is very enthusiastic about the conference. I shall see him again soon concerning plans for displaying pertinent publications of the Department of Commerce at the conference.

Very cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE

WASHINGTON 25

March 15, 1945.

Mr. Guy B. Johnson,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

The subject which you suggest, "The South and Post-War Markets", is entirely satisfactory as phrased by you. I am looking forward to speaking on this subject on April 11 in Atlanta with a great deal of personal pleasure, and hope that I will be able to furnish you and those in attendance information which may prove helpful.

Although I expect to reach Atlanta at 9:05 the morning of April 11, it possibly would be better to place me on the program either that afternoon or evening, whichever is to your convenience.

You shall have an advance copy of my talk at the earliest possible moment. If after reading it you would like to publish it or part of it, please feel entirely free to do so.

Your courtesy in securing a hotel reservation is appreciated. Arriving on the 11th, I expect at the moment to return the afternoon of the 12th.

Attached is a short biographical sketch and the photograph which you requested.

Your thoughtfulness in attaching a memorandum on the Southern Regional Council, together with a list of its officers and board, is very much appreciated.

I judge that you are keeping Mr. Persons, our Regional Manager in Atlanta, informed of the conference program. May I suggest the possibility of having Mr. Persons display, for the perusal of your conference, pertinent publications of the Department and related agencies.

Sincerely,

Wilford White

Wilford White, Acting Chief,
Division of Small Business.

Enclosure 31410

Conference on S.P.W.E.

March 12, 1945

Mr. Wilford White
Room 3035
Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. White:

Our special representative in Washington, Mr. Lawrence Drake, has informed us that you have consented to take part in a conference on the theme of The South's Economic Potential which the Council is sponsoring in Atlanta on April 11.

In this conference we are trying to do something which will catch the ear of Southern leaders in agriculture, business, industry, and labor, and which will challenge the South to some serious thinking about its post-war economic problems and potentials. In addition to several government people from Washington, we are lining up some local authorities for participation in the conference. We are deeply grateful for your willingness to speak at this meeting.

May we count on you to speak on the general topic of "The South and Post-War Markets"? Please re-phrase the title if you wish and let us know exactly how you would like to have it appear in press releases. If you are speaking from a prepared manuscript, would it be possible to let us have an advance copy, since this would be helpful in obtaining complete news coverage? I might add also that we are anxious to have the privilege of publishing your address in full if there is no objection.

As the conference shapes up, it appears that we will have morning, afternoon, and evening sessions on April 11, and it may be necessary to extend it over April 12. If you have any preference as to the time of day you speak on April 11, or if you had just as soon appear on April 12, please let me know as soon as you can. In the meantime I shall make a hotel reservation for you for April 11, and I shall send you the complete program of the conference as soon as possible.

Since the Southern Regional Council is a relatively new organization and since you may not be very well acquainted with it, I am enclosing a memorandum which will give you some background information on the origin and purpose of the Council.

Again let me express our appreciation for your willingness to take part in what we believe is a very significant conference.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosure

P. S. Could you send us a photograph and a brief biographical sketch?

EXPORT-IMPORT BANK OF WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON 25

CABLE ADDRESS
"EXIMBANK"

June 21, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am returning the printer's proof of my address to the Conference of Southern Regional Council in April with corrections as indicated.

Because of developments since the Conference, I suggest that certain extemporaneous remarks inserted in my prepared address be deleted. The material in question occurs on galleys 37, 38, and 39 as indicated by brackets in red pencil. On galley 37, reference is made to the Bretton Woods proposals which have now been approved overwhelmingly by the House of Representatives and which seem to be certain of approval in the Senate. Under these circumstances, the reference seems inappropriate, as does also the reference to the extension of the Trade Agreements Act, which has now passed both Houses of Congress. On galley 38 further reference is made to these two pieces of legislation in a way which will now have no meaning.

The other material which I should like to have deleted, beginning about the middle of galley 38 and continuing onto galley 39, refers to a steel mill project in Monclova, Mexico. The facts as stated there are correct to the best of my knowledge, but in view of the fact that I am now connected with the Export-Import Bank, which has made or is about to make a disbursement for the project, the accounting which I gave might prove embarrassing both to me and to the Bank.

As you suggested, I have inserted a few sub-heads in the latter part of the paper.

I look forward to receiving a copy of the booklet containing the address as made to the Conference.

Very truly yours,

August Maffry

August Maffry
Economic Adviser

CONFERENCE
ES

June 15, 1945

Mr. August Maffry
Chief of the International Trade Unit
U. S. Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Maffry:

At last we have printer's proof of the addresses which were delivered at our Conference on the South's Post War Economy in April. A copy of your address is enclosed. Will you kindly make whatever corrections you wish and return it to us as soon as possible?

I shall be glad if you will insert a few sub-heads in the latter part of your paper, since there are about three galleys which are unbroken by subtitles.

The booklet containing the Conference addresses will be printed in double columns on a 9 X 12 page, and will have an attractive cover in two colors.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

SPWE
Speakers

April 19, 1945

Mr. August Maffry
Chief of the International Trade Unit
U. S. Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Maffry:

I want to express our heartfelt thanks for your participation in our recent Conference on the South's Post War Economy. Knowing how very busy you are in these strenuous times, we are all the more grateful for your cooperation.

Your address on "Post War Foreign Trade and The South" was splendid, and it contributed a great deal to the success of the conference. We have had a great many favorable comments on it.

The addresses which were delivered at the conference are being made ready for publication in a special booklet. Mr. Lawrence Drake, who is returning to Washington shortly, will check with you for approval of the copy of your address.

Again let me thank you for your part in the conference, and assure you that this Council wishes to cooperate in every way it can with the International Trade Unit.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	✓

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

March 27, 1945

To:

Dr. August Maffry
Room 2600
Dept. of Commerce Bldg
Washington D. C.

Delighted you can speak at Southern Regional Council conference on SOUTH'S POST WAR ECONOMY. We are scheduling you for afternoon of April 11. Have reserved room at Biltmore Hotel for April 10 and 11.

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

PAID

Chargeto:
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue

Speakers

NATIONAL HOUSING AGENCY

WASHINGTON, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE ADMNISTRATOR

June 26, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am glad you are going ahead with your plans to publish the proceedings of your interesting conference held in Atlanta last April. Enclosed is the printer's proof of my statement with a few corrections.

Sincerely yours,

Coleman Woodbury

Coleman Woodbury
Assistant Administrator

Enclosure

ConSPWE
Ei

June 15, 1945

Mr. Coleman Woodbury
Assistant Administrator
National Housing Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Woodbury:

At last we have printer's proof of the addresses which were delivered at our Conference on the South's Post War Economy in April. A copy of your address is enclosed. Will you kindly make whatever corrections you wish and return it to us as soon as possible?

The booklet containing the Conference addresses will be printed in double columns on a 9 X 12 page, and will have an attractive color in two colors.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

SPWE
speakers

April 19, 1945

Mr. Coleman Woodbury
Assistant Administrator
National Housing Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Woodbury:

I want to express our heartfelt thanks for your participation in our recent Conference on The South's Post War Economy. Knowing how very busy you are in these strenuous times, we are all the more grateful for your cooperation.

Your address on Southern post war housing was splendid, and it contributed a great deal to the success of the conference. We have had a great many favorable comments on it.

The addresses which were delivered at the conference are being made ready for publication in a special booklet. Mr. Lawrence Drake, who is returning to Washington shortly, will check with you for approval of the copy of your address.

Again let me thank you for your part in the conference, and assure you that this Council wishes to cooperate in every way it can with the National Housing Agency.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

NATIONAL HOUSING AGENCY

WASHINGTON, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE ADMNISTRATOR

March 31, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional
Council Conference
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

This will acknowledge your wire of March 27, regarding the Southern Regional Council Conference. I am looking forward to meeting you and talking with your group. Thank you for your thoughtfulness in making a reservation for me at the Biltmore Hotel.

Sincerely yours,

Coleman Woodbury

Coleman Woodbury
Assistant Administrator

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
WASHINGTON, D.C. (25)

June 28, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Your letter of June 15 enclosing printer's proof of my address before your conference was received during my absence on a field trip.

I have now checked over the proof and have indicated a few minor corrections. This corrected proof is enclosed.

The set-up as a whole looks fine to me.

Sincerely yours,

Mordecai Ezekiel

Mordecai Ezekiel
Economic Advisor

Enclosure

CN SPWE
Cy

June 15, 1945

Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel
Economic Adviser
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Ezekiel:

At last we have printer's proof of the addresses which were delivered at our Conference on the South's Post War Economy in April. A copy of your address is enclosed. Will you kindly make whatever corrections you wish and return it to us as soon as possible.

A portion of your address has been set in page form. This will give you an idea of the appearance of the booklet. The publication will be about 40 pages in a 9 X 12 size with an attractive cover in two colors.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

SPWE
Speakers

April 19, 1945

Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel
Economic Adviser
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Ezekiel:

I want to express our heartfelt thanks for your participation in our recent Conference on the South's Post War Economy. Knowing how very busy you are in these strenuous times, we are all the more grateful for your cooperation.

I am sure that all of us feel that your address on "Southern Agriculture and Industry" was the highlight of the conference. We have had high praise for it on all sides.

The addresses which were delivered at the conference are being made ready for publication in a special booklet. Mr. Lawrence Drake, who is returning to Washington shortly, will check with you for approval of the copy of your address.

Again let me thank you for your part in the conference, and assure you that this Council wishes to cooperate in every way it can with the Department of Agriculture.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Eric

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 25

March 23, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thanks for your letter of March 19 with the fuller details about your meeting.

I am a little disappointed from your tentative schedule that you have allowed only thirty minutes for my topic and that apparently the meeting at which I am to talk will have so many speakers that there will be no time for a general discussion on the feasibility of the proposals which I will present.

As I have indicated to Mr. Drake, I expect to stay over the following day, so could be put on the program the following morning if that would provide more time for a thorough discussion of the topic.

We are developing a rather extensive program here in this Department for the "reconversion of the South's cotton economy" and for the expansion of Southern industry, and have a number of rather specific proposals as to how we can get the job underway, which I had hoped to discuss at some length with your group. That is the reason I am disappointed in the idea of merely a thirty-minute presentation without opportunity for a general open discussion.

I shall look forward to hearing of any shifts you may be able to make in the further working out of your schedule.

Sincerely yours,

Mordecai Ezekiel

Mordecai Ezekiel
Economic Adviser

E/B.J.
write note

Conference on SEO

March 19, 1945

Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel
Economic Adviser
United States Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Ezekiel:

Thank you for your letter of March 17. We are looking forward with great pleasure to having you with us on April 11.

I am enclosing a copy of the conference program as it looks now. We are trying to avoid a morning session, since this seems to be inconvenient for several of the speakers. There are one or two other speakers who might be added to the program for the morning of April 12, in which case we shall shift Mr. Milton to April 12 and move one of the evening speakers to the 4 P. M. spot.

Attendance at the conference will be largely from the Atlanta area, but we are inviting a selected group of leaders in agriculture, industry, and labor from all over the South. We shall control the publicity so as to make it clear that attendance from outside is to be only upon special invitation. Therefore, we do not expect any difficulty with ODT regulations. Lawrence Drake, our Washington representative, has discussed this matter with Frank Perrin of ODT.

Very cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

Program
Von

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 25

March 17, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am very glad to have your recent letter with the fuller details both about the Southern Regional Council and proposed meeting. It sounds like it should be a most interesting discussion.

The topic which I should like to talk about is "future agricultural and industrial opportunities for the South." I trust this will be broad enough to come within the scope of your Council's interest, and enable me to bring in the industrial as well as the agricultural problems involved, for real attack on the major Southern problems.

One thing worries me, though, in your plans for the meeting: is the meeting solely a local meeting or do you plan to have people there from all over the South? If the latter is the case, have the plans for the meeting been cleared with the Office of Defense Transportation under their recent edict against holding conventions? I raise these questions now because in several instances since the first of the year I accepted plans and made arrangements to attend meetings of various sorts, only to find in the end that the meeting had to be canceled because of the war rules. I am just asking the question now to make sure that this angle of your plans for the meeting has already been straightened out.

Sincerely yours,

Mordecai Ezekiel

Mordecai Ezekiel
Economic Adviser

Conference on S.P.-W.E.

March 12, 1945

Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel
Room 3035
Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Ezekiel:

Our special representative in Washington, Mr. Lawrence Drake, has informed us that you have consented to take part in a conference on the theme of The South's Economic Potential which the Council is sponsoring in Atlanta on April 11.

In this conference we are trying to do something which will catch the ear of Southern leaders in agriculture, business, industry, and labor, and which will challenge the South to some serious thinking about its post-war economic problems and potentials. In addition to several government people from Washington, we are lining up some local authorities for participation in the conference. We are deeply grateful for your willingness to speak at this meeting.

May we count on you to speak on the general topic of "Southern Post-War Agriculture?" Please re-phrase the title if you wish and let us know exactly how you would like to have it appear in press releases. If you are speaking from a prepared manuscript, would it be possible to let us have an advance copy, since this would be helpful in obtaining complete news coverage? I might add also that we are anxious to have the privilege of publishing your address in full if there is no objection.

As the conference shapes up, it appears that we will have morning, afternoon, and evening sessions on April 11, and it may be necessary to extend it over April 12. If you have any preference as to the time of day you speak on April 11, or if you had just as soon appear on April 12, please let me know as soon as you can. In the meantime I shall make a hotel reservation for you for April 11, and I shall send you the complete program of the conference as soon as possible.

Since the Southern Regional Council is a relatively new organization and since you may not be very well acquainted with it, I am enclosing a memorandum which will give you some background information on the origin and purpose of the Council.

Again let me express our appreciation for your willingness to take part in what we believe is a very significant conference.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

P. S. Could you send us a photograph and a brief biographical sketch?

August 14, 1951

Miss Barbara Worthheimer
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
New York City

Dear Miss Worthheimer:

Because the information which I was able to get together about possible meeting places in the South is much more voluminous than valuable, I decided against calling you. This should reach you by tomorrow morning at the latest.

I have talked with Dr. Mitchell, our Executive Director and have searched the files of the Southern Regional Office of the National Board, YWCA but have been unable to find any real possibilities. Unfortunately, most of the interracial meetings that are held in the South are held on Negro College campuses and these would not be available during the first week in October, even though these colleges are more than cooperative. Most of them maintain guest rooms and are willing to clear their dormitories during vacation period to accommodate groups, but would not be able to do that for a whole week, as you can see. Nor would they have room for more than four or five people in addition to their student body.

Very few of the YWCA's in the South have good camps or ones that could be used for interracial meetings. The opposition in most cases seems to come, not so much from the members and Board of the local Association, as from the people who live around the camp, and too often, as in the case of a Girl Scout training school which was once held near Birmingham and which included both white and Negroes, these local people take it upon themselves to do something about it. The Birmingham incident seems to have made a great impression on the people - several cars full of white men came to the camp late at night and showed the white instructors of the Negro campers that such things are not tolerated in Alabama. However, some progress is being made against such incidents and we can hope that in the years to come meetings can be held without interference. But the majority of the YWCA people (locally) are still afraid.

The best I could do is to get for you a list of places that have been used by interracial groups or have said that they would take such groups. You will know which ones you feel worth the follow-up.

First of course, is Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee. I have not been there for some years but understand that they have added to the

buildings, have made improvements in the conveniences and could take care of your group. Myles Horton is director.

The Edgewater Park Hotel at Gulfport, Miss. has taken interracial groups and might be able to accommodate you. Also in Gulfport (or near it) is a conference ground of the Methodist Church which I believe is run by and for the Negro members. The buildings here are new and would be adequate. Their season would be over by October and they might be glad to take care of your group. Write to the manager of Gulfside Inn, who I just found to be Bishop R. N. Brooks, Gulfside, Waveland, Miss. He can give you information as to rates, accommodations, etc.

A year ro so ago the Student Movement of the YWCA used Camp O'Leno near Lake City, Florida for an interracial conference. This is a State Forestry Training Center and was obtained by luck. They were refused permission to hold another conference, not on the grounds of the one held, but because the director had thought it best to investigate feeling of the Park Commission. However, he promised to arrange with the State Park Committee to have one Florida State park open for such groups. You might write to Mr. Lewis Scoggins, State Park Board or Director of Camp O'Leno, (I'M not sure which will reach him).

Another possibility is the Whitehall Hotel, Palm Beach, Florida. This hotel is owned by a Chicago firm. They have solicited business from the YWCA and said they would not discriminate because of color or creed. The rates they quoted sounded high but you might want to contact them. Write to Mrs. H. J. LaFrenere, Director of Salem, Whitehall Hotel, Palm Beach, Florida.

Roslyn Conference Grounds - again owned by a church - is near Richmond and would take interracial groups. The contact there is Rev. Stanley Ashton, Route 13, River Road, Richmond, Virginia. I don't know anything about this place except that.

Ocean Forest Hotel, Myrtle Beach, S. C. had a meeting of the AAUW sometime ago. They housed the white delegates in their hotel, the Negro delegates in another one close by, and all the meals and meetings were held together in the Ocean Forest Hotel. However, this was a very large group and they might not consider taking a smaller one.

The last possibility is one which Dr. Mitchell has suggested. Several years ago a wealthy brain surgeon, friend of Mr. Roosevelt, got interested in fishing and a Negro couple on the coast of North Carolina. He bought a mile long strip of beach, built a large house and established the couple there as permanent residents. With approaching age he decided to do something with this land and had deeded it to the Negro teachers of North Carolina. They have formed an organization of sorts, have proceeded somewhat with plans for making this a vacation and meeting spot and are already using it. Dr. Mitchell thought that your group might use their facilities with the couple, who I gather are used to doing food for large groups, furnishing the food. Dr. Harold Trigg, President of St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, North Carolina, is chairman of the teachers organization and could give you information about the possibilities. He is a member of our Executive Committee and will be very glad to cooperate with you if it is at all possible.

I wish I could be more hopeful about your finding the place you need. I have even tried to think of some YWCA that could furnish a meeting place and meals twice a day but there again, the buildings are inadequate even for the YWCA program.

Lillian Smith has a camp up at Clayton, Georgia. It is a good camp, has excellent food service, but is pretty far away from town and would not be good in cold weather. Also she is so well known that any activity of an interracial group up there might bring forth some unwelcome visitors.

This makes the South sound pretty grim, doesn't it? The truth is that progress is being made and that here and there people are working at it, quietly in some cases, more obviously in others. I came to work with the Council in the middle of June. We are called by the New York Times the "leading interracial organization of the South" and by our local opposition "the race-mixing Southern Regional Council. I enclosed some literature which will tell you better than I can just what we attempt to do.

It is nice to have talked to you. I'm sure I remember hearing of you from Libba. Even thought I have not been much help this time, I hope you'll call on me again. And if you ever get down to Atlanta, do let me know. I'd like to meet you.

Best wishes and I hope that you find a good place for the institute.

Sincerely yours,

Katherine Stoney,

Telephone ALgonquin 5-7800

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF *America*

15 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

426

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

JACOB S. POTOFSKY
General President

FRANK ROSENBLUM
General Sec'y Treas.

HYMAN BLUMBERG
Executive Vice-Pres.

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SANDER GENIS
BESSIE HILLMAN
LOUIS HOLLANDER
JACK KROLL
ABRAHAM MILLER
DAVID MONAS
JOSEPH SALERNO
LOUIS SIMON
CHARLES WEINSTEIN
MURRAY WEINSTEIN

August 16, 1951

RECEIVED
AUG 20 1951
Southern Regional Council

Miss Katherine Stoney
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 472
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Kack:

Thanks so much for your letter. You have no idea how much I appreciate your very prompt and thorough answer. I am also glad to know of the Birmingham incident which you mentioned, as it may guide us in choosing ~~the~~ a possible spot in Alabama.

If and when we do find the place we can use, I will certainly let you know. You may be sure that the next time I am in Atlanta I will not miss the opportunity of getting to know you.

I met Lib just about the time she and Ben became engaged, and got to know her through Ben. Ben is a good friend of ours and I now consider Lib one also. They are a wonderful couple.

Again many thanks for your help.

Sincerely,

Bobbie

Barbara Wertheimer
Assistant Education Director

BW/nrd

Telephone ALgonquin 5-7800

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF *America*

15 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

426

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BESSIE HILLMAN
LOUIS HOLLANDER
JACK KROLL
ABRAHAM MILLER
DAVID MONAS
JOSEPH SALERNO
LOUIS SIMON
CHARLES WEINSTEIN
MURRAY WEINSTEIN

August 20, 1951

Miss Katherine Stoney
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Miss Stoney:

Mrs. Wertheimer has just left for her vacation so I have taken the liberty of answering your letter to her. We have been able to secure Highlander Folk School for our conference and as you say this is definitely the first choice.

I do want to express my great appreciation for all your efforts on our behalf, and wish you all sorts of luck on the fine work you are doing in the South.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Slocum
Director of Education

JHS:ieo

Make folder

CORE SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION and DEFENSE FUND
540½ West Brevard St. Tallahassee, Florida

JOHN D. DUE, Jr.
FLORIDA COUNSEL

Phone 222-2317

Rec'd 4/12/65

PAL
VI
MI-file

April 10, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

So sorry sorry for being so slow in answering your letter. After a big bank, I've been bogged down with administrative work, but the picture seems to be changing.

Of course, as you may know, our main function is community action, relating to Title VI of the Civil Rights Law, and Title II of the Economic Opportunity Law. Our third area of concern includes studies as to priorities, as far as injunctive suits are concerned.

I shall be in Atlanta on April 14th representing the CORE Field Secretary for Florida and probably shall stay over on the 15th, in order to meet with some Regional Federal people. I hope at this time, we may have an opportunity to discuss some things as far as the Council on Human Relations is concerned. I shall call the office on the 14th and see when an appointment can be set up.

I hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

John D. Due, Jr.

John D. Due, Jr.

JDD/lf

copies to: Ruth
Parrish

September 21, 1954

Mrs. Preston Valien
Department of Social Sciences
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Valien:

We have run into some difficulties in organizing the October meeting, because Mr. Mynders is extremely busy with the Chattanooga Times. What we need in Tennessee is someone who can contact the people who would attend the conference and actually organize the meeting itself. Parrish informs me that you are well acquainted with these people, and it would seem logical that since you are at Fisk where the meeting is to be held, that you can do this job for us. I don't like to impose upon you, but the nature of this work is so urgent that I feel it is permissable to do so.

The meeting has been tentatively planned, I understand, for Saturday, October 9.

It would appear that the most difficult area from which to select persons is West Tennessee. The few names which I am submitting have been suggested by Mrs. Ethel Niermeyer, who may be reached at the Memphis YWCA. Along with her should be included Mrs. Lawrence Coe, 3580 Watauga; Reverend J. A. McDaniels, Executive Secretary of the Urban League, 546 Beale; Mr. Harold Crowder (CIO), 136½ South Second Avenue; and Mrs. Harriett Walker, 1255 South Parkway Street.

You, perhaps, are in a better position than I to select the people from East Tennessee. However, I would take the liberty, on the advice of Dr. Parrish, to suggest from Knoxville, Mrs. Neal Spahr, YWCA; Dr. J. H. Danes, TVA, Old Post Office Building; Dr. James T. Colston, President, Knoxville College. It may be desirable to have someone from the University of Tennessee like Dr. W. E. Cole, who previously has been active with the Council.

Perhaps there should also be a representative of Fellowship House. We understand that Mrs. W. J. Moulder, of 3100 Orlando Street, was one of the leading spirits in organizing Fellowship House. The President of Fellowship House is Mr. F. Woods Beckman, 5908 Magazine Road, Knoxville.

At the present time there are six Board members in Tennessee. They are: Mr. Alfred Mynders, Chattanooga Times, Chattanooga; Mr. Paul R. Christopher, 216 Flatiron Building, Knoxville; Dr. Charles Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville; Mr. Z. A. Looby, 419 Fourth Avenue, North, Nashville; Mr. E. U. Robinson, 675 North Water Street, Gallatin; and Mrs. J. Fount Tillman, Lewisburg. They should be invited to attend the meeting.

I suggest that you contact Mr. Mynders at the Times for anybody else from the Nashville area that it might be wise to invite to the meeting. One such person would be Mrs. B. Fenstersald of Clarendon Avenue, Belle Meade Park, Nashville.

If there is any way we may help you in this undertaking, please let us know. I have been recently appointed as Assistant Director of the Southern Regional Council, in charge of program development, and it is my job to help the state organizations in the effort to set up the various state programs. Please feel free to call on me at any time.

Thanking you in advance for all the work I know this means, I am

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director for
Program Development

FR/eab

cc: C. H. Parrish

October 21, 1954

Mrs. Bonita Valien
Southern School News
Box 6156
Acklen Station
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Bonita:

You may not be the proper person to handle this request, but I am sure you will be willing to attend to it in the ways you think best.

We, here in the Southern Regional Council office, would find it very helpful if we could receive twenty-five copies of each issue of the Southern School News for use with people who ask us for information covered in the issues. We hope that these twenty-five additional copies could be in addition to the individuals on our central or field staffs.

We would also like to request the following additions to the list of the Council's staff, either in the central office or in state organizations. The list is attached.

Would you also see that Mrs. David Jones, Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina, is added to the mailing list?

The second issue continues the high standard established, and is an exceedingly useful resource.

With my very best wishes to you and other friends, I am

Yours cordially,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director for
Program Planning

GTH/eab
Encl.

February 9, 1955

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Warm thanks for the note of action about the letter from the engineer in Kingsport.

But the copy of his letter got left out.

If it will come on down, we will proceed with energy and appreciation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

7 February 1955

FEB 8 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am attaching a copy of a very interesting letter from an industrial engineer in Kingsport, Tennessee, who wants very much to be of help to the cause of improving race relations in the country, and especially in the South. He strikes me as being a person who could work well as a member of the Tennessee Group under the Southern Regional Council. I have called this to the attention of Mr. Dan May, who has been serving as Chairman of the Tennessee Group.

Copy not attached nha

I am sure that he would find a great deal of spiritual support from a letter from your office, and perhaps some materials suggesting what a person in his position could do.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ:vlr
Enclosure

MEMORANDUM

MEETING WITH JOHN HOPE, NOVEMBER 18, 1955, GSM's OFFICE

GSM — Sent Parrish a copy of the letter to Weidenhouse "How to limit your budget a bit."

JH — That complicates matters.--A family problem within AMA

GSM — Other people in John' Hope's position would be getting less if he received full AMA salary plus SRC salary.

JH — I called you--As a result, you called or wrote Weidenhouse; financial complications came up but no financial allowance. Herman Long O. Kayed the idea and recommended it to Weidenhouse. It didn't help to bat it about on the SRC Board.

GSM — It wasn't batted about at the Board but at the Executive Committee Meeting where they limited payment to $35.00 a day.

JH — Would I alone be responsible or would I work with a team?

GSM — We would work as a team but you would be in charge and therefore chiefly responsible.

FBR — This is an outgrowth of much thinking--Grace Hamilton's, the AU meeting, etc.--Parrish is the chief architect of the final proposals.--It is not sufficiently solidified so that John Hope's ideas couldn't hold sway.

JH — What commitments were made to consultants at the AU meeting?

FBR — They understand the possibility of a per diem consultants relationship.-- No formal comitments made to any individuals. $35.00 a day suggested salary.

GSM —
1. The diamonds in Africa illustration.
2. The demonstration of qualified Negro professionals.
3. The involvement of Negroes in getting responsible assignments.--Negro committees more responsive with Negroes participating--in decision making.

GSM — Pay Hope his per diem plus his expenses.--Reimburse AMA $1,000 for John Hope's time; sweeten the deal.

JH — Weidenhouse needs to be protected if charges brought re: lost time and services. Actually this is a creative responsibility that will absorb most of my thoughts and time? Question. If this baby is in my lap and I am supposed to come through, do the other consultants get the same amount-- $35.00?

GSM Yes, but they get far less in the overall picture--for you are fairly regular but they are only occasional.

JH I feel that either of us should be able to sever our relations on a two weeks notice. In other words if I felt I was getting no where, or if you thought I was getting no where, we could talk it over and decide to either modify or drop the project.

GSM Yes. That sounds reasonable.

JH We should review the project in May which is the end of the AMA fiscal year and determine at that time what should be our future relation and what should be the future of this special project.

cc: John Hope
GSM
CHP
FBR

SUMMARY OF UNALLOCATED STATE ORGANIZATIONS' FUNDS - 12/21/55

AMOUNT OF FUNDS (Savings Certificates)		$60,000.00
EXPENDITURES:		
12 Associate Directors @ $2,500 + Social Security	$30,600.00	
Mammoth Cave Executive Committee Meeting	605.30	
Grace Hamilton's Report to Exec. Com.	350.00	
Irene Osborne (salary, travel (estimated $4,000) and social security	9,084.00	
Loan from Central Office(to balance State Organizations' account until Savings Certificates available)	8,350.00	
South Carolina Council on Human Relations (bonus for secretary at end of year)	100.00	
Dr. Thomas Van Sant's travel expenses for North Carolina Council on Human Relations Workshop, Dec. 10, 1955	46.77	49,136.07
BALANCE, December 21, 1955		$10,863.93

JOHN HOPE:

Approximate Consultant's fee(a maximum of 10 days per month for 6 months @ $35 per day (Dec. 1--May 30)	$ 2,100.00	
A merican Missionary Association(for time lost on job with AMA)	1,000.00	
Travel expenses	1,500.00	4,600.00
BALANCE (reserved for training program)		$ 6,263.93

copy- John Hope

Jan 5, 1956

MEMO

TO: Staff

FROM: GSM

RE: PROSPECTIVE CONSULTANTS

Note that in telephone conversation today, John Hope asked that Bill Jones and Kenneth Clarke be officially added to the list of possible consultants and I've so added them and have invited them so to serve.

The official list of consultants is now inclusively:

Dr. Robert Johnson
American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th Street,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. Louis Killian
Department of Sociology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Mrs. Preston Valien
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. Harry J. Walker
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

Dr. G.D. Wilson
Kentucky State College
Frankfort Kentucky

Dr. Whitney Young
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

~~Miss Irene Osborne~~
~~AFSC~~
~~104 "C" St., NE~~
~~Washington, D.C.~~

Am. F. S. C.
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. Kenneth Clark
~~Department of Psychology~~
~~City College of New York~~
New York, New York

Northside Center
31- W 110th St

Dr. William Jones
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

HCF
FBR
GSA
MET
JC
CHP
FI
RHA

Dr. Hylan Lewis
ATLANTA UNIV.

January 5, 1956

Dr. William Jones
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Jones:

You have received, no doubt, Dr. Mitchell's letter of January 5, asking your participation in a consultant service program. I cannot urge too strongly my personal wish or that of the central office team of which we hope you will be an important member that you join us in this important service to the Southern Regional Council, the South, and thus to the nation.

It seems imperative that we get a good start by attending a conference of all consultants early in January, and, consequently, I am asking you to advise me promptly whether you will serve, and whether you can attend such a conference for the planning, orientation, etc. on Saturday, January 14 in Atlanta. If you cannot attend on this date, please indicate on which of the following dates you can attend: January 13; January 18; January 28.

Your travel expenses will be borne by the Southern Regional Council and per diem at the rate (not yet decided) for consultant services will be paid. I am sorry I cannot indicate this rate at this time, but we expect it to be at a reasonable figure.

Answers to the attached list of questions are necessary for further planning and scheduling this service. Please return them to me immediately so that they can be tabulated and analyzed prior to this conference. Do not delay in returning this sheet because you cannot immediately answer all questions. Send it back promptly and supplement it, if necessary, by letter as soon as you can fill in the gaps. Mail all communications to:

Mr. John Hope II, Assistant Director for Program, SRC
c/o Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

I shall look forward to seeing you at the January conference and to a closer association thereafter.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II
Assistant Director for Program

Community Service Program

January 5, 1959

Dr. Robert Johnson
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Mr. John Hope asked me to send you this questionnaire, on which he is hopeful of early answer back in this office.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl.

January 5, 1956

Dr. Louis Killian
Department of Sociology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Dr. Killian:

Mr. John Hope asked me to send you this questionnaire, on which he is hopeful of early answer back in this office.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mcf

January 5, 1956

Mrs. Preston Valien
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Valien:

Mr. John Hope asked me to send you this questionnaire, on which he is hopeful of early answer back in this office.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

January 5, 1956

Mr. Harry J. Walker
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Walker:

Mr. John Hope asked me to send you this questionnaire, on which he is hopeful of early answer back in this office.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl.

January 5, 1956

Dr. G.D. Wilson
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Wilson:

Mr. John Hope asked me to send you this questionnaire, on which he is hopeful of early answer back in this office.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl.

January 5, 1956

Dr. Whitney Young
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Young:

Mr. John Hope asked me to send you this questionnaire, on which he is hopeful of early answer back in this office.

Sincerely,

George Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl.

Consultants Service Program

January 9, 1956

Miss Irene Osborne
c/o Virginia Council on Human Relations
100 East Franklin Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Irene:

The conference for consultants has been definitely set for Saturday January 14, 1956. The meeting will begin at 9:30 A.M. and last until 4:00 P.M. with time out for lunch. The meeting will be held in the Conference Room of the Atlanta University Administration Building located at 223 Chestnut Street, S.W.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA:rh

Same letter sent to: Mrs. Preston Valien
Mr. Harry J. Walker
Dr. G.D. Wilson
Dr. William Jones

Cross Source program

January 9, 1956

Dr. Louis Killian
Department of Sociology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Dr. Killian:

The conference for consultants has been definitely set for Saturday, January 14, 1956. The meeting will begin at 9:30 A.M. and last until 4:00 P.M. with time out for lunch. The meeting will be held in the Conference Room of the Atlanta University Administration Building located at 223 Chestnut Street, S.W.

Lodging will be available at the Atlanta University Dormitories (50 Chestnut Street, S.W.) for those desiring it. We are enclosing a reply card for your convenience to indicate your expected time of arrival and whether or not you desire accommodations at the University.

It is hoped that you can arrange to arrive in Atlanta on Friday evening in order for the group to have a little pre conference bull session.

We are enclosing some material which gives background information on the Council and its policies. We are hoping that you will have the opportunity to read through this material prior to the meeting on Saturday.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II
Assistant Director for
Program Development

JH:rh
Encls.

January 9, 1956

Dr. C. H. Parrish
926 South 6th St.
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

It was good to see you when you were here in town on Friday and to discuss various aspects of the Consultant program. John Hope has been in the office today and we have further reviewed our thinking on this particular effort and more especially on the meeting the 14th.

Something new has just come up: Marion Wright will be in town on Wednesday, January 18 and at which time he wishes to review with the staff the current critical situation in the region, the matter of organized opposition, and the work of the council. GSM has asked me to write you and ask you to come down for this meeting if it is at all possible in your busy schedule. We need your thinking and counsel in this matter and I surely hope that it will be possible for you to be here. We will meet here at the office, probably starting about 9:30 or 10:00 o'clock in the morning. I will talk further with you about it when I see you this Saturday.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director.

FBR:mf

Same letter sent to: Dr. Mozell Hill
Dr. Hylan Lewis

Consultant Future Program

January 9, 1956

Dr. Whitney Young
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Young:

The conference for consultants has been definitely set for Saturday, January 14, 1956. The meeting will begin at 9:30 A.M. and last until 4:00 P.M. with time out for lunch. The meeting will be held in the Conference Room of the Atlanta University Administration Building.

We are enclosing some material which gives background information on the Council and its policies. We are hoping that you will have the opportunity to read through this material prior to the meeting on Saturday.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II
Assistant Director for
Program Development

JH:rh
Encls.

Similar letter sent to Dr. Kenneth Clark

Consultants Service Region

January 9, 1956

Dr. Robert Johnson
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The conference for consultants has been definitely set for Saturday, January 14, 1956. The meeting will begin at 9:30 A.M. and last until 4:00 P.M. with time out for lunch. The meeting will be held in the Conference Room of the Atlanta University Administration Building located at 223 Chestnut Street, S.W.

Lodging will be available at the Atlanta University Dormitories (50 Chestnut Street, S.W.) for those desiring it. We are enclosing a reply card for your convenience to indicate your expected time of arrival and whether or not you desire accommodations at the University.

It is hoped that you can arrange to arrive in Atlanta on Friday evening in order for the group to have a little pre conference bull session.

We are enclosing some material which gives background information on the Council and its policies. We are hoping that you will have the opportunity to read through this material prior to the meeting on Saturday.

We are also enclosing a check for $132.60 which represents estimated travel expenses and the consultants fee of $35.00. You may fill out a travel voucher for actual expenses upon arrival.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II
Assistant Director for
Program Development

JHarb

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Conference on the Consultant Program Service
Atlanta University - January 14, 1956

Mr. John Hope II, presiding

AGENDA

9:00 AM - Registration

9:25 - Preliminary remarks by chairman

9:30 - "SRC: Policy, Aims, and Methods"

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

Harold C. Fleming, Asst. Director for Information

9:55 - Discussion

10:25 - "SRC and the State Organizations"

Fred B. Routh, Asst. Director for State Organizations

10:45 - Discussion

11:00 - Coffee Break

11:15 - "Background and Rationale of Program"

C. H. Parrish, Asst. Director for State Organizations

11:35 - Discussion

11:45 - "Intergroup Programs: Evaluation and Action Techniques"

Robert Johnson, Consultant

12:05 PM- Discussion

12:20-1:30 - Luncheon at Atlanta University Dining Hall

1:30 - Consultants' reactions to proposed program

2:30 - "Plans, Prospects, and Procedures"

John Hope II, Asst. Director for Program

3:00 - Other Business

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . FRED B. ROUTH . . . .

COPY

31 January '56

TO: Mrs. Ruth House Alexander,
Secretary-Treasurer, SRC

This memo will authorize you to pay Dr. Robert Johnson one hundred fifty dollars ($150.00) for professional services rendered in completing two (2) Technical Memoranda for the Consultant Program.

This authorization is made at the request of Mr. John Hope II and with the approval of Dr. George S. Mitchell. The sum should be drawn against the amount set aside for "Consultant Fees" in the budget of the Consultant Service Program.

Dr. Johnson's address is:

705 Wallace St. Apt. B
Philidelphia, Penn.

Respectfully,

Frederick B. Routh

To: FR

(1st Revision 1/31/56)

TENTATIVE SCHEDULE FOR STATE WORKSHOPS

	Suggested Consultant Team 1st Choice	Alternate	Time*	Place
1. Virginia	Walker Johnson	Coleman	2/17-18	
2. North Carolina	Hy. Lewis Coleman	Johnson	2/24-25	
3. Alabama	B. Valien Coleman	Killian	3/2-3	
4. Arkansas	Young Clark	Jones Killian	3/9-10	
5. Texas	Hy. Lewis Johnson	Young Killian	3/16-17	
6. Florida	Walker B. Valien	Jones	3/23-24	
7. Tennessee	Young Hy. Lewis	Killian	3/30-31	
8. S. Carolina	Coleman Walker		4/6-7	

*All dates Friday night and Saturday (all day)

Michigan State University

FBR

MEMORANDUM

FROM

JOHN HOPE II

TO: Mr. G. M. Alexander (copy to Fred Routh)

RE: Material to be mimeographed

DATE: February 1, 1956

I am attaching three items that are ready for mimeographing. I shall need these to be enclosed in a memorandum to consultants which I hope to have in your hands by Monday, February 6th for prompt mailing. You will note the suggested changes and additions in pencil.

1. Expense and Compensation Regulations- Mimeograph 100 copies. Send me 25 copies and keep remainder on file for use there.

2. Travel and Expense Voucher Momeograph about 200 copies. Send me 50 copies and keep remainder for use there.

You will note that I have deleted the note re: vouchers. Since no such request is noted on the SRC Expense Account form, I will not introduce it.

3. A 16 page Technical Memorandum by Dr. Robert Johnson - I am making some revisions and will try to mail it tomorrow.

For your information only -- unless Gabe is out of town!

February 13, 1956

Dr. William Jones, Jr.
Department of Sociology
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tenn.

Dear Bill:

Thanks very much for sending me a copy of the summary of our panel discussion. I very much enjoyed the sessions of the Council of Southern Mountains. I certainly got a great deal from the discussions and hope in some small way contributed to those discussions.

I look forward to seeing you when I come up to Tennessee in the near future. Best personal regards,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director.

FBR:mf

February 15, 1956

Dr. Bonita Valien
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Bonita:

I am going to make a swing through the state of Tennessee to see if I can tighten the organization a bit and give some further guidance to its direction. I will visit Chattanooga, Knoxville, Nashville, and Memphis, one day each. I will be in Nashville, Wednesday, the 29th. Would it be possible for you and Mollie Todd to get together a small group of key people that evening so that we can talk about strengthening the program and the organization. What progress have you made with Walter Sharp?

The meeting I went to in Gatlinburg of the Southern Mountain's Council was very profitable and they resolved against segregation.

Best personal regards,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director.

FBR:mf

MEMO

March 1, 1956

TO: RHA

FROM: GSM

February 29 in conversation with John Hope, I told him this office would be responsible for providing for the consultants' program a further one-thousand dollars over and above sums heretofore agreed to to be made available to this program.

I suppose in a pinch we could provide this from this year's unused State balances.

Copies: GSA
JH

Dr. Kenneth Clark,
Northside Center,
31 - W. 110th Street,
New York.

March 5th, 1956.

Dear Dr. Clark,

Mr. Hope is desirous that you have the following resource material:

1. Current subscription to Southern School News plus six months back issues.

2. The Negro and the Schools, by Ashmore.

3. Schools in Transition, edited by Williams and Ryan.

4. Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow - A Statistical Survey, edited by Swanson and Griffin.

He thinks that you may have some or all of the material listed above. However, please let us know the items that you do not have and we will try to furnish the same.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant.

GSA:rl.
c.c.
John Hope.
Encls.

P.S. We are enclosing the following:

1. Statement by Kenneth Clark.
2. Statement by A. Lee Coleman.
3. Copy of letter appearing in Arkansas Gazette.

Dr. Lee Coleman,
Department of Sociology,
University of Kentucky,
Lexington, Kentucky.

March 5th, 1956.

Dear Dr. Coleman,

Mr. Hope is desirous that you have the following resource material:

1. Current subscription to Southern School News plus six months back issues.

2. The Negro and the Schools by Ashmore.

3. Schools in Transition, edited by Williams and Ryan.

4. Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow - A Statistical Survey, edited by Seanson and Griffin.

He thinks that you may have some or all of the material listed above. However, please let us know the items that you do not have and we will try to furnish the same.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant.

GSA:rl.
c.c.
John Hope.

Dr. Robert Johnson,
American Friends Service Committee,
20 S. 12th Street,
Philadelphia, Pa.

March 5th, 1956.

Dear Dr. Johnson,

Mr. Hope is desirous that you have the following resource material:

1. Current subscription to Southern School News plus six months back issues.

2. The Negro and the Schools by Ashmore.

3. Schools in Transition, edited by Williams and Ryan.

4. Public Education in the South Today and Tommrrow - A Statistical Survey, edited by Swanson and Griffin.

He thinks that you may have some or all of the material listed above. However, please let us know the items that you do not have and we will try to furnish the same.

Sincerely yours,

O. S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant.

P.S. We are enclosing the following:

1. Statement by Kenneth Clark.

2. Statement by A. Lee Coleman.

3. Copy of letter appearing in Arkansas Gazette.

Dr. William Jones,
Department of Sociology,
University of Tennessee,
Knoxville, Tenn.

March 5th, 1956.

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Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant.

GSA:rl.
c.c. John Hope.
Encls.

P. S. We are enclosing the following:

1. Statement by Kenneth Clark.
2. Statement by A. Lee Coleman.
3. Copy of letter appearing in Arkansas Gazette.

Dr. Louis Killian,
Department of Sociology,
Florida State University,
Tallahassee, FLORIDA.

March 5th, 1956.

Dear Dr. Killian,

Mr. Hope is desirous that you have the following resource material:

1. Current subscription to Southern School News plus six months back issues.

2. The Negro and the Schools, by Ashmore.

3. Schools in Transition, edited by Williams and Ryan.

4. Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow - A Statistical Survey, edited by Swanson and Griffin.

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Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant.

GSA:rl.
c.c. John Hope.
Encls.

P.S. We are enclosing the following:-

1. Statement by Kenneth Clark.
2. Statement by A. Lee Coleman.
3. Copy of letter appearing in Arkansas Gazette.

Dr. Hylan Lewis,
Atlanta University,
Atlanta, Georgia.

March 5th, 1956.

Dear Dr. Lewis,

Mr. Hope is desirous that you have the following resource material:

1. Current subscription to Southern School News plus six months back issues.

2. The Negro and the Schools, by Ashmore.

3. Schools in Transition, edited by Williams and Ryan.

4. Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow - A Statistical Survey, edited by Swanson and Griffin.

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Sincerely yours,

GSA:rl.
c.c. John Hope.
Encls.

G. S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant.

P. S. We are enclosing the following:

1. Statement by Kenneth Clark.
2. Statement by A. Lee Coleman.
3. Copy of letter appearing in Arkansas Gazette.

Mrs. Preston Valien,
Fisk University,
Nashville, Tenn.

March 5th, 1956.

Dear Mrs. Valien,

Mr. Hope is desirous that you have the following resource material:

1. Current subscription to Southern School News plus six months back issues.

2. The Negro and the Schools by Ashmore.

3. Schools in Transition, edited by Williams and Ryan.

4. Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow - A Statistical Survey, edited by Swanson and Griffin.

He thinks that you may have some or all of the material listed above. However, please let us know the items that you do not have and we will try to furnish the same.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant.

GSA:rl.
c.c.
John Hope.

Mr. Harry J. Walker,
Howard University,
Washington, D. C.

March 5th, 1956.

Dear Mr. Walker,

Mr. Hope is desirous that you have the following resource material:

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3. Schools in Transition, edited by Williams and Ryan.

4. Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow - A Statistical Survey, edited by Swanson and Griffin.

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Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant.

GSA:rl.
c.c. John Hope.
Encls.

P.S. We are enclosing the following:

1. Statement by Kenneth Clark.
2. Statement by A. Lee Coleman.
3. Copy of letter appearing in Arkansas Gazette.

Dr. Whitney Young,
Atlanta University,
Atlanta, Georgia.

March 5th, 1956.

Dear Dr. Young,

Mr. Hope is desirous that you have the following resource material:

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2. The Negro and the Schools by Ashmore.

3. Schools in Transition, edited by Williams and Ryan.

4. Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow - A Statistical Survey, edited by Swanson and Griffin.

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Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant.

GSA:rl.
c.c.
John Hope.

Dr. Whitney Young,
Atlanta University,
Atlanta, Georgia.

March 5th, 1956.

Dear Dr. Young,

In connection with the consultant program, Mr. Hope has requested that we send to you the following material:

1. Briefing statement on Arkansas.
2. Statement by Kenneth Clark.
3. Statement by A. Lee Coleman.
4. Copy of letter appearing in Arkansas Gazette.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander.
Administrative Assistant.

Encls.
GSA:rl.
c.c.
John Hope.

Constitutional Program

May 2, 1956

Mr. Whitney Young
Atlanta University
School of Social Work
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Whitney:

They wrote us about that business in Oklahoma, and I wrote them that they might be able to tempt over to it our people from Little Rock (Arkansas Council on Human Relations). But I have simply stopped going to places unless people pay the travel.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by GSM/signed in his absence

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

RECEIVED MAY 2 1956

Dear George.

Look the enclosed over & let me know if you & John Hope think this meeting is worth paying a consultants way & honorarium. Perhaps you have already be contacted and SRC will be represented. Let me know.

Whitney

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

EXTENSION DIVISION
DEPARTMENT OF
SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY SERVICES

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

NORMAN · OKLAHOMA

April 10, 1956

Dear Mr. Young:

Many leading educators in the South have given expression to their deeply felt need for an opportunity to meet to discuss problems of human relations education. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the University of Oklahoma are, therefore, planning an invitation conference for that purpose. The Vice-President, Dr. Pete Kyle McCarter, and other officials of the University of Oklahoma expressed the hope that this Conference will be of great significance to the entire region. May we extend to you a personal invitation to attend.

The Conference is scheduled to take place at the University in Norman, Oklahoma on June 15 and 16. The two most pressing issues before the schools of America -- integration and religion in education -- will receive major emphasis. Prominent analysts, discussion leaders and resource persons will be there. Each day will close with a clinic session.

In order to achieve maximum comfort, participants will be housed in the University as our guests. We hope you will check in on Thursday evening. As soon as we receive your reply we will reserve a room for you.

If prior commitments make it impossible for you to accept our invitation, please feel free to appoint a substitute who will both represent your institution or school system and bring you a report of the speeches and discussions.

Very shortly the proposed program, a problem census and a small number of pertinent publications will be sent to participants.

May we look forward to having you with us?

Sincerely yours,

Myron Lieberman

Myron Lieberman
Chairman, Planning Committee

June 5, 1956

RA:

Your business, but I would prefer that this check bear on its stub some notation of the tri partite source of funds.

eab/

Encl. Check for Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Consultant Service

May 31, 1956

Mr. Whitney Young
School of Social Work
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Whitney:

That was a honey!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

FBR to admin
DSM re.

RECEIVED JUN 2 1956

Dear George:

Enclosed is voucher & newspaper clipping from my recent visit to Daytona. It was an excellent meeting and I believe a good start was made. During the course of discussion in the two days I was there many program & organizational problems were discussed, and I left with the impression that Florida offers much in possibilities. Raising money is the big immediate job. Incidentally Mr Davidson the Editor of the paper who introduced

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

He gave a long & brilliant testimony to you.

Sincerely
J. Whitney

cc: Mr. Hope
Mr. Parrish
FBR

Same letter to Dr. Harry J. Walker
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

June 5, 1956

Dr. Lee Coleman
Department of Sociology
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Coleman:

Enclosed you will find a check for $125.00 which represents the estimated cost of air transportation from Lexington, Kentucky to Tampa, Florida, and return.

The Florida workshop will be held at Florida Southern College, Lakeland, Florida, on June 11-12, 1956. Mr. Hope would like for the consultants to arrive no later than 6:00 P.M. on Sunday, June 10 in order that some time may be devoted to an informal planning and orientation session for him and the consultants. The workshop is scheduled to close on Tuesday, June 12, at 12:00 noon.

The most convenient airport to Lakeland is Tampa, Florida. It is very urgent that you wire Mr. Hope at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, as to the scheduled time of your arrival at Tampa. He will have to make arrangements to get you over to Lakeland. As soon as you have checked on your schedule, please wire Mr. Hope.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA:maf

Encl.

June 7, 1956

Dr. Preston Valien
Department of Sociology
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Valien:

Enclosed are answers to your questions about Jasper County, South Carolina, as prepared by Mr. James McCain, Associate Director of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. I hope that you will find them helpful.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

CC: Mr. John Hope
Mr. G. S. Mitchell

FBR
John Hope

as of
8-22-56
mf

CONSULTANTS

in

CONSULTANTS SERVICE PROGRAM
(John Hope II)

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark
Asst Prof. of Psychology
City College of New York
New York, New York

* Dr. A. Lee Coleman
Dept. of Sociology and Rural Sociology
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dr. Robert Johnson
American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dr. William Jones
Dept. of Sociology
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dr. Lewis M. Killian
Dept. of Sociology
Fla. State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dr. Hylan Lewis
Dept. of Sociology
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Preston Valien (Bonita)
Dept. of Sociology
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. Harry J. Walker
Dept. of Sociology
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

* Dr. G. D. Wilson
Dept. of Education
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Kentucky

Mr. Whitney Young, Jr.
Atlanta University School of Social Work
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

* Consultants also for John Hope program.

1808 Morena Street
Nashville, Tennessee
August 28, 1956

Mr. Fred Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED SEP 13 1956

Dear Mr. Routh:

My stay at the Encampment was truly one of the most, if not the most, beneficial and enjoyable experiences of my life. I not only learned through discussion and lectures about some of the many pressing issues and problems of our times, but opened up a number of new avenues for future investigation. I found a great deal of benefit and enjoyment in the educational program just mentioned, but even more, I think my greatest gains came from the group living program.

In this program, young men and women of many races, religion, nationalities, economic backgrounds and from all over the country, joined together in an exchange of thoughts, ideas, problems, experiences, and fun for the enrichment of all.

The group living program alone would not have been as effective had it not been for the educational program serving as a unifying element. With both programs working together, the intended goal of the E. F. C. was very effectively reached.

I believe that my gains were more than any other member of the 1956 E. F. C. due to my having been elected to serve as chairman of the Student Government. This honor gave me the privilege of working with all of the campers either in one of the different committees or on one of the Encamper programs. In this capacity, I found myself sitting down with virtully all of the members individually and hearing them express their satisfaction, and their gripes about the program and how it might be improved. Thus through this experience, I was able to know rather intimately one hundred and six personalities and profit by daily association with this rather select group of young people.

I wish to express my deepest thanks to you personally and to the Southern Regional Council for making it possible through scholarship aid for me to have this experience. I am also endebted to Mrs. Todd and the Tennessee Council on Human Relations for having recommended me as a representative from Tennessee.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope III

John Hope III

c.c.: Mrs. Todd (2)
Dr. Mitchell

September 18, 1956

Dr. Hylan Lewis
Sociology Department
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Lewis:

At the request of Mr. John Hope we are enclosing a Consultant's Briefing Statement on the State of Alabama for use at the Workshop to be held in Tuskegee on September 25-26, 1956.

The meeting is scheduled to begin on Tuesday morning, September 25, and close at 1:00 p.m. on Wednesday, September 26th.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant

GSA:fo
Encl.

Same letter sent to:

Dr. Lewis Killian
Sociology Department
Fla. State University
Tallahassee, Fla.

November 13, 1956

Mr. John Hope, II
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

I am passing on to you the information that Dr. Mitchell mentioned in his letter of November 8, 1956.

The expenditures for the Consultant Program were as follows:

Expenditures for Period January 1, 1956 to September 30, 1956:

Salary, Assistant Director	$ 4,270.00
Consultants - salaries & travel	3,439.18
Hard core conference - travel & expenses	460.71
Travel, Assistant Director	1,883.24
Total	$ 10,053.13

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant

GSA:fc

Atlanta, Georgia
January 15, 1957

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

An examination has been made of the books and records of the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC., Atlanta, Georgia, for the year ended December 31, 1956.

The following Exhibits and Schedules, together with comments are submitted herewith:

EXHIBIT A - Balance Sheet, December 31, 1956
EXHIBIT B - Statement of Income and Expenses - Central Office for the year ended December 31, 1956
? — EXHIBIT C - Statement of Income and Expenses - State Organizations & CSP for the year ended December 31, 1956
SCHEDULE 1- Reconciliation - First National Bank, December 31, 1956
SCHEDULE 2- Reconciliation - Citizens Trust Company, December 31, 1956
SCHEDULE 3- Accounts Receivable - Pamphlets, December 31, 1956
SCHEDULE 4- Accounts Payable, December 31, 1956
SCHEDULE 5- Contributions - Year ended December 31, 1956
SCHEDULE 6- Receipts and Disbursements - Fact-Finding Program - Year ended December 31, 1956
SCHEDULE 7- Receipts and Disbursements - Special Projects - Year ended December 31, 1956

COMMENTS

Cash in Bank - Central Office - $1,141.00
Cash in Bank - State Organizations - $34,956.44

All recorded receipts were traced to bank deposits and disbursements were compared with cancelled checks. Balances at December 31, 1956, were confirmed by correspondence with the depositories.

Savings Accounts - $79,398.50 - State organization and Fact Finding Project funds -

This consists of the following:

U. S. Treasury 91 Day Bills:

Due 1/10/57	$50,000.00 par
Due 1/24/57	30,000.00 par

The above were on deposit with the Citizens Trust Company and were confirmed by them.

Accounts Receivable - $102.55

This account represents open sales of pamphlets, as shown in Schedule 3.

Inventory - Pamphlets - $750.00

The cost of pamphlets and other printed materials on hand for sale comprises this account.

Due from Fact-Finding Program - $3,500.00

Due from Consultant Service Program - $2,455.32

This amounts represent administrative and overhead expenses of the Central Office due from the above-named project.

This amount represents overhead ($200.00) and

Accounts Payable - $3,339.40

Schedule 4 shows the detail and distribution of amounts owed at December 31, 1956, for current services and supplies.

Accrued Payroll Taxes - $1,679.17

This amount is made up of social security and withheld income taxes for December, 1956 for both the Central Office and State Organizations.

Due to Special Projects - $1,374.34

The amounts shown on the Balance Sheet belong to the projects specified. As no further activity was expected in the Commission on Equal Penalties Fund, it was transferred to the Central Office Account.

Advance Appropriations - $69,348.83

This represents advances from the various sources indicated on the Balance Sheet, to be used during the year 1957.

Operations

Exhibit B shows an excess of Expenses over Income for Central Office operations for the year of $4,239.15, and Exhibit C reflects an excess of Income over Expenses for the same period for State Organizations of $21,048.14. This gives a combined excess of Income over Expenses for the year of $16,808.99.

In our opinion, the attached Balance Sheet and Statements of Income and Expenses present fairly the financial condition at December 31, 1956, and the results of operation for the period then ended.

We wish to thank Mrs. Alexander for her valuable assistance during the course of the examination.

Respectfully,

L E Campbell

L. E. Campbell, C.P.A.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Balance Sheet
December 31, 1956

ASSETS

Cash in Bank - Central Office (Schedule 1)		$ 1,141.00	
Cash in Bank - State Organizations (Schedule 2)		34,956.44	
State Organizations' Savings		79,398.50	
Accounts Receivable - Pamphlets (Schedule 3)		102.55	
Inventory of Pamphlets		750.00	
*Due from Fact-Finding Program		3,500.00	
*Due from Consultant Service Program - New World Foundation		2,455.32	
Total Assets			$122,303.81

LIABILITIES

Accounts Payable (Schedule 4)		$ 3,339.40	
Accrued Payroll Taxes		1,679.17	
Georgia Sales Tax		3.81	
Due to Special Projects:			
Fellowship of the Concerned	$ 1,199.84		
Commission on Race and Housing	174.50	1,374.34	
Advance Appropriations:			
Fund for the Republic	45,000.00		
Fact-Finding Program	16,810.50		
Consultant Service Program - New World Foundation	7,538.33	69,348.83	
Total Liabilities			75,745.55
Surplus, December 31, 1956			46,558.26
Total Liabilities and Surplus			$122,303.81

*Project expenses incurred for the year ended December 31, 1956

EXHIBIT A

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Statement of Income and Expenses - Central Office
January 1, 1956 to December 31, 1956

INCOME

Fund for the Republic Grant		$ 27,500.00	
Fund for the Republic - Fact-Finding Program		30,189.50	
Transfer from Consultant Service Program - o'head -		1,500.00	
Transfer from Fact-Finding Program - o'head -		1,500.00	
Transfer from Commission on Equal Penalties		341.07	
Transfer from State Organizations Unspent Balances 1955-56		24,000.00	
Associate Members Dues		367.50	
New South Subscriptions		6,070.07	
Sale of Literature		1,293.54	
Honoraria		1,669.45	
Contributions: (Schedule 5)			
Individuals	$ 3,116.00		
Organizations	4,733.00		
Churches	4,020.00		
Foundations	19,500.00	31,369.00	
Total Income			$125,800.13

EXPENSES

Salaries	$ 63,705.51	
Social Security Taxes	1,059.07	
Annual Meeting and Executive Committee Meetings	5,365.79	
Books and Subscriptions	1,013.13	
Office Supplies	1,438.39	
Postage	1,067.75	
Printing	3,204.04	
New South Printing and Postage	6,578.24	
Rent	1,680.00	
Office Equipment	724.65	
Legal and Accounting Fees	430.00	
Georgia Sales Tax	21.91	
Corporation Tax	1.00	
Consultant Fees	605.53	
Special Services	68.00	
Travel	7,759.58	
Telephone and Telegraph	2,985.00	
Tuskegee Meeting	57.61	
Miscellaneous	84.58	
Fact-Finding Program (Schedule 6)	30,189.50	
Transfer to Fellowship of the Concerned	2,000.00	130,039.28
Excess of Expense over Income		$ 4,239.15

EXHIBIT B

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Statement of Income and Expenses - State Organizations ECSP
January 1, 1956 to December 31, 1956

INCOME

Fund for the Republic Grant		$150,000.00	
Interest Income		1,832.00	
~~New World Foundation~~ CSP		~~16,896.82~~ 17,000	
Total Income			$168,728.82

EXPENSES

Salaries		$110,469.74	
Consultant Fees		6,818.80	
Local Expenses		4,274.16	
Social Security Taxes		1,985.83	
Travel		89.47	
Miscellaneous		53.25	
New World Foundation:			
John Hope II - Consultant Fee and Travel	$ 7,852.31		
Consultant Service Program - Fees and Travel	5,088.99		
Administrative and overhead	1,500.00	14,441.30	
Irene Osborne		1,346.19	
Unallocated:			
Fellowship of the Concerned	1,500.00		
Social Security Taxes - 1954-55	638.18	2,138.18	
Liability Insurance		108.24	
Due to Central Office:			
Fact-Finding Program	3,500.00		
Consultant Service Program	2,455.32	5,955.32	
Total Expenses			$147,680.48
Excess of Income over Expenses			$ 21,048.34

EXHIBIT C

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Bank Reconciliation - First National Bank
Central Office
December 31, 1956

Balance per bank		$ 4,000.47
Less checks outstanding:		
Number	Amount	
665	$ 4.00	
671	397.33	
672	283.52	
673	261.70	
674	196.58	
675	187.75	
676	155.25	
677	217.43	
678	143.16	
680	145.20	
681	104.80	
682	94.95	
683	37.91	
684	24.50	
685	5.39	
686	600.00	2,859.47
Balance per books, December 31, 1956		$ 1,141.00

SCHEDULE 1

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Bank Reconciliation - Citizens Trust Company
State Organizations
December 31, 1956

Balance per bank				$ 39,624.93
Less checks outstanding:				
Number	Amount	Number	Amount	
3068	$ 177.26	3562	$ 109.80	
3512	204.16	3563	187.26	
3539	102.09	3564	88.19	
3544	875.00	3565	186.43	
3545	77.50	3566	224.10	
3548	28.97	3567	83.19	
3555	186.43	3568	181.43	
3556	186.43	3569	186.43	
3557	201.43	3570	187.26	
3558	196.43	3571	102.09	
3559	181.43	3572	186.43	
3560	186.43	3573	63.80	
3561	102.09	3574	176.43	4,668.49
Balance per books, December 31, 1956				$ 34,956.44

SCHEDULE 2

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Schedule of Accounts Receivable - Pamphlets
December 31, 1956

Roscoe Giffin	$ 2.00
Louisiana Council on Human Relations	3.30
Harold Preece	2.00
Texas Commission on Race Relations	16.50
University of Florida	14.50
Courtney Siceloff	1.20
North Carolina Council on Human Relations	9.90
Virginia Council on Human Relations	8.25
Arkansas Council on Human Relations	7.40
Harry Golden	2.00
Florida Council on Human Relations	6.60
William M. Jenkins	2.80
Hodding Carter	4.95
Women's Division of Christian Service	16.25
University of Tennessee Book Store	4.90
Total	$102.55

SCHEDULE 3

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Schedule of Accounts Payable
December 31, 1956

The Western Union Telegraph Company	$ 6.33
Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company	271.91
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith	41.72
Higgins-McArthur Company	139.05
Office Supply Company	3.04
The Mimeograph Company	26.40
Ivan Allen Company	26.01
Globe Stationery Company	78.00
Hammer & Company	2,000.00
Eastern Air Lines, Inc.	595.56
Elliott Addressing Machine Company	14.25
Avis Rent-A-Car System	34.01
Annual Meeting and Executive Committee Meetings	83.12
Atlanta University	20.00
Total	$ 3,339.40

Distribution:

Telephone and Telegraph	$ 278.24
Miscellaneous Literature	41.72
Office Supplies	133.45
Fact-Finding Program	2,139.05
Travel	629.57
New South Printing	14.25
Annual Meeting and Exec. Com.	83.12
Miscellaneous	20.00
Total	$3,339.40

SCHEDULE 4

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Schedule of Contributions - Central Office
January 1, 1956 to December 31, 1956

CONTRIBUTIONS:

Individuals		$ 3,116.00
Organizations:		
United Steelworkers of America	$ 1,000.00	
United Automobile Workers of America, International Union	1,000.00	
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations	2,000.00	
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of America	500.00	
Community Workshop Association	200.00	
Consolidated Charities of LeMoyne College	33.00	4,733.00
Churches:		
The National Council of Protestant Episoopal Church	$ 1,000.00	
The Board of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church	1,000.00	
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church	1,200.00	
Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church	250.00	
The General Board of Education of the Methodist Church	300.00	
The Board of Church Extension of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.	250.00	
Fisk Union Church	20.00	4,020.00
Foundations:		
The Doris Duke Foundation	$ 7,000.00	
The ~~Marshall~~ Field Foundation	5,000.00	
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation	5,000.00	
The John Hay Whitney Foundation	2,000.00	
The Sigmund Silberman Foundation	400.00	
Edgar Stern Family Fund	100.00	19,500.00
Total Contributions		$ 31,369.00

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements
FACT-FINDING PROGRAM
January 1, 1956 to December 31, 1956

Reimbursement for Youth Club for salary advance

RECEIPTS

Fund for the Republic Grant	$ 50,000.00
Fund for the Republic - Washington, D. C.	2,000.00
Total Receipts	$ 52,000.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	$ 8,922.41	
Consultant Fees	14,305.67	
Travel	6,822.37	
Printing	139.05	
Administrative and overhead	5,000.00	
Total Disbursements		35,189.50
Balance, December 31, 1956		$ 16,810.50

SCHEDULE 6

SPECIAL PROJECTS

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

Receipts		
Balance January 1, 1956	$ 807.24	
John Hay Whitney Foundation	2,000.00	
Refunds	20.90	
Transfer from Unspent State Organizations' Funds	1,500.00	
Total Receipts		$ 4,328.14
Disbursements		
Workshops and Meetings	$ 3,118.30	
Miscellaneous	10.00	
Total Disbursements		3,128.30
Balance, December 31, 1956		$ 1,199.84

COMMISSION ON EQUAL PENALTIES

Receipts	
Balance, January 1, 1956	$ 341.07
Transferred to Central Office	341.07
Balance, December 31, 1956	$ 000.00

SCHEDULE 7

D R A F T

MEMORANDUM

January 22, 1957

TO : Mrs. Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

FROM: Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

SUBJ: Reimbursement of general funds

1. Attached hereto is an accounting of the expenditure of monies for consultative purposes which have been paid out of general funds.

2. General funds should be reimbursed for the total of $2,455.32, in accordance with the decision reached by senior professional staff members on January 21, 1957.

3. Please take care of the transfer of funds.

FBR:mm

Approved by:

HCF

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director

JH

John Hope II, Assistant Director

Funds Spent on Consultant Service Program

From General Funds

January 22, 1957

Dr. C. H. Parrish (figures include travel and fees):

1. American Teachers Association - National meeting		
Little Rock, Arkansas, September 26-27	$151.80	
2. Daytona Beach-area Council		
Daytona Beach, Florida, December	$109.01	
3. Salisbury, N. C., Workshop		
Salisbury, N. C., December 13th	82.73	
	$343.54	
		$343.54

John Hope II (figures include travel and fees):

1. Annual meeting, Williamsburg, Va., November	$98.96	
		98.96

Frederick B. Routh

1. Fisk Conference, Nashville, Tennessee, July 11	$ 44.27	
→ 2. N.A.I.R.O. Conference, Philadelphia, November 29-30	268.55	
→ 3. 1/5 time spent directly on Consultant Program	1,500.00	
	$1,812.82	
		1,812.82

Balance due on overhead charges of 10%	$200.00	
($1500 transferred previously)		200.00
		$2,455.32

January 31, 1957

Mr. J. H. Hope
1808 Morena Street
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear John:

Here is the report of expenditures of funds for the Consultant Service Program under the grant from the New World Foundation.

Copies have been sent to Vernon Eagle and Katherine Taylor. This one is for your files.

Note the slight change in Consultant travel costs - due to some U-Drive-It bills which just came in for you and C.H. on Consultant activities.

My best, in haste,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . FRED B. ROUTH . . . .

HCF

I have asked John Hope to come down Mon & Tues - 21-22 Jan. prior to our meeting with fund grantees -

He called

Same ltr to:

Harry Walker
Lewis Killian
Hylan Lewis
Mrs. Preston Valien
Whitney Young
~~[illegible]~~
Lee Coleman
Kenneth Clark
William Jones
Herman Long
~~[illegible]~~

January 25, 1957

Dr. Robert Johnson
Research Director
National Conference of Christians
and Jews
43 West Fifty-Seventh Street
New York, New York

Dear ~~Dr. Johnson~~ Bob:

We need your cooperation in furnishing us with a short biographical sketch of yourself. We will need information as follows: home address, birth, education, work experience, other related experience, published articles, etc.

We would appreciate your prompt attention to this request. This information is to be included in a request for additional funds to carry on the consultant program.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II
Assistant Director
for Program

cc: HCF
FBR

January 31, 1957

AIR MAIL

Dr. Lewis Killian
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Dr. Killian:

John Hope has asked me to write you in regard to the North Carolina Workshop. The Workshop is scheduled for Saturday, February 9, 1957, at Alumni Hall, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The meeting will begin at 10:00 a.m., and last until 4:00 p.m.

However, John is expecting you to arrive in Durham in time for a 6:00 p.m. orientation meeting on Friday, February 8th, with the Executive Committee of the North Carolina Council. This will be a dinner meeting. We will notify you later as to the place of the meeting and lodging accommodations.

We are enclosing a check of $90.00 to cover air transportation from Tallahassee to Raleigh-Durham and return.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA/eab
cc: John Hope, II
Encl.

cc: HCF
FBR

Same letter and a check in the amount of $90.00 to Dr. Lewis Killian
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

January 31, 1957

AIR MAIL

Mrs. Bonita Valien
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Valien:

John Hope has asked me to write you in regard to the North Carolina Workshop. The Workshop is scheduled for Saturday, February 9, 1957, at Alumni Hall, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The meeting will begin at 10:00 a.m., and last until 4:00 p.m.

However, John is expecting you to arrive in Durham in time for a 6:00 p.m. orientation meeting on Friday, February 8th, with the Executive Committee of the North Carolina Council. This will be a dinner meeting. We will notify you later as to the place of the meeting and lodging accommodations.

We are enclosing a check of $75.00 to cover transportation from Nashville to Raleigh-Durham and return.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA/eab
cc: John Hope, II
Encl.

Consultant Pro.

cc: FBR
JH

February 1, 1957

Mr. James H. Tipton
Associate Professor
Willimantic State Teachers College
Willimantic, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Tipton:

Thanks for your letter. A copy of Integration North and South has been sent.

We strongly share your view that Southern school leaders ought to have consultative services available to them, and, within our limitations, we are undertaking to provide some assistance of this kind. The parallel with the work of the BIE has occurred to us; Fred Routh here is a great admirer of what he saw of it, and I know of it by reputation.

I am passing your letter along to Fred and to John Hope, who has the main responsibility for our consultant effort. You will probably be hearing from one or both of them.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

RECEIVED MAR 11 1957

March 8, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Our Administrative Committee is very anxious to have the services of John Hope's Consultant Program in order that we may initiate our program.

As of today, we have raised $225 in contributions since March 1; therefore, we have $1275 remaining to be raised. Today I sent out individually typed letters to each member of the Administrative Committee giving them a report of the progress of the fund raising. I hope to send out a weekly report for the next seven weeks.

I would deeply appreciate it if you would contact John Hope in order to find out when we may have the services of the Consultant Program.

With good luck and best wishes, I remain

Cordially,

Milton C. Vigo
Executive Director

MCV:bt

cc Mr. Harold Fleming

COPY

Consltnts

March 29, 1957

Dr. Lee Coleman
Department of Sociology
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Lee:

John Hope has asked me to send you this travel advance for your scheduled trip to Jacksonville April 5th and 6th. The meeting starts with supper at St. Paul's Episcopal Church, 5536 Atlantic Boulevard. Our contact man down there is Mr. Ball, 206 Baptist Building, phone: Elgin 5-9594. The meeting ends Saturday afternoon about 4:00. John Hope, C.H., Whitney Young, and I will also participate.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

cc: Mr. John Hope

Enclosure: Check No. 3755

Consultants

March 29, 1957

Dr. Hylan Lewis
Unitarian Service Committee
9 Park Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Hi, Hy:

John Hope has asked that I write you and remind you of the Consultant Meeting to be held in New Orleans, April 9th and 10th. The contact person there is Milton Vigo, 303 Board of Trade Annex Building, phone: Main 4295. If you will advise Vigo of your time of arrival and flight number, he will arrange to have someone meet you. Also, enclosed is a $100.00 travel advance.

Hy, one of the things I think you do so well is the discussion of the variety of roles which people may play. I believe it would be helpful if you helped the people in Louisiana understand "safe" roles, expendable roles, continuing roles, etc.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

cc: Mr. John Hope

Enclosure: Check No. 3758

Consultants

March 29, 1957

Mrs. Bonita Valien
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Bonita:

It will be good to be with you again in the near future. John Hope called me and asked me to forward a travel advance to you. He said you were scheduled for the workshop in New Orleans with the Louisiana Council on Human Relations, where Hy Lewis will be the other consultant, and for the conference at LeMoyne College in Memphis, where Whitney Young will be the other consultant. John, C.H., and I should also be present. The dates of the respective conferences are: New Orleans, the evening of the 9th through the 10th, and Memphis, the evening of the 12th through the 13th. Both conferences start with dinner and end in the late afternoon of the next day. I would suggest that you fly from Nashville to New Orleans, from New Orleans to Memphis, and then on home. I recognize that there is an extra day in there, but a gal needs a rest once in a while, and what better place for it than New Orleans? If this is not satisfactory, of course, as they say at the Fund for the Republic, feel free to change it.

Best regards to you and Preston.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

P.S. The contact person in New Orleans is Milton Vigo, 303 Board of Trade Annex Building, phone: Main 4295; in Memphis, Miss Martelle Trigg at LeMoyne College, phone: Whitehall 8-6626 or Whitehall 8-5789. Please write these contact people and let them know your time of arrival and flight number and they will meet you.

Enclosure: Check No. 3754
cc: Mr. John Hope

Cons Hats

March 29, 1957

Dr. Whitney Young
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Whitney:

John Hope called and asked that I send you a travel advance for the two consultant trips for which you are scheduled - Jacksonville, April 5th and 6th, and Memphis, April 12th and 13th. In both cases, the conference starts at supper and concludes at about 4:00 o'clock the next day. In Jacksonville, our contact person is Mr. Ball, 206 Baptist Building, phone: Elgin 5-9594. Our meeting will take place at St. Pauls Episcopal Church, 5536 Atlantic Blvd. In Memphis our contact person is Miss Martelle Trigg at LeMoyne College, phone: Whitehall 8-6626 or Whitehall 8-5789. Please write these contact people and let them know of your time of arrival and your flight number and they will arrange to have you met.

John Hope, C.H., and I are flying to Jacksonville on E.A.L. #279, leaving Atlanta 2:25 on Friday, April 5. Wish you could make it with us.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Enclosure: Check No. 3756

cc: Mr. John Hope

Consultants

file

April 4, 1957

Dr. A. W. Dent
President, Dillard University
New Orleans 22, Louisiana

Dear Al:

It certainly was good of you to make available accommodations at Dillard for our Consultant group. You can't imagine how much it means, or perhaps you can, to have friendly surroundings at a time like this. Enclosed is a letter to Vigo with the specific dates of our attendance.

Harold, I, and the rest of the staff are very sorry you won't be able to come to the Executive Committee meeting in mid-April. We really count on your balanced judgment and keen insight at these meetings.

Best personal regards.

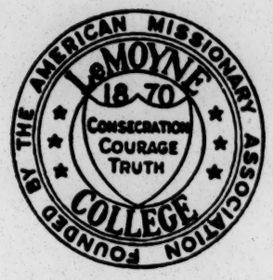
Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Enclosure

Consultant Prog.



MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 25, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
Assistant Director Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

Please accept the thanks of all of us at LeMoyne for your invaluable contribution to our recent conference.

It is my feeling that we did not make full use of your talent, particularly in the afternoon session. We will rectify this come another year.

We hope that you will have occasion to come our way again soon.

Sincerely yours,

Hollis F. Price

Hollis F. Price

Cons. Dev. Program

June 20, 1957

Mrs. Preston Valien
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Bonita:

We (Fred and I) were very much concerned about the negligence of T.C.H.R. in failing to make the necessary requisition for your remuneration at the time when it was due. After some consultation with Harold a strong suggestion was made to the Tennessee Council on Human Relations that immediate action be taken to straighten the matter out. No copy of this communication was sent to you because we felt that you should not be involved - or perhaps would not want to be involved - in the necessary policy decisions. You may be assured, however, that we are protecting your interests.

I will be free-lancing about the South this summer assessing possibilities for action in strategic urban areas. Hope to be in Nashville for a day at least during the first week of the Institute. Expect to see you then. Regards to Preston.

Sincerely,

C. H. Parrish
Program Associate

CHP:mm

cc: Harold C. Fleming
Frederick B. Routh

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14.441.30
2.455.32

23.715.42 T

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5.251.72
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Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . FRED B. ROUTH . . . .

21 Jan 57

Consultant Service Program

Dec. '55

J. H. II 5,158.53 (incl $1,000 to Reuse Relation Dept)
Program 3,243.12
8,401.65

1. June '56

J. H. II 1,994.71
Adm-o'head 1,500.00
Program 656.75
✓4,151.46

1 Oct-'56

J. H II 1,875.79
1,328.10
✓3,203.89

15 Jan '57

A.	✓3,203.89	B. 17,000.00	C. 8,401.65
	✓4,151.46	7,355.35	7,355.35
	7,355.35	9,644.65	15,757.00

August 26, 1957

Mr. John McConnell
P. O. Box 605
Spruce Pine, North Carolina

Dear Mr. McConnell:

Marion A. Wright, President of the Southern Regional Council, has told us of your interest in the possibilities of obtaining the services of professional consultants for a meeting with key people in your community. SRC has a Consultant Service Program which has worked with leadership groups in large and small communities across the South. We suggest that such be off-the-record and this is scrupulously honored by SRC.

Should your group be interested in obtaining consultant aid, we would welcome a request from them. In making such a request it would be helpful to give us the following information: (1) how large the group would be; (2) the status-positions in the community which they represent; (3) the type of consultant aid they desire (i.e. what do they wish to discuss); (4) whether the group is bi-racial; and (5) whether it is agreeable that the meeting be off-the-record.

The Southern Regional Council will bear the costs of professional fees and travel for the consultants if your group requests aid and if after study we believe the request is of strategic importance.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf
cc: Mr. Marion A. Wright
Mr. John Hope, II

Consultant files

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

March 10, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

My calendar is marked for the March 29th date with the SRC Consultants in Nashville.

I trust that either you or John will give me details as to where we are to meet.

Since it was I who spotted Lewis Killian on the airplane, I can hardly think that this was a Machiavellian plot cooked up by the head office of the SRC.

Best regards,

Vernon

FBR
Con. Ser. Program

March 11, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Harold C. Fleming

From: Frederick B. Routh

Re: Telephone call from John Hope II, March 7, 1958.

On Friday afternoon at 5.15 pm. John Hope called to outline developments with the Consultant Service Program. We covered the following points:

1. The meeting in Kentucky regarding merit employment went well. C.H. Parrish, Charles Steele (Louisville Urban League), Rufus Attwood, and others were present -- about ten in all. They are planning a major conference on merit employment to be held at the student union of the University of Kentucky on May 10th. The Consultant Service Program will participate in the conference.

2. The proposed meeting of selected Consultants with Vernon Eagle is now set up for March 29th in Nashville. In addition to John Hope the Consultants who have been invited and who have accepted invitations to attend are Lee Coleman, Bonita Valien, and Harry Walker. I have written Vernon Eagle to this effect.

3. The spring conference at LeMoyne College has again requested Consultant Service assistance from SRC. John Hope and I agreed that no more than two people in the Consultant Service Programme would participate; either he and one Consultant or two Consultants. We felt there was some possibility that I might attend as an SRC staff member.

4. Alice Spearman's letter asking for Consultant help in South Carolina has some unique aspects. She raised the question of what can be done to avert social and economic reprisals. John Hope and I felt that this is an important question we shall have to face in the deep South in the period which lies ahead. He is therefore writing Alice to ask her for clarification of her proposals.

5. The Nashville Conference on Community Relations is gearing up for another workshop. There was some question about SRC-CSP participation in it. John Hope and I agreed that there is enough local talent in the Nashville area that our participation, though desirable, was not necessary, and that due to the stringent financial situation we would bow out gracefully.

July 16, 1958

Mr. John Alexander
210 Hamilton Hall
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

Dear John:

Thank you for your excellent report on your consultant work in northern Virginia (now called "upper Virginia" by many). John Hope tells me that he has already called you, and we are in agreement that the job you did was skillful, well-done, and completely within the framework of our consultant program. As a tax exempt organization we must keep away from political matters and you did a wise job of that.

I am enclosing a check for $43.52. We arrived at that figure in this manner:

We advanced you $75.00. Your actual expenses were $48.52. This left a balance of $26.48 over-pay. You worked two days at $35.00 per day fee, a total of $70.00. Subtracting $26.48 over-pay from the $70.00 due you leaves a balance of $43.52 due you. For your information, we pay eight cents per mile for the use of your personal car.

As John told you on the phone, we think it wise for you to concentrate on Arlington, for Bonita Valien to concentrate in Charlottesville, and Harry Walker to concentrate in Norfolk-Newport News. We will of course all come together from time to time and keep each other abreast of developments in our respective communities.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
c. c. John Hope

Consultant Serv. Region
Arkansas

July 31, 1958

John Hope, II, and Fred Routh
Consultant Service
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John and Fred:

I am enclosing a copy of notes made on a conference with Mr. William Ewald, Chief of Development of AIDC. He spent two hours in our office. I am convinced he sees the answers and will welcome help in moving Commission members along.

I have made some comments on your copy and have pencilled the parts which bear directly on decision as to having a professional for the luncheon. Mr. Ewald let drop in an off-hand way that WR plugged for us as a reputable group without taint. This is important in making plans. We will attempt to have luncheon when WR himself is present.

While October seems quite a delay, it may be a very good month to get something started. In the meantime we plan to move on concrete action suggested on page 3.

Let us have your thinking about use of a consultant for the luncheon. We feel it is a very strategic opportunity and that if effectively met may well mean more use of consultants, perhaps even on the same day.

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:ssd
Enc.

COPY

Fred Raith

NOTES ON CONFERENCE WITH MR. EWALD
July 25, 1958

Mr. Walker and I had a two hour visit in regard to a later meeting of the Director or a consultant with the entire Commission at lunch. The object of this meeting would be to describe and discuss what we have in mind about use of the Negro "potential" for reaching goals of AIDC. (Effective use of human resources may be a better way of saying?)

Frame of mind of the Commission toward our proposal as stated by Mr. Ewald.

They are "tolerant", open-minded, will talk with anyone. They think they have answered all these questions satisfactorily for themselves. But, "Let them come on". The chairman was strong for the discussion.

Way Commission members think they have answered satisfactorily questions on industrial employment of Negroes.

1. All Negroes, of course, will be employed. Simply get enough plants. After the white labor supply is exhausted, naturally, the Negroes will be used.

2. Negroes are being employed now on merit.

3. If open employment of Negroes was publicized and pushed, there would be serious difficulties.

(a) Negro applicants would swamp plants;

(b) White applicants would resent and resist.

4. Local ID committees think in terms of getting plants which use Negro workers exclusively.

At luncheon facts unknown or disregarded by members of AIDC need to be underscored to show the "pat" answers (above) inadequate or, in other words, to make the basic questions real and inescapable.

Some of these facts would support these points.

1. Number of Negro graduates of high school in Arkansas indicate that Negro applicants for jobs in modern plants would not "swamp" the personnel offices.

2. Employment of Negro worker cannot wait until all whites are employed: by that time the real colored employables (graduates) would have migrated leaving a disproportion of unemployables, the real liability to raising level of per capita income. The process must be "all-at-once".

3. As a corollary to the above real promise of job opportunities is needed to encourage Negro youth to remain in school and subsequently remain in the state. This is an effective way to make the most of human resources. (Perhaps these increased years in school would decrease the number of colored job applicants in the next few years.)

4. The policy of delay in employment of colored workers until the supply of whites is exhausted threatens the chief objective of the local IDC: increase per capita income of all local citizens to strengthen the whole economic and cultural life of the community. The fact is that adjacent towns send white applicants for the jobs. This limits effect on economy of local community.

5. Local plants in Arkansas are not at present employing colored workers on basis of merit.

6. Rigid segregation of plants at this time builds up headaches for the future -- for labor unions, for management, for local ID committee (especially as to quality of industry.) The tradition in the South actually supports colored and white working together, notably in farming, in lumbering, and in unskilled jobs. Solid worker segregation would be something new.

<u>One concrete action now advisable:</u>

Stimulate a local community to put a colored leader on its IDC and, possibly one on its Community Improvement Committee. (Helena-West Helena through "Doc" Baker offers a good opportunity). This cannot be pushed by AIDC, but it would help in a good many ways:

1. Convince industrialists that race relations are good;

2. Provide means for cooperation in improving appearance of colored sections of town;

3. Provide continuous means of communication.

A "pilot" town might very well show the way to other towns.

<u>Detailed understanding on proposed luncheon consultation with AIDC.</u>

1. Time is important. Current work on encyclopedia will revise original goal of AIDC (Double per capita income by 1975) and will demonstrate immensity of the task now set (equalling per capita income of adjacent states by 1975). This material should hit AIDC before consultation. Looks like an October meeting.

2. Quite all right to have an expert consultant for meeting. Ewald does not believe members will agree "in advance" to follow-up conferences with individuals of staff and commission. Probably only use of consultant would be during the lunch session. (We keep in mind that the Chairman is selling ACHR and the possibilities of consultation with experts.) (Question at the moment is whether to bring expert for the luncheon meeting. From above it appears the need of the members of the Commission is for the kind of jarring a professional can give rather than the teasing from an amateur, even at this first encounter. In fact subsequent encounters may depend on this first meeting.)

AGENDA

CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM MEETING

August 7-8, 1958

PLACE: Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.

TIME: Thursday, August 7, 9:30 A. M.

9:30 A. M. - 12:00 Noon:	Meeting of Consultants, SRC staff, and Virginia Council Director Purpose: Reports of Consultants with tentative suggestions for action - Norfolk, Arlington, Charlottesville
12:00 noon-1:00 P. M.	Meeting of consultants, including Virginia Director Purpose: to draft statement of Consultant Service Program recommendations in Virginia
12:00 noon-1:00 P. M.	Meeting of SRC Staff Purpose: Review and appraisal of all key cities, including Dallas, Nashville, Little Rock, etc. What can CSP do before Labor Day? What other action can be taken, when and by whom?
1:00 P. M.-2:00 P. M.	Lunch
2:00-3:30	Continuation of earlier meetings
3:30-5:00	Meeting of Consultants, SRC Staff and the Virginia Council Director Purpose: Discussion of consultants joint report, planning next steps, consultant assignments, etc.

Friday

9:30-	Final Session, preparation of recommendations for circulation to Virginia communities, etc.

January 12, 1959

Mrs. Bonita Valien
227 Hamilton Street
Albany 10, New York

Dear Bonita:

It was good to talk with you on Saturday and we are pleased to know that you can make the trip down to Virginia for the consultant service program. By this time John Hope has no doubt been in touch with you saying we believe it would be best to meet after January 19 because that is the date when the Virginia Supreme Court will hand down its decision. Mid-term comes early in February and we would like your report by the 26th of January -

Speaking of reports, no sighs of one from you in the morning mail. HELP!

Warm regards to you and Preston.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure - 1 (check for $100.00)

January 15, 1959

Mrs. Bonita Valien
227 Hamilton Street
Albany 10, New York

Dear Bonita:

Many thanks for the evaluative report on the Virginia consultant effort. It arrived in good shape and in time for our purposes. Thanks for calling to check on this.

Please submit a voucher through John Hope for the consultant fee involved in this task.

Best regards to you and Preston.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

Dear John and Fred:

I spent most of the night going through all the various and sundry boxes. I found a typed rough draft from which I was certain, but must never did, make a final draft. I do well remember typing upstairs in the heat because the air conditioner had been detached, but if you say it never reached you, then it never did. I am sorry about this, but here it is and I hope it will be useful.

Since you never received this, and John says he knows I didn't, because I wasn't paid, I will now accept payment! (smiles) I'm going through the usual after Christmas bill sorting, so that's why any payment sounds good! Well enough of that!

With reference to my time, while I am involved in one or two writing assignments and do have some commitments with my husband, the dates are not set. I am relatively free to manage my schedule as I see fit provided I know well enough in advance. Since I am not gainfully employed (and I do say gainfully advisedly -- I'm working for my husband) (smiles) I would not have the problem of getting away from work that I would were I on a nine-to-five job. The only thing I would need is sufficient time in advance to arrange my business here at home. I don't know if this helps very much, but it is the best I can do.

It was good talking to each of you on yesterday. I am glad to see that Atlanta (or Georgia) is slowly, but surely, beginning to join the Union.

I want to get this in the mail to you. Preston joins me in every good wish to you both.

Sincerely,

Bruta

January 21, 1959

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. John W. Alexander
460 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear John:

Due to a misunderstanding on my part this travel advance is late in coming, but nevertheless here it is air mail special delivery. I hope it reaches you in time for the Virginia trip.

With apologies and best wishes,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure - 1 (check)

January 21, 1959

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mrs. Bonita Valien
227 Hamilton Street
Albany 10, New York

Dear Bonita:

John Hope tells us that you need another $50 on your travel advance for the Virginia trip. We recently sent you a $100 travel advance so the enclosed check makes a total of $150 in advance.

Sorry about the delay in getting this off to you.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure - 1 (check)

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO
ALBUQUERQUE

January 27, 1959

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

I have received your letter of January 23 and appreciate very much your considering me to help with the survey which you have proposed. I must say immediately, however, that it will be impossible for me to take on this task at this time. My second semester schedule is indeed crowded, and in view of teaching and outside meetings, I could not possibly spare a week or ten days for this purpose.

Even if I were available, I might make the observation that the information you have proposed to be secured would be quite, quite difficult to get in any sort of objective or accurate way. For example, point no. 2 suggests the relation of socio-economic status to each of the categories explained in no. 1. This could be obtained, but would take a great deal of time and searching. Also, I might point out that item no. 3, "How does the curriculum of the private 'evasive' schools compare with the closed high schools?" constitutes a rather extensive investigation and even at its best would certainly be subjective.

I do commend you and the Southern Regional Council members for attempting to get further information relating to the Little Rock situation which might be helpful to the entire South, but I see it as a gigantic job.

My family and I are quite happy here in New Mexico and even though we miss our friends in Georgia and South Carolina, are indeed thankful to be living in this part of the country. Will you please convey my best wishes to Mr. Dabbs, Mr. Wright and others connected with the Council.

Cordially,

Chester C. Travelstead

Chester C. Travelstead
Dean, College of Education

CCT:lp

future speaking engagements

March 24, 1959

Miss Martelle D. Trigg, Chairman
Race Relations Conference Committee
Committee on Community Relations
LeMoyne College
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Miss Trigg:

Many thanks for your letter of March 19, which arrived here yesterday, the 23. I am happy to see that you got John Spence for the section on Press; Louise Young, for the section on Educational Institutions; and Will Campbell, for the section on Cultural Activities.

Dr. C. H. Parrish will serve as consultant-discussant to the section on Leaders. I have informed him of the format of the workshop and given him the extra copy you sent me. We both hope to arrive on April 3, in time for the 6:00 p.m. dinner meeting.

Dr. Parrish will be in touch with you about his accommodations. I would be happy to stay with Dr. Price, or at the residence near-by.

I look forward to being with you then.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

March 19, 1959

COMMITTEE ON
COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

Thank you for agreeing to participate on our conference program and assisting us in setting up the Fourth Annual Race Relations Conference at LeMoyne College.

The Conference will be held April 4th and the theme is "Improving the Climate of Opinion through Communication." The discussion sections and the consultants are:

1. Press -- John Spence, Memphis Press Scimitar

2. Educational Institutions, Miss Louise Young, Tennessee Council of Human Relations

3. Cultural Activities, Rev. Will D. Campbell, National Council of Churches

4. Leaders, Mr. John Hope or Dr. C.H. Parrish

We hope you and the consultants will plan to arrive by 6 P.M. April 3rd. We have arranged a dinner meeting for that hour so you can meet and talk with the other consultants and discussion group leaders.

Attached is the schedule planned for the day and information for the consultant. I will send copies to Rev. Campbell, Miss Young and Mr. Spence.

We look forward to seeing you April 3rd and 4th.

Sincerely yours,

Martelle D. Trigg

Martelle D. Trigg
Chairman, Race Relations
Conference Committee

MDT:pw

Please let me know who is serving as consultant to Leaders.

Mr. Raetz

INFORMATION TO CONSULTANTS

1. Meals will be served in the College Cafeteria

April 3 - Dinner - 6 p.m.

April 4 - Breakfast - 8 a.m.
Lunch - with Conference group
Dinner - 5 p.m.

2. Lodging at home of President Price. Someone may stay at a nearby home.

3. Transportation to and from airport:

Let us know in advance hour of arrival and flight number.

In case of delay and you are not met on schedule, call President Price Whitehall 8-6626 or, if no answer, call Wh 8-5789.

S C H E D U L E

9 a.m. Registration - Foyer, Brownlee Hall
Coffee - Faculty Lounge

10 a.m. GENERAL ASSEMBLY - Lecture Hall

Prayer
Purpose, Introductions, etc.
Address - Mr. Fred Routh, Southern Regional Council

11 a.m. DISCUSSION GROUP MEETINGS
I Press
II Educational Institutions
III Cultural Activities
IV Leaders

1 p.m. LUNCH - College Cafeteria

2:15 p.m. GENERAL ASSEMBLY - Lecture Hall

Panel - composed of Consultants
Meditation

Consultant Program

January 23, 1959

Dr. Chester C. Travelstead
School of Education
University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Dear Dr. Travelstead:

I have not seen you since those hectic days in South Carolina, but your courageous and able defense of academic freedom has often been a topic for discussion. This letter raises the question: would you like to take another swipe at the segregation dragon?

Here at SRC we have been talking about the possibilities of an analysis of the educational costs to a community which closes one or all of its public schools.

We envision a bi-racial team of two educators of considerable professional stature. Your name and that of Dr. Horace Mann Bond, Dean of the Graduate School of Education at Atlanta University, immediately came to mind. Since Dr. Bond is in this city I approached him to see if he would be interested. He is, and mention of your name brought a gleam to his eye.

For a variety of reasons Little Rock offers an almost ideal situation for such a survey. The number of schools closed is four and the number of high school students displaced is not prohibitively large to sample. Then, too, a survey on the Little Rock situation would attract attention.

A partial list of questions which it would seem important to answer would include:

1. Approximately how many students were displaced? a) Of these,

what estimated percentage are in other public schools in the greater Little Rock area? b) How many are in public schools elsewhere? c) How many are in temporary, tutorial, or private "evasive" schools? d) How many are not in school at all?

2. What is the relation of socio-economic class status to each of the above categories?

3. How does the curriculum of the private "evasive" schools compare with the closed high schools?

4. What does the closing of the public schools and attendance at substitute schools mean to those students planning to go to college?

5. What are the possibilities of reputable accreditation associations accrediting substitute schools?

6. How does the per-pupil cost of substitute schooling compare with the per-pupil cost of public schools?

We would hope to gather much of the pertinent statistical data in advance of actual field visits.

As we see it, the team would spend 3-5 days in Little Rock and another 3-4 days writing up their findings. We would offer a flat fee of $400 for the consultant services of each team member, plus expenses. We would hope the survey could be completed and ready for press by the first of May.

The big question is: are you interested, and can you fit this into your busy schedule? Please let me hear from you at your early convenience.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

Consultant Service Program

MEMORANDUM March 30, 1959

TO: Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Harry Walker
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Peter Mellette
National Conference of Christians and Jews
Richmond, Virginia

FROM: Paul Rilling Paul

The enclosed outline will give you a more complete picture of the program workshop in which you have agreed to participate on April 11 in Richmond.

We will follow the procedure of general discussion, with considerable interchange of experience and views among the limited group that will be present. I will lead the discussions on Items A and C; Peter Mellette will lead the discussion on Item D; Harry Walker, Item E; and Fred Routh, Item F.

It is expected that all of you will be available throughout the sessions, to participate and lend the benefit of your thinking and experience. You will be particularly responsible for the session which you chair but your major role, even during this session, will be to lead discussion and draw ideas out from the group.

Let me know if these arrangements are not clear or if you would prefer to have your responsibilities shifted in any way.

Encl
PR/jdg

-tor

May 19, 1959

Dr. G. James Fleming
Morgan State College
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Jim:

Enclosed is our check for $65.10 covering your voucher submitted to us by John Hope, II. This includes $12.60 travel expenses and $52.50 consultant's fee for your participation in the Charlottesville conference on Job Opportunities May 8th and 9th, 1959.

We have had impressive reports of your part in that conference. Good work.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf
Enclosure - 1

Net to Hef

RANDOLPH-MACON WOMAN'S COLLEGE
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

March 2, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Just as I was about to board the plane to fly to Nashville, the flight was canceled. Both Knoxville and Nashville were reported snowed in. I telephoned John Hope and found that it would make my arrival too late to be of value if I took the train. It was a deep disappointment not to be able to participate in the Nashville talks, for I had looked forward to them eagerly. My trip expense consisted of cab fees to and from the airport, a total of $5.00. So I am returning $145.00 of the $150.00 advance on travel that you sent.

check returned to Ruth

The SRC special report on The Student Protest Movement is excellent, and I am happy to have it. Here in Lynchburg students at Virginia Theological Seminary and College, a Negro school, have been on the verge of joining the movement against segregated lunch counters. If the snow, which is falling heavily outside my window, does not interfere with transportation on Saturday, the students might protest.

The materials on the SRC that you sent to me at NYU last summer were very helpful in my correspondence with Landon Lane (of Lane cedar chests). We carried on an almost overly polite correspondence for several months, and I managed to have the last word.

Dan Bowers is giving fine leadership to the VCHR, and we seem to be moving along very well. He is devoted to the job. Of course, we miss Paul Rilling but are happy for the SRC that he is where he is.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Ken

Kenneth Morland
Chairman

March 4, 1960

Dr. Kenneth Morland
Department of Sociology and
Anthropology
Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ken:

Many thanks for your letter and the refund of travel expenses.

We regret very much that the weather kept you from Nashville. (We can appreciate the problem, however, since we were ice-bound here for several days.) As it turned out, John Hope had to serve as all-purpose consultant. Our reports are that the meeting went very well and that, as a direct result, the Mayor of Nashville appointed a bi-racial committee to seek a solution.

We are grateful for your willingness to take on that emergency consultant assignment, and I hope we can call on you again in the future.

Paul Rilling joins me in best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P.S. -- You're the last person to need any more documentation on Southern-style McCarthyism, but I thought you might like to have the enclosed reprint of the Progressive article by the Stokelys.

June 3, 1960

Via Air Mail

Dr. J. Kenneth Morland
Randolph Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Morland:

Enclosed is a travel advance requested by John Hope, and appropriate Consultant Service forms.

If our research department is able to turn up any helpful material, that will be sent to you shortly.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

Pa/sm

Enclosures

CWD, VMF - file

Metro Consultants

specialists in the governmental & financial challenges of growth

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.
Telephone: OXford 7-6824

Henry M. Bain, Jr. | Alan K. Campbell | Corinne Silverman | Robert C. Wood

August 5, 1960

Dear Dr. Fleming:

You are certainly very much aware of the need for sound and imaginative research in the field of local and state government. These governmental units are themselves increasingly aware of their needs in the research and planning area. Commercial and industrial concerns seeking new locations or trying to understand better the political and economic forces in their present locations are also trying to find the kind of information which only competent research can provide.

In view of the need and the demand, a group of us, drawn primarily from the academic community and all of whom has had consulting and practical experience, has come together in a firm offering a variety of consultant services. A small leaflet describing the members of this firm and the services we offer is enclosed.

Undoubtedly you are often asked to provide a kind of assistance that you do not have the time, the personnel, or, perhaps, the interest to provide. Or you may accept projects that can be carried out only with outside help. It is in these kinds of situations that we feel we might be of assistance to you, and we would welcome the opportunity to work with you whenever you feel such aid might be useful to you.

Or, we would greatly appreciate your bringing our firm to the attention of any groups or individuals seeking the kind of skills we possess, whenever this seems appropriate.

Any comments or suggestions you believe might be useful to us would be gratefully received.

Sincerely yours,

Henry M. Bain Jr.
Alan K. Campbell
Corinne Silverman
Robert C. Wood

Certain of the members of the firm are not available for research or consultation on projects related to the governmental unit with which they are associated.

METRO CONSULTANTS

a new approach to new problems

COMMUNITIES and business organizations across the nation are faced with what seem to be insuperable problems — problems caused by rapid growth and change.

THESE PROBLEMS are not insuperable.

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Associate Professor of Politics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Author: *Suburbia, Metropolis Against Itself*. Former staff member, Bureau of the Budget; Associate Director, Florida Legislative Reference Bureau.

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file

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

The Consultant's Conference
Atlanta, Georgia

INTRODUCTION

The Southern Regional Council called together its panel of consultants and a distinguished group of social scientists to evaluate the record of the Consultant Service Program and to suggest next steps.

Participants were divided into four groups; consultants and "guests" almost equally divided among all four.

The following reports have been condensed but they contain the most important points discussed in each group. In language and style, they retain the flavor of the full reports.

GROUP I

Group I was given the task of trying to come up with answers to the following questions: (1) what is the most effective role of the Consultant Program within the frame of reference of SRC's operation? (2) what are workable definition, scope, and assumptions for such a program? It was agreed that the most serious obstacle to the transition from a segregated to a non-segregated society is the activity of state and local government agencies designed to prevent or delay this transition. Of course, there are obvious hazards in attempting to deal with this obstacle within the framework of SRC's operation. However, it would seem possible for a group of skilled, sophisticated and knowledgeable consultants to present information to community groups that would be relevant to this problem without jeopardizing SRC's tax exempt status. For example, the percentage of Negroes who are registered in the various states and the various communities; the percentage of Negroes who, after registering, do not vote; and techniques used to keep Negroes from registering and voting. But even such a modest approach as this may well arouse higher resentment and invite attack from those who now control the political structure in much of the South.

It was the feeling throughout the discussion of this point that we cannot expect any strategy to guarantee the agency or individual involved in it, immunity from attack unless the strategy be ineffective and inaccurate.

These considerations raised many questions; among the most important of which was the need for clarifying the procedures for operational contact with community groups. It is not enough that we have contacted community groups, we are now at the point where we have to find out how to have meaningful contact with community groups.

To answer such questions as these, SRC might think of developing a pilot project in a selected community in which it would work out such technical problems as the way in which you translate a program on paper into an actual community activity. The success of such a pilot operation would be self-advertising. Other communities would hear about it and request similar types of services. This further suggests a re-examination of the policy of making consultant services available to communities only on their invitation. Perhaps in the near future, there will be need for a more aggressive promotion of the consultant services to communities - letting communities know that it is available and subtly suggesting that under certain circumstances it can be used.

An additional thought here is that the consultant service could be used in some kind of quiet liaison with specific groups that thus far have not been identified with racial problems as such, but have been identified in the public's mind with problems of extending democracy. For example, such groups as the League of Women Voters, organized labor, and groups of professional educators of various disciplines such as Sociology and Psychology.

The second obstacle which was recognized as important was the increasing blockage in communications. It was felt that this was not accidental, but that the rigidity and the lack of communication among various groups in the community on the issue of desegregation might be an effective manipulative technique on the part of those who desire to evade the process of desegregation as long as possible.

The suggested role of consultants which emerged from the discussion of this point was that consultants should explain to the groups with whom they work the techniques which have been found effective in facilitating communication even under conditions of deliberate blockage; the consultants could pinpoint the priorities among the various groups in which communication should be established and the most effective ways of initiating

it. Second, it was felt that the consultants could play a role in analysing and explaining to the groups with whom they work the basis, the genesis, and the function of blocked communication. This is based on the assumption that such understanding will make for more effective amelioration.

A third suggestion was that the consultant program itself, its machinery and its procedures, could be used as a basis for increasing communication. In this regard it was thought that a new look should be taken at the present procedure of using consultants to meet with a "closed" group of individuals where the nature of their activities is pretty much limited to that group. It was suggested that some modification of this be considered whereby the presence of the consultants in a community, under certain circumstances, might be publicized in an appropriate and effective way. By reaching directly a large number of individuals in the community, much of the spadework could be facilitated and the desired change in community attitudes might be brought about more quickly.

Another way in which it was thought the consultants might be useful in attacking this particular problem is in providing specialized services to indigenous community leaders - specialized public relations services, or public education services particularly in the area of public announcements, speeches, helping them when requested, to determine what should be said, when, how, and how strongly. It was felt that many of these groups are badly in need of the kind of specialized public relations help and strategy which we might be able to provide them under certain conditions. In this regard it was also suggested that the consultant program of SRC should probably look to the possibility of inviting specialists from the mass media in public relations to a conference or to some kind of relationship with SRC. This could be a source from which to draw this kind of highly specialized professional knowledge of communication with community groups.

The rationale of all these specific suggestions, was that of trying to develop some approach, some technique, for wresting the propaganda initiative from the opposition, as far as possible. It was felt that this could not be done by a passive, defensive approach; it seems essential to think more imaginatively about an appropriate, aggressive, effective information program.

It was felt that another current obstacle is the increased use of violence and manipulated tensions. It

was not clear that a consultant could play a direct role in meeting this problem. As far as increased violence, manipulated tensions, and planted rumors were concerned, the best that might be expected from consultants would be the use of their skill as social scientists and analysts, in spotting, analysing, and suggesting the techniques for vitiating rumor planting and manipulation of tensions in a community. By identifying the source, purpose, and function of these they would help the individuals in the community who share our goals not to be just helpless victims.

Group I came up with two or three general principles which it was felt were relevant to the effectivness of the use of consultants in any specific area. The first was the belief that the time may have come for SRC to think of increasing the range of skills among its consultants. It was felt that the present panel of consultants, being as highly weighted as it is with social scientists, may have reflected more the realities of two years ago, than the realities of today.

There should be thought given to including on the panel of consultants, or in some relationship to SRC, individuals with specialized skills in information, education, labor relations, or work with church groups and so forth. It would be an error - as flattering as it might be to our own egos - to have the staff continue to believe that the present realities can be met by the skills and training of the present group.

The second general principle which is relevant to the effectiveness of consultants is the use of a team -- and the team should be a Negro-white team. It is not certain that valid empirical effort can be given for this, but it was the general feeling of Group I that the process contributes something and that in consultation with Negro groups, with white groups, or with integrated groups, a Negro and white expert dealing with a technical problem is of itself significant and will facilitate or add to the effectiveness of the job to be done.

Finally, we feel that it is imperative upon us to say that our discussions made perfectly clear to us the implicit answer to one of our basic questions, namely: It was the unanimous opinion of the group that there was a place and an important place for an organization that fitted the criteria of an indigenous, Southern, "white" (in a sense) organization - an organization that made no pretense of a militant attack on special legal problems but had as its major concern an attempt to talk reasonably to power controllers, to make contact with the essential decency in human beings. When that point

was made explicit, every one of our group agreed that it was possible for an effective consultation service to operate within this framework, and that it would be a major contribution to the many types of things which now seem necessary to help a troubled part - to help our whole nation meet a very complex and difficult problem.

We would like to warn, however, that we felt that the most effective consultation service, the most knowledgeable and sophisticated group of consultants, cannot be considered substitutes for an effective staff program.

GROUP II

What standards should be applied in selecting problem areas for consultant services? What are the local variables that should determine focus in a given community? First, any group which request an SRC consultant team should be given a clear understanding of the Southern Regional Council's policies and aims before final agreement is reached. They should also be given a clear understanding that, except in unusual circumstances, all teams will be interracial. This would insure that there would be no temptation or excuse for getting off into a separate-but-equal frame of reference.

To what extent should the consultants define what it is that the groups will discuss? It is a stock phrase that you should work with groups "where they are." We do not agree wholeheartedly with this principle. We feel that it is incumbent upon the consultants to give some guidance in deciding where the group should be and what they should be talking about. We don't propose that the consultants should be undemocratic about this. Local groups should be given an opportunity to express their interest, their feelings about themselves, about where they are, and what problems they want to talk about. They may come up with a realistic definition which is in accord with SRC policies and the group can go on from there. If they do not, then it is incumbent upon the consultants to give guidance, bring up things that may not have been thought of, and try to restructure the discussion.

Selecting Problem Areas

1. Problem areas which should be selected first are those which derive from the policies and practices

of agencies and institutions in the community which result in significant disability or disadvantage for certain groups in the community.

2. Problems for which the entire community accepts responsibility, which are attributed to no one group either in causation or in susceptibility of solution.

3. Problems which require joint action of both races for solution.

Discussion of 1, 2, and 3.

This rules out using consultants in programs aimed at changing a few or many individual "white" attitudes or, on the other hand, Negro self-help or self-improvement programs; programs in which a white group or an interracial group which says in effect, the real problem is for the Negroes to cut down the illegitimacy rate or cut down the crime rate or even to get out and vote more. Only if the latter is approached as a citizenship problem and not as a Negro problem, one in which both races cooperate in trying to get out the vote, should we be concerned with it.

This points up the implications of the third point, the problems which require joint action of both races. Through interracial activity, no matter what problem the people in the community may attack, they work on two things. If they're working on the problem of housing, even though they're trying to get improvements in housing for Negroes, they find the most effective way of doing this is to increase the communication between whites and Negroes who are involved in this problem.

4. Problems should be selected which relate importantly to the basic issues of segregation and discrimination. This doesn't mean that in every community the only thing that we will talk about is a frontal attack on segregation, but any issue that is taken up should relate importantly to this central issue.

5. We should consider those issues which have undergone or are in the process of undergoing policy changes resulting from legislation, court action, or action of private groups such as labor unions and churches. This is a question of effectiveness. It is not that we felt that there were not other areas in which discrimination was a problem, but we felt that efforts would be better expended in those areas where policy changes were in process.

Consultants should go where there is a possibility of a court suit, or a possibility of appeal to a new statement of policy by a private agency rather than spending time on problem-solving which would depend only upon good will and voluntary action. This does not mean that this on-going policy change has to be taking place in the particular community involved.

The other part of our assignment was the consideration of the local variables that should determine the focus in a given community. We found this more difficult to deal with. We had to state these as factors which the consultants will consider in sizing up a community in which they are working, trying to decide where they are, what they're ready to talk about, what they're ready to do. It's not a check list which can be used in any rigid sort of way, rather an enumeration of the things at which we might look. They're not arranged in any particularly logical order - just the way we thought of them.

The strength of opposition groups; the strength of pro-integration groups; the adequacy of lines of communication between groups in the community, particularly between racial groups; the posture of public officials; the attitudes of the press; whether there is a court action pending in the community; the unity of the Negro community; the level of tension; the major interests and concerns demonstrated by the local groups.

We realize that these are rather general guides. We feel that each community will be different, each group will be different, but we hope that this sort of thing would be useful as a guide for sizing up in a kind of off-the-cuff sort of way just what the situation is.

GROUP III

THE CONSULTANTS' ROLE

The first part of this report represents some mechanics and some of the nuances of the consultant's role that seem important. First, the consultant is an outsider. To what extent is this an asset, to what extent a liability? First, being an "outsider" gives him a professional status; second, it should represent a kind of detached - but yet, sympathetic interest. An important thing here is that this means that the consultant has flexibility, but coupled with that flexibility is real responsibility. Being invited in, he is assured of receptivity, and presumably he has an audience that

wants to listen. There are some liabilities to the consultant's role as an outsider that we are all aware of, but they should be mentioned. In some situations the very fact of being an outsider, of being who you are, of having the labels that you have, arouses subtle, though sometimes not so subtle resistance. It is well to be aware of this; it is also well to be aware of the factors that are involved in this resistance.

We have made much of the fact that a great deal of the consultant's time and much of his technique involves listening. We examined the pros and cons and the limitations of the so-called listener. First, and on the plus side, the listener is not threatening, his passivity makes him not too prominent. Listening, of course, enables him to pick up cues and to get the feel of a situation. And this evaluation of the situation - the "casing of the joint," so to speak - is extremely important, particularly in the earlier period, because what one does then, that on which one commits himself or does not commit himself, can be crucial.

Listening, of course, provides a basis for later helping to clarify and inform. Listening also provides an important opportunity for the group to air its own views. The group gets an opportunity to clear the air and it is possible to pass on to a more positive attack. However, listening is, by its very nature, limited - it may be defeating unless it is coupled with some positive contributions, particularly when these positive contributions are indicated.

What is the role of facts and what is the role of fact-finding, with respect to the consultant's operations? First, facts about the local situation and about other situations are an important part of the equipment of the consultant in working with local people. It takes the conversation out of the realm of bland generalizations and reduces some of the gobbledegook that we are guilty of sometimes.

Fact-gathering is important and useful, particularly in initial stages of certain operations, and certain types of fact-finding are indicated no matter what the operation. There comes a time in the operation when it is possible to move from this fact-finding stage to a service and action stage. It is important to be sensitive to timing. It is important not to be over-sold on the idea that fact-finding is the only thing that can be done simply because it is the simple, the safe, and the innocuous thing to do.

We should ask the question, in our operations, fact-finding for what, and on what level? In other words, information is selective; communication is a selective process. Fact-finding is sometimes used as a delaying or diverting tactic. In many instances we really have sufficient facts. The important thing is to marshall and select these facts and to use them in terms of some developing action or service.

Sensitivity to the Uniqueness of the Local Situation

This, too, is a technique that indicates the sensitivity of the consultant - the fact that all situations are different. This is a way of getting concrete; in other words, by saying that this is a "particular" situation, you are focusing on specific and concrete things. There is a psychological element involved here too, because it's a rather sneaky way of paying respects to the local group. We all like to think that we are unique. On the negative side a continuing concern for the uniqueness of the local situation has its limits, particularly if one restricts his activities to this level of attack. We also should seek to stress the common denominators in situations - call attention to other situations that we know about - particularly as they have some relevance for the local situation. This balance between uniqueness and the common denominators is one that should be maintained at all times.

The Importance of Spade Work

We discussed too the importance of preparation and spade work before the consultant enters a situation. It is quite clear that the sheer mechanics of getting people together, and the timing of their getting together represent difficult problems and if they are not worked out they can be delaying or defeating. Where time does not permit this spade work to be done it is important that consultants have a great deal of patience and fortitude.

The Consultant Team

It is important to be sensitive to the size and kind of team indicated. It would seem desirable to get persons with complementary skills and also with at least a working relationship that has been tried out in practice, a team

which has been formed because the members have worked together before. Certain persons have this good potential for working together well. The interracial character of the team is one of the most important contributions of these operations. It is an important demonstration. People get new images, and it is an educational force in itself.

Matching Consultants With Task

An attempt should be made to fit the consultant to the problem. For example, persons who have the same sort of professional or public status, or persons of similar titles are especially valuable in specific situations - that is, a superintendent of schools is used to consult with a superintendent or a chief of police is used to consult with a chief of police. It is desirable here, however, that when possible, such specialists, who might be used for "one-shot" operations be accompanied by persons who have complementary skills - reporting or observational skills - in order that SRC might get a full picture of what went on.

Candor, Honesty Important

Candor and honesty, as a part of the demeanor of the consultant, pays real dividends. The question here is at what point is it possible for persons to open up and become candid? Honesty, of course, is always indicated and always present. Important too is evidence that the team itself presents mutual respect and confidence among themselves. It is stressed that the individual characteristics of a team, that is, the fact that each team member is a person with his own background and his own emphases, should be exploited. These different characteristics should be blended and the differences among the team, when they are harnessed effectively, come to be a very important plus.

Mechanics of the Consultant Operation - Question of Time and Place

How long should these consultant sessions be? This, of course, obviously depends upon the particular task, and many other features. However, technique should be trimmed to the specific purposes and also to the time available. It is important to be sensitive as to how to open and to know when to close a consultant session.

The importance of the informal sessions should also be stressed, and in arranging situations, one should not

rig them in such a way that it is not possible for people to get together on an informal basis. There is some merit in sometimes taking the group outside of the local community. This, of course, has to be handled very carefully, and with awareness of the liabilities. As a general rule, we felt that it is always best to meet with the local people in their own local setting where their problems are.

Reporting

With respect to the desirable form and content of the report which the consultants should submit to SRC, there are four major things that should be included or considered. One, a brief and succinct statement of the basic facts: who, what, when, and where. Two, a running commentary on what happened and on impressions in the nature of modified field notes. Three, some diagnosis of unsolved problems, and if possible, some attempt at prognosis. Four, specific recommendations as to next steps as a follow-through, and also as to how possibly there might be some feed-back to the consultants themselves and between the community (or at least the local group) and SRC and the consultants. In this running commentary one should use names liberally. The confidential nature of the report should be stressed and should be understood in order to protect all parties; the consultant, the agency, and the people of the local community. The reports where teams are involved should be individual reports.

Again, mechanics are: Two copies of the report should go to the central office. SRC should specify the responsibility of the consultant for such reports and remuneration should be adjusted in terms of the additional time involved. The report should be the property of SRC; any use by consultants should be cleared through SRC's central office.

GROUP IV

CRITERIA FOR SELECTING OPPORTUNITIES

Group: - Who Issues the Invitation?

The questions faced were, how to know which invitations to accept, which ones to really try for? It was decided that the most important criteria was the group that invites the consultants. Is there a real potential for change in the group? If something happens after consultants leave, does it have the leadership ability

to do something about it? Is there a genuine interest and concern in this group? Is there energy that would carry it after the consultants leave? Do the members of the group have some kind of leverage in the community, either as decision-makers or being able to reach decision-makers, being able to influence public opinion, or by having a grass-roots type of connection?

Community: - Strategic Importance

Another consideration is the strategic character of an area or community. If it is a community that would be a good demonstration place or has influence on other areas then it should have a higher priority.

We arrived at a principle that we call working at the "vanguard edge." We arrived at this by asking ourselves, are we more interested in certain areas than in others? The principle arrived at was this: consultants should always be working at the vanguard edge in the locale where they are. So if, in Kentucky for instance, there were a situation that could affect teacher integration, which is strategic and symbolic, then we should by all means take it. At the other extreme if a situation in Mississippi offered nothing more than getting a group started, which would be an action group and truly interracial, we ought to meet that.

We would underscore the notion which has been said before in SRC circles, that our top priority really is the school question. We should keep this top priority in mind without necessarily shutting off help to a group that might want to do something else.

We were mindful of factors of timing, that there are certain cases where a particular moment becomes strategic in a given community, and we should have a role at that moment.

We raised some questions about publicity. The guiding principle should be that we want to protect this as a consultant service. We don't want to become a speaker's bureau, or have consultants do what local people ought to be doing. Sometimes it might well be that if it was worked out and understood, publicity would be quite all right.

Thus, the idea of servicing a genuine need of a group which will have some leadership potential continued to be our basic thread. We felt it was more basic than any geographic factor. For instance, the question was

raised, if we get many requests from Florida and none from Alabama do we keep on servicing Florida? Our answer was yes, as long as there is a genuinely new situation, a genuinely helpful role. We should not try to balance our program out in any arbitrary geographic factor.

Another thing we discussed was the question of ability of services. We felt that administrative decisions could be made by SRC about cost, about whether or not some groups could pay part or all of the cost. We thought of some situations where we might be asked to do something which would be a little bigger then our usual role. For instance, a school board asking for a week's workshop for teachers. If it is important, we ought to use imagination to get other groups to help or to get a different kind of people than we've had before. If it is important, we should go out of our way to try to meet the need.

We threw in the following suggestions: (1) making more formal and definite communication with Board members, in the states as well as those on the SRC Board, about the availability of this service; (2) use the SRC Newsletter to build this by reporting what has been done and making continuing announcements; (3) the possibility of having Southern School News carry something on this; (4) a flyer which would, in an attractive form, announce this - and we didn't mean it to be a broadside, but to go to some of these selected groups; (5) get an organizational list, basically through the CCD, of other organizations that might use SRC's consultant services. It was suggested that having a flyer available would give an opportunity for the state staff people to visit their school superintendents, explain and offer service.

The only other suggestion we had we throw in gratis, and that it may well be appropriate for consultants to be encouraged to suggest what they themselves think they might do. Modesty holds consultants back from saying, "I think I could really do a job in "X" or "Y" community," and perhaps they could be encouraged to suggest how they can be used.

Clearcopy Onion Skin

REQUESTS FOR SOUTHERN SCHOOLS NEWS FROM
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

1. Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

2. Mrs. M. E. Tilly
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

3. Mr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Alabama:--

4. Mr. Robert Hughes
Room 206
Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery

North Carolina:--

5. Mr. Harry S. Jones
Yorkmount Road
Route 3
Charlotte

Officers and Board:--

1. Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

2. Mr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

3. Mr. Gordon Hancock
P. O. Box 6056
Richmond, Virginia

Clearcopy

copy sent to
John Hope II
C. H. Patrick

Consultant file

The Southern Regional Council, recognizing the need of local communities facing desegregation for professional advice, established the Consultant Service Program in January, 1956. A panel of consultants was chosen from social scientists and other specialists with community relations experience. Their services were made available to communities preparing for desegregation.

The usual proceedure has five steps:

1. A request to SRC's Consultant Service Program from a local, reputable group in a community.

2. Pre-planning by local leadership and SRC's Chief Consultant.

3. A quick field-survey by a consultant or a team of consultants of the local situation.

4. A workship-type session, attended by local leadership, presided over by SRC's Chief Consultant, and with a team of consultants serving as resource persons.

5. A follow-up report to local leadership.

Thus far the Consultant Service Program has been used by State Councils on Human Relations, local Councils on Human Relations, School Boards, a meeting of school superintendents, several Interagency Conferences, a meeting of Mass Media experts, several College Conferences, Conference of Church Women, and Organized Labor conferences.

Much of the work of the Consultant Service Program must be off-the-record for public bodies have to be careful not to arouse the segregation-extremists to public attack. The Consultants' calm, professional approach of advice - not advocacy - has won the respect of those with whom they have worked.

Re: Hard Core Conf.

Irene should be there weekend of March 17th is out.

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* Question of segregated meetings — in Hard Core areas where "locals" object to integrated meetings.

CONSULTANTS FOR SRC STATE ORGANIZATIONS

COMPETENCIES:

A. Required:
1. Ability to quickly establish rapport with people.
2. Technical ability and skills in field of consultation.
3. Intimate knowledge of his area of state.

B. Desirable:
1. Experience in organizational work.
2. Professional training in the broad field of social sciences.
3. High degree of verbal ability.

Personality:

A. Required:
1. Committment to democracy (non-authoritarian).
2. Mature, integrated personality structure.

FUNCTIONS:

A. Communication and Information:
1. To serve as observer-recorder-reporter for state office.
2. To interpret program of SRC to area's "spark-plugs".
3. To keep abreast of developments in South through SRC publications, Southern School News, etc etc.,

B. Process:
1. To ferret out "spark plugs" in area and involve them in state organization. (Future Board members etc.)
2. To consult with state Executive Director and other consultants in planning state programs.
3. To work with state Exec. Director in programs in specific area.
4. To assist state Exec. Director in professional interpretation of program to state Board of Directors.
5. To keep finger on the pulse of the community he serves.
6. To help build a democratic climate of opinion in his area to prevent effectivness of demagoguery.
7. To work for an increasing committment and understanding of democratic process by Negro & white leadership.
8. To make himself and his services known and available to local officials, particularly public school people.
9. To assist local people who desire to inaugurate integrated democratic groups.
10. To assist people in thinking in terms of problem-solving rather than "togetherness for togetherness sake."

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4. To assist state Executive Secretary in professional interpretation of program to state Board of Directors.
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1. To ferret out "spark-plugs" in area and involve them in state organization. (Future Board members, etc.)
2. To consult with state Executive Director and other consultants in planning state programs.
3. To work with state Executive Secretary in programs in specific area.
4. To assist state Executive Secretary in professional interpretation of program to state Board of Directors.
5. To keep finger on the pulse of the community he serves.
6. To help build a democratic climate of opinion in his area to prevent effectiveness of demagoguery.
7. To work for an increasing commitment and understanding of democratic process by Negro and white leadership.
8. To make himself and his services known and available to local officials, particularly public school people.
9. To assist local people who desire to inaugurate integrated democratic groups.
10. To assist people in thinking in terms of problem-solving rather than "togetherness for togetherness sake."

CONSULTANTS FOR SRC STATE ORGANIZATIONS

COMPETENCIES:

A. Required:
1. Ability to quickly establish rapport with people.
2. Technical ability and skills in field of consultation.
3. Intimate knowledge of his area of state.

B. Desirable:
1. Experience in organisational work.
2. Professional training in the broad field of social sciences.
3. High degree of verbal ability.

PERSONALITY:

A. Required:
1. Committment to democracy (non-authoritarian).
2. Mature, integrated personality structure.

FUNCTIONS:

A. Communication and Information:
1. To serve as observer-recorder-reporter for state office.
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COPY.

MEMORANDUM.

TO: Staff.

FROM: GSM.

RE: PROSPECTIVE CONSULTANTS.

John Hope Consultants

Note that in telephone conversation today, John Hope asked that Bill Jones and Kenneth Clark be officially added to the list of possible consultants and I've so added them and have invited them so to serve.

The official list of invited consultants is now inclusively:

Dr. Robert Johnson,
American Friends Service Committee,
20 S. 12th Street,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. Louis Killian,
Department of Sociology,
Florida State University,
Tallahassee, Florida.

Mrs. Preston Valien,
Fisk University,
Nashville, Tennessee. Broadway 7-4168.

Dr. Whitney Young,
Atlanta University,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Mr. Harry J. Walker,
Howard University,
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Lee Coleman,
Department of Sociology,
University of Kentucky,
Lexington, Kentucky.

Dr. Kenneth Clark,
Northside Center,
31 -W. 110th Street,
New York, N. Y. - Enright 9-6464.

Dr. William Jones,
Department of Sociology,
University of Tennessee,
Knoxville, Tennessee. - 14-2981.

Dr. Hylan Lewis,
Atlanta University,
Atlanta, Georgia.

From John Hope

(ROUGH DRAFT TENTATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE TO STATE DIRECTORS AND ASSOCIATE DIRECTORS).

QUESTIONNAIRE.

STATE INFORMATION SCHEDULE FOR USE OF CONSULTANTS
IN CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM.

A. PROGRAM - MAJOR SCOPE, AND TECHNIQUES.

I. What would you term the major underlying aim and goal which governs your day-to-day program planning and development, e.g., changing racial attitudes, eliminating race prejudice, changing practices and pattern of Negro-White relations, etc.?

Please comment. _____

_____

_____

_____

II. Approximately what proportion of your time is now spent in promotion and organizational work? ____%; and in strictly program activities? ____%

III. (a) What are the general program areas of Intergroup Relations in which you are (a) now working? (b) feel that you ought to work in the immediate future (in the next year)? Rank these in DESCENDING order giving "reasons to guess" as to the proportion of program time (not organization, money raising, membership getting, etc.) used in each.

(INSERTION A-CLASSIFICATION AND ENUMERATION OF PROGRAM AREAS).

Rank

Insert 17

Problem Areas For Your Program Activity	OCCUPIED NOW		SUGGESTED FOR NEXT 6 MONTHS	
	Yes or No	Rank 1, 2, etc.	Yes or No	Rank 1, 2, etc.
EDUCATION, e.g., public school desegregation entrance to colleges, universities, vocational and professional schools etc.				
EMPLOYMENT (public and private), e.g., PRIVATE branch plants of national concerns; firms with Government contracts; firms catering significantly to Negro market, etc.; PUBLIC agencies, installations and facilities - federal, state, local.				
PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS (under federal, state, county, or municipal regulation). Transportation (local, inter- and intra-state) Recreation and amusement (parks, playgrounds, pools, etc.) Health and Welfare (hospital and medical services, etc.) Public Housing, Hotels, Eating facilities, etc. Others.				
PERSONAL SAFETY AND PROTECTION of benefits and rights of citizenship. Justice in the courts Equal police protection Protection against mob rule Protection against police brutality Equal chance to vote on all candidates and public issues				
MOBILIZATION OF RESOURCES for Effectively Handling Tension Incidents, Disturbances, etc.				
CLEARING - HOUSE FUNCTION systematic and continuous information gathering, documenting, and reporting of intergroup relations, happenings (positive and negative)				
UNRESTRICTED ACCESS TO THE MARKET (producers and distributors of goods and services, credit, etc.)a As CONSUMERS As BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS As BORROWERS				
POSITIVE INVOLVEMENT of Leadership of Organized Groups; E.G., church, civic, service, political, labor, cultural, etc. Purely local, state, regional groups Local or state affiliates of NATIONAL organizations				

OTHERS: (List them) _____

*Note carefully extent and manner of Government participation and the prospects for effective action based on this.

111 (b) Comment on the reasons for your present program emphasis (e.g., first and second ranking areas of emphasis) and on suggested future emphasis if this differs from the present. _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

IV. Are there any major program areas where you are not working which you feel warrant major emphasis now but where you feel strong obstacles or restrictions which, in your opinion --

(a) the SRC central office can significantly allay or deter, or eliminate through close cooperation or coordination with you? (list them) _____

_____

_____

_____

(b) other organizations, institutions, etc. can help eliminate? If so, list these areas, indicate the major obstacles, and, if possible, suggest means by which they can be weakened or eliminated.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

V. What general types of program (or action) technique has your organization used and which of these, by and large, do you find more and less effective? Please check the types listed below which you are now using, add any in use that are not listed under "other" and arrange them in the ascending order of their importance to you, i.e., most important, 1; 11. etc.

INSERTION B CLASSIFICATION AND ENUMERATION OF MAJOR TYPES AND TECHNIQUES.

Insert B

Program Action Techniques	NOW IN USE Yes or No	RANK
Persuasion and Exhortation, e.g., speeches, interviews, panel, participation, etc.		
Use of Instrument of Mass Media, e.g., radio, TV, newspapers, magazines car posters, etc.		
Education by Personal Contact and Correspondence, including distribution of literature, etc.		
Fact-Finding, e.g., surveys, self-evaluations, etc.		
Working with and in the Negro Community		
Revelation or "Shock Treatment"		
Participation, e.g., working with other organized groups <u>within areas of</u> common program interest		
Negotiation, e.g., conciliation, mediation, adjudication, etc.		
Information about and Assistance in the Lawful Use of Judical (court), Legislative, and Administrative (Executive Orders) Actions available to citizens for the Promotion of Democratic Intergroup Relations		

B. PROGRAM LIMITATIONS -

1. (a) Are there organized opposition groups (e.g. pro-segregationist, white supremacy, pro-state Wrights" etc.) operating in your state? Yes ____ No ____.

(b) If so, list their names and addresses, and as far as you now know the names, official positions, and addresses of the officers and other leaders.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(c) Indicate as far as possible your opinion as to whether each of these organizations is local, county-wide, state-wide, regional, or national in the scope of its operation.

_____

_____

_____

_____

(d) Which of these is now concentrating in their programs or propaganda on issues other than public school desegregation and the desegregation decision?

_____

_____

_____

_____

(e) Indicate as far as is available (from their printed statement; speeches, interviews, etc. of their officials, newspaper account, etc.) statements of their objectives, goals, policies, and plans of operation. (Use quotations and state sources as far as possible and enclose copies of pertinent materials where readily available.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

INSERT C-LIST OF OPPOSITION ORGANIZATION OPERATING IN STATE, SCOPE AND PROGRAM.

Insert C

Names of Anti-Integration Organizations (B, I, N)	SCOPE OF OPERATIONS-check (x)						Program Areas of Concentration-- Other than School Desegregation (List them)	School Desegregation only (check x)
	Local	County-wide	State-wide	Sectional	National	Federated with National		

11. In your judgment, what means (techniques, strategy, etc.) against Negroes and whites, respectively, are each of these groups using to maintain the status quo, and to specifically prevent or delay public school desegregation in your state. (Check the means now in use on the list below; write in any additional ones in use under "other"; and circle the check mark by the means most emphasized by each such organization). INSERT D-TYPE OF RESTRICTIVE MEANS USED BY OPPOSITION GROUPS.

Insert D

Types of Restrictive Means in Use,—Against Negroes (N) Whites (W); and/or both (B)		NAMES OF ORGANIZATIONS		
Violence	N. W. Both			
Intimidation, threat of physical harm to person or group.	N. W. B.			
Economic restrictions, reprisals, (actual or threatened) against the following:				
Employees	N. W. B.			
Employers, business establishments, self-employed professional, etc.	N. W. B.			
Individual Consumers, e.g., refusal or restriction on sale of goods, & services, credit	N. W. B.			
Others: (list nature of these and whether practiced against N. W. or B)				

C. DEGREE OF READINESS FOR PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION.

1. Have any counties, school district, and/or incorporated communities (cities or towns) in your state desegregated their public schools? Yes___, No ___. If so, how many ___. Name them and indicate the approximate total population (or pupil enrollment?) and the percentages of this which are Negro and White, respectively.

_____

_____

_____

_____

11. Provided they are not prevented or deterred from such actions by the state department of education or the legislature, are there any counties, school districts, and/or incorporated municipalities in your state that you believe --

(a) Are willing (ready) to desegregate their schools in the fall of 1956, i.e., their boards, superintendent, etc.? Yes___; No.___; don't know ___. If so, how many ___. Name each, indicate the approximate population (or pupil enrollment) involved and proportions of these who are Negroes and Whites, respectively.

_____

_____

_____

_____

(b) seem to be "on the fence" and have the prospect of being persuaded to desegregate in the fall of 1956? Yes___; No.___; don't know___. If so, about how many? ___. Name each, indicate the approximate population (or pupil enrollment) involved and the proportion of these who are Negro and White, respectively.

_____

_____

_____

_____

1. Do you have any comment or suggestions on how any of these (C.11. (b)) "on the fence" may be persuaded? If so, state them.

_____

_____

_____

_____

2. In your judgment, what influence, if any, would a parent (or NAACP) court suit for entrance into a now all-white (or all-Negro) school have upon the situation in each of these communities?

_____

_____

_____

_____

(c) are actively or adamantly opposed to desegregation in the fall of 1956 and you feel that such a possibility is out of the question? Yes ____; No ____; don't know ____. Approximately how many? ____; if not all, approximately what proportion of the total state population (or public schools pupil enrollment) do you feel is covered by this group? ____%.

111. With regard to the public school desegregation issue, comment on the position (pro or con?) and the role taken by the leadership of organized groups in your state which exerts a strong influence in the power structure and/or upon public opinion of the state, e.g., political; religious; economic; including Management and Labor; civic and community welfare; professional, etc.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

D. RESOURCES - ALLIES (ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS; AGENCIES AND COMMISSIONS ESTABLISHED FOR ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS, REGULATIONS, EXECUTIVE ORDERS, ETC.); INTERNAL (BOARD, STAFF, ETC.)

1. What, if any, organization, agencies or other organized groups
   (a) are now cooperating and
   (b) may, in your opinion, be depended upon to cooperate with you in the immediate future in the following program areas:

D. 1.

(NOTE: LISTED PROGRAM AREAS MAY FOLLOW CLOSELY LIST THEM INSERT A, SECTION A, SECTION 3.)

(b) Education-public school desegregation

Now:

_____

_____

In future:

_____

Employment

Now:

_____

_____

In future:

_____

Others (list them and indicate program areas - see Question A. 111.)

_____

_____

_____

In future:

_____

_____

_____

11. ARE YOU COOPERATING WITH ANY ORGANIZATIONS, AGENCY, AND/OR INSTITUTIONS IN ACHIEVING ELEMENTS OF THEIR PROGRAM WHICH YOU FEEL CONTRIBUTE TO YOURS? IF SO, LIST THEM AND, IF FEASIBLE, INDICATE TO WHAT PHASE OF YOUR PROGRAM THEY SEEM TO BE CONTRIBUTING. (INSERT E-CLASSIFICATION AND ENUMERATION OF ORGANIZED GROUPS AND AGENCIES CHARGED WITH THE ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS, REGULATIONS, AND EXECUTIVE ORDERS THAT MAY REASONABLY BE ASSUMED TO HAVE INTERESTS COMPATIBLE WITH SRC IN THE HUMAN RELATIONS FIELD).

Insert E

Organizations Agencies, and Departments with Goals Compatible with SRC.	STATE SRC AFFILIATE—			
	Now Working With		Planning to Work with in Next 6 Months	
	Yes	No		
Private Organizations:				
National				
State				
Other				
Public Agencies, Departments, etc.				
Federal				
State				
Local				
Other				

111. ARE THERE PERSONS IN YOUR STATE WHO WOULD NOT OR SHOULD NOT BE MEMBERS OF YOUR BOARD, but who are sympathetic with the policies and objectives of SRC, who you feel are cooperating or might be persuaded to cooperate with you in a more or less "behind the scene" unofficial manner in some or all phases of your program? If so, what is your estimate of the approximate number? _____. As far as possible and prudent, please indicate the numbers and names of such persons and the phases of your program in which they are likely to be interested.

Program in general: number? ____.

_____

_____

Education-public school desegregation: number? ____.

_____

_____

Employment: number? ____.

_____

_____

Other phases of program (list them and give numbers and names.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

1V. How many and which of your Board members are giving you active cooperation and support:

(a) In the school desegregation phase of your program, e.g., attending conferences and interviews, making contacts for you, making speeches and other public expressions, etc.? Number? ____; names:

_____

IV. (a)

_____

_____

(b) In other phases of your program? (Indicate the numbers and names of Board members and the phases, respectively, in which they are now assisting you.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

V. Are there any Board members not actively interested in the school desegregation issue who you feel would, if asked, work actively with you or assume the leadership in any of the major program areas other than public school desegregation? If so, how many? ____. Give their names and the program areas in which you feel each would so contribute.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

TRENDS IN PATTERNS OF RACE RELATIONS

IN THE SOUTH SINCE

May 17, 1954

JOHN HOPE II

The Desegregation Decision as a factor in Southern Social Change

In the assignment of subject, I have been allowed the alternative of interpreting the word "recent" as post-World War II or Post-School Segregation Decision. I have chosen the latter because of the limits of time and because in my opinion this decision was pivoted in the trend of race relations in the South and, consequently, the happenings since that time are much more crucial in shaping future developments than those that came before. However, this leaves me a period much to short to trace a trend. Thus, I shall run the risk of appraising and indicating what seem to me to be important implications for the future of some of the major developments of the short but very eventful period. ~~(The urgencies of the times require that we as social scientists grapple with the dynamic yet incomplete facts of the present rather than wait until all of the research data are in when irrevocable decisions affecting the South have been made without the benefit of our knowledge by persons less qualified) than ourselves.~~

The School Desegregation Decision of the United States Supreme Court marked the end of an inconsistent national minority policy--compounded of a conglomeration of elements based on two incompatible forms of human organization and control, democracy and "white supremacy." In reversing Plessy v. Ferguson it, in effect, marked the legal end to compulsory isolation of one group of citizens from another in public facilities purely because of race. While the immediate issue involved in these cases was public schools, it overturned the basic legal precedent upon which the whole system of segregation has developed since 1896. No subsequent decisions seems to imply that the new concept has wide applicability in future litigations regarding Negro-White relations.

In the Maryland Park Case (Dawson v. Mayor and City Council of Baltimore City, et. al; U.S. Court of Appeals, Fourth Circuit, March 14, 1955, 220 F. 2d 386) involving the right to use public maintained beaches and bath houses, the United States Supreme Court ruled on appeal that the principle established in the School Segregation Cases applied also to state and local activity in recreational facilities. It stated in part that "if that power (police power) cannot be invoked to sustain racial segregation in the Schools, where attendance is compulsory and racial friction may be apprehended from the enforced comingling of the races, it cannot be sustained with respect to public beach and bathhouse facilities, the use of which is entirely optional."[1]

Thus, the School Desegregation Decision appears to have doomed the body of law in the Southern states which has maintained the white supremacy system legally and, to a large degree, morally acceptable and respectable. It is likely to change not only the prevailing pattern of intergroup relations of the region but the entire fabric of social organization of the southern economy in all areas of social activity-- economic, political, ethical and social. Social change has necessarily occurred within the mute, if not articulate, potent assumptions of the tenets of the white supremacy system-- compulsory segregation of the races, privileged position for whites in relation to Negroes. Thus, in a sense, the doctrine of white supremacy with its cardinal requisites-- racial separation and inferior status of Negroes relative to the dominant group-- has imposed a constant in the equation of social change in the southern economy. The socalled race problem has been considered separately and frequently peripherally among the important regional social problems when in fact it was, and is, an integral part and variable in most of these.

The culmination of the legal and judicial developments symbolized in this decision and the ferment of open public consideration and debate of the issues

1 Race Relations Law Reporter, February, 1956, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 163.

involved have opened the way for the reorientation of the direction of Negro-white communication from primarily vertical, usually downward and one way, to horizontal in which Negro and white leadership can consider social problems of concern to the region in an atmosphere of equal human dignity. As the channels of interracial communication open increasingly upon these terms, paternalism, mutual suspicion and fear may be replaced by cooperation under conditions of mutual respect which foster full collaboration of the best talents of both groups in the solution of the social problems of the region that slow its social and economic development relative to the rest of the nation. This, indeed, establishes a new and pervasive dimension in the process of social change in the South which may accelerate desirable democratic social changes in the immediate future.

It should be emphasized that in the discussion to this point I am taking a long range view and abstracting completely from the obstructive transitional techniques aimed at preventing or slowing this change. It is not implied that these are not a major present concern nor ~~is it implied~~ that these will disappear without the application of strong countermeasures. This will be discussed later. The consequences of this decision and the forces set in motion by it are probably already influencing the character, scope, direction, and size of social change in the region and these are likely to be more potent as time passes. Governments, however sincere and personally unprejudiced their functionaries, could not prior to May 17, 1954 appropriate funds and render services on the basis of the general welfare criterion nor could they employ personnel to administer its service on the basis of ability, qualifications, and training for the given task— both criteria compatible with democracy and efficient capitalism but not with the tenets of white supremacy.

Insert A

This decision probably has even broader symbolic importance in its indirect influence upon private relations between Negroes and whites— in employment, labor management relations, customer-seller relations, debtor-creditor relations (housing

installment buying, agricultural credit, etc). The stability of the White Supremacy System rests fundamentally upon racial discrimination, not simply segregation. But the unique contribution the School Segregation Case to the democratization of the South is that it has declared that compulsory racial separation per se imposes discrimination which is repugnant to the principle of democracy and has publicized and dramatized the fundamental kinship between segregation and discrimination. The long process of litigation has given rise to much solid research showing the historical fallacy of the separate - but - equal doctrine and thus has paved the way for more rational consideration of the basic issues. In fact, the former is a generalized characteristic of which the latter is only one extreme manifestation. Bodily separation of the races has never been essential to the stability and integrity of the Southern System. Rather, Negro-white association or communication on terms of equal status have been tabooed. For instance, under the Plessy thinking of the southern leadership, it has been assumed by employers and business concerns, public and private, that segregation per se was not discriminatory while interpretations of Federal agencies (Wartime FEPC, wire regulations New York Fair Employment Board), state and municipal anti-discrimination commissions, etc. indicate that compulsory segregation is an act of discrimination. Thus, the new dictum is likely to influence fundamentally the employment practices first of southern firms with Government contracts and gradually those without them; employment practices of federal, state, and municipal departments and agencies in the South; credit and occupancy practices of Federal Housing Agencies, and state and city agencies associated with them; etc.

What Has Happened Since May 17, 1954 ?

Let us consider some of the major developments which have occurred since this important decision was rendered. One of the most revealing consequences has been the realization that there is no longer a "Solid South," that the self-interests of various elements of the South are not identical.

Nineteen states and the District of Columbia constitute the areas primarily affected by the School Desegregation Decision: Alabama, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kansas, Louisiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. No serious legal efforts have been made to circumvent it in the District of Columbia, Delaware, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas, or West Virginia. Desegregation is taking place steadily and rather rapidly in all of these except Texas, and in that state it is proceeding moderately well in the western and central sections of the state. Looking more closely at the twelve-state classification of the South which eliminates some of the border states, they may be traced cautiously on a continuum from desegregating, through waiting, to "hard core" or resisting states. In order of progress toward desegregation, they are Kentucky, Texas, Arkansas, (desegregating); Tennessee, Florida, North Carolina, Virginia (waiting); and Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina, and Mississippi (officially resisting). Although the exact relative positions and classifications of these states might be debatable, and under the volatile social climate now prevailing, they may quickly change positions, this classification seems to have validity. In the first three of these (Arkansas, Kentucky, and Texas) public school desegregation has begun. In three others the State Supreme Courts have declared the statutes which provide for segregation of the races in the public schools to be unconstitutional. These are Florida, Tennessee, and Texas. In Tennessee, Anderson County was ordered by a Federal Court

to integrate its public schools by the fall of 1956; the Governor of Tennessee has refused to call a special session of the Legislature, at the request of pro-segregationist groups; and has strongly reiterated his statement that law and order would prevail in the State. The Nashville Board of Education has declared to the Federal District Court that it would desegregate its schools in compliance with the School Desegregation Decision and at recent public hearing was adjudged by the Court to be "proceeding with deliberate speed" in developing its plan. It has thus been given additional time to complete its plans for integration.

The states in which most strenuous efforts have been made to devise legal methods of evading the decision, and in which such efforts appear to have the strong backing of executive and legislative officials and community support include Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. In recent months North Carolina and Virginia have moved into this area, and there are now fears that the progress of Texas may be slowed.[1]

In describing the diversity of reaction to the school desegregation decisions, Mr. James M. Nabrit, Jr. makes the following statement in the current issue of The Annals:

> .... Those reactions ranged all the way from open defiance of the Court and a call for its impeachment to complete acceptance and implementation of the opinion. Proposals extended from those calling for abolition of public schools and evasive tactics on the one hand to those embracing immediate integration and progressive or gradual integration on the other, and within the entire range responsible executive and legislative leaders submitted numerous propositions. Many became a part of state constitutions by amendment; others became law by legislative enactment; others became operative through executive and administrative regulations; others passed only one branch of the legislature; others languish in committees; while still others served merely as material for political speeches.[2]

---

1. See Appendix I for a summary of the extent of public school desegregation in the South, 1955 to March 1956.

2. Nabrit, James M., "Local Inventions and the Desegregation Process," The Annals, March 1956, p. 35

In support of this decision, the major religious Faiths of the nation, through their organizational institutions, have advocated compliance with the law of the land as interpreted by the Supreme Court. Every major Protestant denomination in the South has made public pronouncements commending the decision. The Southern Baptist Convention, in June, 1954 said in part: "We recognize the fact that this Supreme Court decision is in harmony with the Constitutional guarantee of equal freedom to all citizens and with the Christian principles of justice and love for all men." The North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church had the following to say: "We believe our people should face the practical phases of this decision with the courage, poise and maturity of law-abiding citizens." The Presbyterian Church, U.S. (Southern) proclaimed, "That the General Assembly affirmed that enforced segregation of races is discrimination which is out of harmony with Christian theology and ethics..." In Louisiana, the Arch-Bishop of the Catholic Church has taken a strong position against segregation and against those officials who resist the integration of Parochial schools. The Parochial schools will be desegregated in the fall of 1956. In the midst of the welter of threats of interposition and nullification by State officials and politicians in the "hard core" states, the newly elected Governor of Mississippi, Mr. Coleman, has denounced as foolhardy any attempts at nullification.

Organized Labor, both CIO and AFL, was on the side of the desegregation forces before the recent merger, and its position has been strengthened by the merger. However, there is little evidence today that organized labor has definitely committed its forces in an active effort to facilitate desegregation in the South. On the contrary, there are rumblings from dissident southern locals which may force organized labor into a more active role in the coming months. Major organizing drives are planned in the South in the near future and it is likely that these activities will focus the desegregation issue more sharply within the ranks of southern workers.

Undoubtedly, one of the most important factors in the ultimate resolution of the South's race problem is the vigorous entrance of national mass media of communication into the school desegregation controversy. Truly the South's "skeleton" is "out of the closet," exposed to public view on a national and even a world scale. Despite the many protests that come from southern leadership, particularly pro-segregationists, a much more informed and sophisticated public opinion both inside and out of the South is bound to emerge. As this development takes place, we may expect calm to replace hysteria and reason to supersede emotion as the people of the South move toward the elimination of this last major geographical area of social lag in the movement toward full democracy in the United States. National magazines have had a series of articles on the Supreme Court decisions, on the Negro in American life, on school desegregation, and on the practices of racism in the South. Life reported on the desegregation process in Noxie, Arkansas; Collier's has run two articles by Alan Paton, author of Cry the Beloved Country, on the Negro in the South and in the North. The Saturday Evening Post has carried an article by Hodding Carter, and Life, by William Faulkner. Look magazine has given an exposé of the infamous Till case and, more recently, has issued an 16-page report on America's greatest legal and political and emotional crisis since the Civil War, entitled "The South Vs. the Supreme Court."

The national press, particularly the New York Times, has systematically covered developments in the South fro the American people. The importance attributed to these developments by this important newspaper is attested by a recent total coverage of the southern scene by a team of its major reporters, which appeared recently as a Sunday New York Times special feature.

Television, the youngest and probably the most powerful of the mass media, played an active and subtle part in conditioning the people of the South for the acceptance of Negroes in other than their traditional roles. Motion pictures have made a similar contribution in some recent films such as "Pinky," "Intruders in the Dust,"

"Lost Boundaries," and "Trial." Novels dealing with racial problems of the Southern Region have for some years appeared on best seller lists. More recently, technical books such as The Negro and the Schools; Schools in Transition; The Strange Career of Jim Crow; and others have appeared to play an important role in educating the mind of America and sensitizing its conscience.

While this diversified assortment of instruments of mass communication is probing the minds and hearts of Americans in every section of the nation and creating awareness and understanding of the problem, national intergroup relations agencies with resources and professional staffs are increasingly establishing programs in the South. This movement is still in its beginnings. Several national organizations with intergroup relations interests as well as those concerned solely with intergroup relations are now in the planning stage of committing financial and manpower resources for the specific purpose of organizing communities for the acceptance and implementation of the School desegregation Decision. These include church, labor, and minority (other than Negro) oriented agencies, and organizations whose intergroup relations operations have hitherto been confined primarily to the North. Others that have been working in the South are intensifying their efforts, re-organizing and revitalizing their programs to meet the post-May 17th demands. The NAACP which in keeping with the best of American tradition has successfully obtained redress of major grievances through court action is now looking to the social scientist and social engineer as it forges effective techniques for the implementation if its legally established gains. The Southern Regional Council has completely reorganized and now stands as the hub of a twelve-state network of Human Relations Councils which are working for the extension of the previously mentioned horizontal communication between Negroes and whites as a means of resolving intergracial conflict and establishing land of true Democracy in the South in which equality of opportunity will prevail without regard to race. One of its most recent developments is the establishment of a panel of highly qualified social scientists and social engineers for the purpose of assisting the State affiliates in strengthening and intensifying their programs.

The American Friends Service Committee, the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith, the American Jewish Committee and the National Conference of Christians and Jews are increasing their activities in this area.[1]

The Negro Community's Role in Changing Race Relations Pattern

It has become increasingly apparent since the final decree, that compliance with the Decision would not be voluntary and that organized opposition groups would apply vigorous and sometimes ruthlessly violent measures to discourage Negroes from seeking enrollment in the schools nearest their homes even though now white. Such measures have also been applied to whites who appeared to favor desegregation and even to those who, while not favoring the policy, felt a responsibility for complying with the law.

Such tactics are crucial to the success of the resistance movement because the initiation of the process of desegregation in any community, in the absence of voluntary compliance by the school board, is dependent upon a petition from a parent to enter his child in a school whose pupils are now confined to the other race. Refusal of a school on basis of race to enroll such an applicant forms the basis for suit in the Federal District Court for compliance with the Supreme Court Decision. It should be emphasized that this procedure does not depend upon mass action by Negroes though many of these cases have been based upon complaints of several parents. It seems apparent that the necessary suits for admission to schools are forthcoming. District Courts in several southern and border states now have such cases, e.g., Arkansas, Delaware, Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and perhaps others.[2]

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[1]Frederick B. Routh, Forces of Progress, (an unpublished memorandum, SRC) Jan. 20, 1956.

[2]Race Relations Law Reporter, February, 1956, p. 83-83.

It is too early to observe any pattern in the decisions rendered by the Federal District Courts in such cases. It is likely that the interpretation of "deliberate speed" will vary from court to court.[1]

In several communities in the "hard core" states, particularly Mississippi and Alabama, pro-segregationist groups have applied various types of sanctions against Negroes whose names appeared on desegregation petitions and against those who attempted to qualify as voters. In general, economic pressures have been the favored weapons, including refusal to sell merchandise, refusal or cancellation of credit arrangements, and discharge from jobs. The outstanding example of this technique and its consequences is in Orangeburg, South Carolina and vicinity where severe economic measures have been directed against Negroes and counter-reprisals have been used by Negroes with masterful effectiveness. The Southern Regional Council finds eighteen published cases in which economic pressure was used during 1955. These were concentrated in the "hard core" states i.e., South Carolina, 7; Mississippi, 4; Alabama, 3; North Carolina, 3; and Texas, 1.[2]

In addition, intimidation, violence, and even murder have been employed to forestall desegregation of schools and prevent Negroes from voting. The outstanding examples of such tactics are the murder of Dr. Lee at Belzoni, Mississippi and the shooting of Gus Courts a grocery store owner both of whom encouraged Negroes to register and vote. The prevailing opinion seems to be that the result of the reprisal technqiues has been a notable stiffening of resistance and more effective organization in the Negro community, a clarification of the fundamental issues at stake, and a grim, though not truculent, determination to "see it through" even at the greatest risk to personal and economic safety. The real prospect that by so doing, their children may live under

1 (Cases to be inserted here)
2 From the SRC research files.

conditions approaching equality of opportunity is creating fresh incentive.

The Negro's role as petitioner has not been confined to school desegregation in the past two years. The previously mentioned Maryland Park decision of the U. S. Supreme Court broadened the scope of the School Desegregation Case to apply to public park facilities. Within the current week, the same Federal District Court which originally ruled on this case has recently ruled in the ~~Virginia~~ Seashore State Park ~~Commission~~ case that segregation in the Seashore Park could not be continued by leasing it to a private concern.

In the area of local transportation facilities, the Court of Appeals, Fourth Circuit, in South Carolina reversed the decision of the lower court in holding the South Carolina segregation law illegal in the case of a Negro woman who sued a local bus company for damages because the driver required her to change her seat in accordance with the state segregation law.[1]

The Montgomery bus boycott, which was not originally aimed at eliminating segregated seating but simply more courteous and satisfactory service to Negro customers within the limit of the state and city segregation laws, has now become an attack on the segregation laws per se. On basis of the court precedents now in use, it is difficult to see how such segregation laws will not be ultimately vacated by the U. S. Supreme Court if not by a lower court.

The Montgomery and the Orangeburg cases have not been discussed in detail in this paper because the facts are generally known. They are significant because they have demonstrated that the Negro community can under most adverse circumstances organize itself for effective mass action as consumers. It has shown to business interests generally that this group can organize and withold its purchases of goods

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[1]Mae Fleming v South Carolina Electric and Gas Company, U. S. Court of Appeals, Fourth Circuit, July 14, 1955. 224 F. 2d 752.

and services for hostile or discriminatory sellers in sufficient quantity and for a sufficiently sustained period of time to seriously curtail profits if not cause ~~serious~~ large losses or ultimate failure.

Forces Uncommitted But Apparently on the Brink of Positive Action

The executive branch of the Federal Government explicitly committed to the attainment of equality of citizenship for all of its people and confident in its major accomplishment of all but ending segregation in the Armed Forces of the nation and substantial progress in the elimination of discrimination in hiring, discharging, and up-grading of minorities employed by firms who have contracts with the Federal Government, seems poised to take some form of positive action in the desegregation controversy now raging throughout the "hard core" states of the South. In his State at the Union Message of 1956, the President said in part "It is disturbing that in some localities allegations persist that Negro citizens are being deprived of their right to vote and are likewise being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures. I recommend that the substance of these charges be thoroughly examined..." The Nashville Tennessean of March 10th, 1956 reported that the President has formally requested of Congress the appointment of a bi-partisan committee to investigate this charge. While it is doubtful whether Congress will grant his request at this session, ~~he~~ the President states that in the absence of such a committee, he will take some other form of action in this direction. It is also reported that the Department of Justice is preparing a bill for presentation to Congress aimed at strenghtening the civil rights statutes of the federal criminal code in order to more effectively protect the Negro's personal safety and his right to vote and the safety of whites who dissent from the pro-segregationists position. On the other side, the impact of the School Desegregation Decision has forced both of our candidates for the Democratic Presidential nomination to make increasingly strong pronouncements in favor of the implementation of this decision and its irrevocable status as the law of the land. It is likely that the range of compromise and manuverability open to the two major parties

in writing their platform statements on minorities has been considerably narrowed and the positions of the ultra-conservative southern Democrats in party politics weakened to an unprecedented degree.

The United States Department of State has recognized the implications this ruling in the successful achievement of good international relations, particularly with a newly independent and aggressive Asia and an awakening Africa. As the leader of the Free World in its intense ideological competition with the forces of communism, its area of vacillation and equivocation in matters of race has been sharply narrowed.

In his keynote address to the Twelfth Annual Institute of Race Relations at Fisk University, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President of Fisk University, has the following to say about the cataclysmic changes which have taken place in the Free World over which the United States now exercises leadership in the brief span of one decade from 1945 to 1955:

> In 1945 we were just emerging from the Second World War. Two-thirds of the peoples of the world were still living under what was regarded as the unbreakable grip of colonial and racial imperialism ...
>
> Between 1945 and 1955, however, the world has completely reversed itself, and all Asia has broken into our awareness with cataclysmic impact. Africa has revealed itself in the throes of a final and definitive rebellion, ranging from mau mau in Kenya to sullen passive resistance in South Africa.
>
> Seven years after the close of the war eight of the Asian nations with a population of 600,000,000 had become independent, and on April 18, 1955, there was held in Bandung, Indonesia a conference disturbing to the whole of the western world. It was a conference of 29 recently independent colored nations of Asia and Africa, representing over a billion people, more than half of the population of the world. It was not a racially truculent conference, but it was a symbol and a formal announcement of the end of western domination, and of the determination of the peoples of Asia and Africa, hereafter to determine their own destinies. They hoped by their stand to preserve the peace of the world against the West.

In the current issue of THE ANNALS, Dr. John F. Melby, executive vice-President of the National Council on Asian Affairs has the following to say about the position of the United States in Asia and Asians reactions to our domestic practices:

"No small part of traditional American prestige in Asia has come from our advocacy of "desegregation" for Asians..... When we are concerned by foreign reactions we would do well to remember that in our position we no longer have a private life, and that what we do at home takes on an enlarged, perhaps often an exaggerated, importance in the eyes of the world as evidence of what an anxious world can expect from us. Undoubtedly what Mississippi does about is school system worries New Delhi more than it does Chicago."[1]

It is apparent as never before that in the world of the present and the forseeable future, our pattern of minority-majority relations in the United States, and particularly those of Negro-white relation in the South, constitute a significant factor in the maintenance of world peace and thus our survival. In this period of tribulant and torturous transition, the major industrial and financial interests of the nation, many of which have large installations in the South, appear to have maintained an uneasy silence in the controversy probably hoping that this "storm" would pass over and leave them to "business as usual." However, as the pro-segregationist resistance movement has grown and economic reprisal has emerged as a major technique of resistance, business has reluctantly recognized that it is "in the middle," beset by boycotts and counter-boycotts from which it ~~they~~ sees no escape as long as the pro- and anti-segregationist forces remain in bitter economic combat. Gradually, the entrepenuer of the most powerful and successful modern capitalistic nation on earth is forced to choose between profits, economic growth, and industrial stability, on the one hand, and the full and long range implications of non-compliance with the desegregation rulings on the other. During the past decade, he has discovered the "Negro market" and has learned to exploit it profitably. He had adjusted his production and distribution practices to fit the basic tenets of the prevailing white supremacy system. He does not want to lose this market so recently obtained and yet he does not wish to antagonize the larger and more lucrative "white market." Thus, his salvation is in economic stability and, consequently, the ~~full~~ school desegregation issue for him must be restated in

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[1]John F. Melby, "Racial Policy and International Relations." THE ANNALS, March, 1956, pp. 134.135.

terms of manpower and markets, economic development or capital withdrawal. Equality of treatment of workers and customers without regard to race, not simply the question of whether a few Negro children will be taught in the same class with whites are the terms in which he must view this Decision in his long range planning. Furthermore, the dominant industrial and financial structure is national rather than regional or local. Thus, we may expect southern businessmen increasingly to appraise the current issue in terms of profits rather the nostalgic preservation of "a southern way of life." The Most of the capital that has created the unprecedented industrial boom in the South is migrant capital from other sections of the nation and other nations which can and will flow to more profitable areas if the social terrain of the South becomes such that it is cannot be profitably invested here. Again, the School Desegregation Decision has significantly altered the alternatives available to entrepreneurs as it has in other areas of social life.

There is some evidence that business interests are beginning to move toward a decision as to their role in the present conflict. During the month of March of this year the specialized mass media of business and industry have invaded the South as the general national press did in previous months and significant news stories are beginning to appear in business newspapers and magazines which describe rather clearly the dilemma in which business find itself in the South under the present conditions and repeatedly raises the question as to whether failure to amicably settle the present tensions will cut short the economic development of the South which is so gravely needed by this region and the nation as a whole. A New York financial columnist, Sylvia Porter, has contributed two syndicated articles under her column Your Money's Worth during the month of March. One is headed "Integration Effects on Dixie Industry" and the other, "Race Row Perils Industry in South." The March 24th issue of Business Week contained a long article entitled "Business in a Troubled South" while the Wall Street Journal

on consecutive days discussed the implications of boycotts of whites against whites, whites against Negroes, and Negroes against whites. The same business daily carried an article entitled "Desegregated Jobs" on April 3rd in which it described positive accomplishments in the Southern plants of the International Harvester Company. These and many other articles, closed discussions among business leaders, etc. serve to place the racial problem in focus in the business mind in a way which more clearly places before him the rational alternatives which he faces in the present and future South.

The forces described to this point are long range forces which were either actually or potentially working for integration during this period. But there are powerful and ruthless short range forces arrayed on the opposite side.

Negative Forces Affecting Patterns of Race Relations

As mentioned previously, vigorous resistance to school desegregation has occurred in that part of the old southern agricultural economy moving eastward through Mississippi to Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, i. e., the so-called Black Belt. It is the area of once rich black soil and prosperous agriculture which includes the areas of highest Negro concentration in the South. It is the section which nurtured and developed the white supremacy doctrine and through its political dominance ~~expander~~ spread it through law, mores, customs, and traditions throughout the whole Southern Economy. The keystone of this political ascendancy was the political oligarchy based in part upon the maintenance of ignorance among the Negro and white masses and their systematic disfranchisement. While the once dominant cotton and tobacco economy which supports it has decreased in economic importance as compared with urban industrial interests, such political dominance over the whole South, and its high prestige in the Nation's Congress as a whole has not been successfully challenged by the forces of the New South. This political domination of the total scene and its disproportionate power in the Congress of the United States relative to other regions of the nation and to the industrial South of the Piedmont and highland areas remains a formidable obstacle to the democratization of the South. However, for several years the rapid urbanization draining population from the Black Belt counties and the rapid industrialization of the South, centered primarily outside of the Black Belt, have been threatening the political power of the Black Belt politicians and the economic power of large-scale agriculture which dominates this region.

In fact, it seems quite plausible that the School Desegregation Decision crystallized the struggle between the old agricultural South and the new industry-oriented South for control and that we are witnessing the death struggle of the old order and the frantic efforts of its political leadership to preserve its position of power, rather than an honest effort to keep Negro and white pupils separated ~~because of a matter~~ on the basis of principle. Certainly, one of the most striking characteristics of this

movement is the position of leadership taken by the executive and legislative representatives and Congressional representatives from the "hard core" states. It appears to be an effort to re-establish their claims in a re-solidified South in spite of the fact that the divergent self-interests of various elements of an increasingly complex economy make this rationally impossible. The objectives of these leaders of the White Supremacy System are being sought through the organization and manipulation groups, the most important being the White Citizens Councils (WCC) which claims a membership of 60,000 in Mississippi alone. Although these groups operate under various names from state to state, there is evidence of close coordination among them. According to the January, 1956 issue of Southern School News, there is a total of 44 resistance groups, large and small, operating in 15 states.[1] At least a dozen of these are major movements. The Federation for Constitutional Government states that its purpose is to coordinate the work of such organizations, and it includes representatives from the major resistance groups on its Board. Among its leadership are found such well-known figures as Strom Thurmond, Fielding Wright, James Eastland, and Herman Talmadge. It seems apparent that this is a new manifestation of the Dixiecrat movement, fighting to maintain its political power by enlisting a large bloc of voters through appeals to racial fears and prejudices.

The movement does not appear to be a grass-root movement but one dominated by the political and economic elite of the Old South which is luring the masses of unthinking whites by playing upon their racial prejudices and antagonisms. The object of these groups seems to be to maintain their position of leadership by silencing all dissenting points of view, particularly those of white leadership. They use, directly or indirectly, the weapons of economic pressure, violence, demagogy, and public opinion formation through southern mass media organs and their positions as leading public officials and status figures in their communities. Incidents surrounding the preparation

1 For discussion of recent developments in the resistance movement including the "Southern Manifesto", see the Southern School News, April, 1956.

and issue of the Southern Manifesto illustrate the current intensity of these pressures. Mr. Harold Fleming, assistant director of the Southern Regional Council, has the following to say about their political power:

> Since the May, 1954 decision, the extreme pro-segregationists have extended their hold on southern state governments. The lopsided apportionment of state legislatures — giving vastly disproportionate power to the Black Belt areas — is one important factor here. The private resistance groups merge almost indistinguishable with public officialdom in Mississippi, South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana; virtually every political figure in Georgia, for example, from the Governor on down, is associated with the States Rights Council.... The resistance of these states was expected — though the virulence of it has exceeded some expectations. However, an unexpected and serious blow was the capitulation of official leadership in North Carolina and Virginia.
>
> Through their dominance of the State machinery, the segregationists wield enormous power. They can exert formidable pressure on the press, business and industrial interests, educators, and even religious leaders — all of whom depend to some extent on the good will of the State. They can take official measures to penalize and stigmatize those who persist in advocating a moderate and liberal course. They can coerce local school authorities not only through statutory means, but also through their control of State educational funds. In short, they can put all the resources of their respective states into the effort to preserve segregation and to stamp out dissenting opinion.[1]

It may be concluded that the pro-segregation forces have a powerful short-range advantage on their own grounds, but that the pro-integrationists have with them the long-run pervasive forces working within and outside the region. The advantages of the pro-segregation forces include the following: control of governmental machinery; influence on opinion-making media and individuals; large financial resources; a mass public opinion long conditioned by rabble-rousing and appeals to race hatred; conservative white control of the economy; and economic dependence and political impotence of Negroes in those areas where they are most numerous. On the other hand, all of the major national forces — religious, cultural, economic, political and industrial, and international considerations — are moving in the direction of Integration.[2]

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1. Harold Fleming, "The Southern Resistance Movement and Implications for SRC." (Unpublished memorandum) January 20, 1956. pp. 2].
2. Ibid. pp. 56[

Appendix I

A Summary of the Extent of Public School Desegregation in the Southern and Border States during the Period 1955 to March, 1956[1]

No public school desegregation— Alabama, Florida[2], Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee,[3] and Virginia.

A summary of the extent of public schools desegregation in the remaining states follows:

ARKANSAS	Noxie, Fayetteville, and Charleston
DELAWARE	1,230 of 10,500 Negro students in mixed classes. Out of 21 school districts, twelve have some degree of integration. They are: Wilmington, Claymont, New Castle, Alfred I. du Pont, Delaware City, Conrad, Alex I. duPont, Arden, Hockessin and Rose Hill.
KENTUCKY	Approximately 300 out of 43,361 Negro school age children are reported in mixed classes. Twenty out of 224 school districts involved. Included are: Lexington, Floyd County, Louisville (one white in formerly Negro school and the School for Blind was integrated), Wayne County, Boone County, Knox County, Campbell County, Daviess County, Perry County, Crittenden County, Knott County, Hopkins, Pendelton, and Adair Counties. (See report of State Department of Education).
MARYLAND	4,000 Negroes out of 92,000 believed in mixed classes. Integration in eight of 23 counties plus the city of Baltimore. These counties are: Carroll County, Baltimore County, Allegany County, Washington County, Montgomery County, Prince George County, Anne Arundel County and Cecil County.
MISSOURI	Approximately 85% of state's Negro children attending mixed schools. 135 out of 172 high school districts have Negro enrollment in formerly white schools.
OKLAHOMA	264 schools with mixed classes. Biggest influx of Negroes is in Oklahoma City. 127 Negro teachers dismissed.
TEXAS	65 of 1800 districts desegregated. Five Negro teachers lost jobs in Karnes County. Communities in which there was desegregation include: Big Spring, Friona, San Marcos, Karnes, El Paso, Corpus Christi, San Antonio, Tahoka, and Austin.

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[1] From the research files of the Southern Regional Council.
[2] Pupils at two air force base schools attending mixed classes.
[3] Federally supported Oak Ridge has 85 Negro junior and senior high school pupils in mixed classes

WEST VIRGINIA

[illegible] out of 55 counties have started some school desegregation. Counties not desegregating are Berkeley, Grant Hampshire, Hardy, Jefferson. One Negro teacher assigned to 9th grade homeroom at Woodrow Wilson High School.

Dec., 1954

Aim -
Role - Southern, non-political, non-legal,
Method - Variety + flexibility, non-mass, key people

Memo 10

Non-political
Materials

Distrit to Consultants

The following are the general functions of the Southern Regional Council and a list of specific criteria for state programs, each briefly discussed:

PROGRAM FUNCTIONS AS DEFINED IN THE STATEMENT OF POLICY AND AIMS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

1. To create in each state a representative body of white and Negro citizens to consider in full democracy the necessary steps toward genuine integration.

2. To serve as a convincing demonstration of Southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race.

3. To strive to create an atmosphere in which artificial distinctions and discrimination based upon race will no longer persist.

4. To stimulate local interest to work for local solutions in full democracy, in order that legislative and judicial rulings may be translated into justice in everyday life.

5. To seek practical solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements.

6. To encourage effective functioning of enlightened citizens through the civic life of their communities, rather than becoming a mass pressure organization.

7. To further its objectives through fact-finding, conferences and persuasion, and through consultation with public agencies and officials.

8. To counteract appeals to prejudice and violence by demagogues, professional bigots and hate organizations.

9. To present the facts about the region and their implications.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING PROGRAM PROPOSALS
OF STATE ORGANIZATIONS AFFILIATED WITH SRC

I. Is the program proposed compatible with SRC's policy and aims?

See the preceding list of SRC functions as defined in the statement of policy and aims, December 1951. A leaflet reprinting the entire policy statement is enclosed.

II. Who made the Plan?

See Item 1 in the list of functions. Your proposed program should reflect the combined thinking and approval of representative members of the state Board, including both races and the various religious and organizational interests represented.

III. Is the program oriented to the main challenge facing the state at this time - i. e., adjustment to the Supreme Court decision?

While it is expected that the state organizations will be broadly interested in the human relations problems and opportunities of their states, the challenge of the decision should be recognized as the focal point of action in this field. Obviously this will mean different things in different states. In some of the more advanced states, it may mean working with educational authorities, parent-teacher groups, and others on the mechanics and details of school integration as an accepted goal. In other more uncertain states, it will be necessary to aim program activities at building more acceptance for the idea of integration. In the deep South states, the work of persuasion must start on an even more elementary level and interest may have to be sought for such intermediate objectives as preserving the public school system, combatting intimidation and economic pressure on Negro and liberal white spokesmen, emphasizing church pronouncements and the importance of abiding by the law despite personal preference. However, these varying approaches all have in common the recognition that compliance with the Supreme Court's decision must be an ultimate goal of our operation.

IV. How practical is the program in terms of the organization's staff and resources?

There are clearly strict limits on what one professional staff person-- or even two -- can do by way of personal contact and the influencing of opinion. The central office's concept of staff function, in the light of these limitations, should be applicable to the state organizations as well. Generally, it recognizes that we are not aiming to influence directly people in the mass. Rather, we are trying to stimulate and assist key local people. Every community has its present or potential "spark plugs" whose racial views are enlightened. They may be ministers, church women, public officials, businessmen, civic and labor leaders, newspapermen -- in short, anyone who plays an influential role in the life of the community. These are the people with whom we work. Staff time should be spent mainly in planning with an activating such key people, through personal contact, SRC materials, and correspondence. (See Item 4 in the list of functions.)

The importance of bi-racial professional staff is evident in this definition of the job to be done. We can hardly hope to persuade perceptive lo-

cal people of our good faith unless we exemplify in our own organization the principles we are advocating. Nor, in this divided society, can we bring people of the two races together unless the insights of both races are reflected both at the policy and at the staff levels. Contrary to some assumptions about human relations activity, a Negro staff member may often approach white leadership more effectively than a white staff member; and a bi-racial professional staff will increase, rather than lessen, respect for our organizations and belief in our sincerity.

The ways in which bi-racial staff can be attained -- through additional fund-raising for salaries, through employment of consultants, etc. -- have been and will be dealt with elsewhere. But this should be an ever-present consideration in program planning.

V. To what extent does the program involve lay community leadership?

In view of our limited staff, much of the program load must be shared by Board members and other individuals related to the state organizations. Every such person should be an active influence in his or her community, working closely with state staff, and involving other local people in the program of the state organization.

Members of the state organization's policy group should also participate in statewide program. The most effective way to accomplish this is for the Board to establish its own subgroups which will be concerned with particular phases of the organization's activity, including fund-raising. Without such lay participation, at both the community and the state level, the staff will find it virtually impossible to implement an effective program.

VI. Does the program aim at developing processes which in themselves lead to the elimination of racial distinctions?

Every state and every community has its own particular character and circumstances to which program must be adapted; it is for that reason that we have put emphasis on the large degree of self-determination that must be exercised by each state organization in shaping its structure and program. Given that fact, however, it can probably be said that every effective community-action program will have as its effect a progess in which white and Negro citizens of comparable achievements and interests are communicating and planning together as equals. The success, then, of a state program can be evaluated in terms of its effectiveness in encouraging and assisting this process in the public and institutional life of a state. Such local planning and discussion today clearly should center on the overriding question of adjustment to the Supreme Court's decision -- gathering the facts about the local school system and reaching agreement on practical steps to be taken.

The formation of new local interracial groups is sometimes an appropriate way to achieve this, but it is by no means the only way or the best way. It is often more fruitful to explore the opportunities for sound process within existing bodies and community activities. Examples.

A. Bonafide Negro representation on school boards and other official bodies.

B. Negro participation at the policy level in such agencies as community chests and councils, YMCA's and YWCA's, hospital boards, professional

associations, and other quasi-public agencies.

C. Bi-racial participation -- preferably through integrated membership, but when necessary through liaison committees -- in such private organizations as PTA's, teachers associations, councils of church women, ministerial associations, and the like.

D. The self-survey method, in which community leaders join together across the lines of race, religion, and interest groups to gather the facts about common problems and plan remedies. This technique is amply discussed in SRC literature and should be familiar to all state personnel.

Where full participation is not thought to be immediately possible, interim steps, such as Negro advisory committees or advisory interracial groups, may be temporarily useful but great care should be taken to insure that they do not become permanent "escape hatches" for those in authority. There is no substitute for full and unqualified participation by all segments of the community.

There are many ways in which the state organization can promote the growth of democratic process. Obvious examples are: conference with community leadership or persons with access to community leadership; informing individuals and the public generally of good precedents in other communities in the state or in the South; offering technical assistance in the form of materials and consultation (for example, the self-survey).

VII. Does the program tend to strengthen the representativeness of the state organization?

This refers to the fact that careful attention should be given to involving persons who are representative of as many religious, professional, and civic interests as possible.

VIII. Does the program seek to make maximum use of SRC materials?

There is a variety of ways in which the materials of SRC and related agencies can be useful in increasing the outreach and effectiveness of the state program.

A. To disseminate through the press and other public media information that will stimulate constructive action.

B. To promote understanding of the services and methods of the organization itself.

C. To assist local people in adapting to their community techniques that have worked elsewhere.

Thus the use of materials should be regarded not as incidental, but as integral to, the program.

IX. Does the program create a basis for self support?

The broad objective of SRC's work with affiliated state groups is the formation, within a comparatively shore time, of effective, independent, self-

supporting human relations services in each Southern state. The period of subsidy is short. If the goal is to be achieved, the state organization must not only raise the required supplementing funds for today, but quickly establish itself as an indispensible service to forward-looking individuals and agencies throughout the state. And this can only be accomplished by good programming that gets results. In this sense fund-raising cannot be viewed as a thing apart from program; they must be planned together.

GSM/as/rnf
12/14/54

mf

COPY

MEMO

TO: Staff

FROM GSM

RE: PROSPECTIVE CONSULTANTS

Note that in telephone conversation today, John Hope asked that Bill Jones and Kenneth Clark be officially added to the list of possible consultants and I've so added them and have invited them so to serve.

The official list of invited consultants is now inclusively:

Dr. Robert Johnson
American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. Louis Killian
Department of Sociology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Mrs. Preston Valien
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. Harry J. Walker
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

Dr. G.D. Wilson
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dr. Whitney Young
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Irene Osborne
AFSC
104 "C" St., NE
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Kenneth Clark
Department of Psychology
City College of New York
New York, New York

Dr. William Jones
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

HOW DOES AN INTERGROUP RELATIONS ORGANIZATION SET UP A POSITIVE PROGRAM?

Bob Johnson
December 26, 1955

We pose this question: Is it possible to draw up a set of propositions and conclusions about organizational structure, functioning, and effectiveness in intergroup organization - Northern, Southern, or nationwide; public or private; city, state or federal; exhortatory, educational, or "action-oriented"? We seek to sketch here a preliminary guide for discussion purposes between staff members of a given program and the various forces to which they are responsible - Boards of Directors or Advisors, a Central or National office, other policymakers, other staff members and volunteer workers. The general outline suggested for this discussion guide is as follows:

A. Some Propositions for Inventory of an Intergroup Relations Program - Organizational Assumptions, Objectives and Techniques.

   1. Propositions on internal organizational structure and functioning.

   2. Propositions on interorganizational relationships.

   3. Propositions on relations with the general community.

B. A Review of More and Less Effective Actions in Intergroup Relations.

   1. Scientific opinions on changing <u>attitudes</u> versus changing <u>practices</u> in intergroup relations.

   2. More specific social science propositions on effectiveness.

   3. Things that the effective intergroup relations worker should know.

   4. The range of action techniques available to the intergroup relations worker.

   5. <u>More</u> and <u>less</u> effective ways of utilizing each action technique.

C. Moving from Generality to Specific Application of Techniques in a Given Community.

   1. What the worker <u>is</u> doing, and what he <u>could be</u> doing.

   2. What other workers have found to be effective.

3. Ways of determining whether the program is having an impact on the community, remaining flexible, continually trying more effective action techniques.

4. Ways of periodically assessing current and possible new program directions.

5. Ways of getting the community to take on the program.

A. Propositions for Inventory of an Intergroup Relations Program.

We believe that initially, each intergroup relations organization might measure its values and assumptions, its goals and objectives, and the methods and techniques used to attain these objectives against a set of tentative propositions that are presented here. They are divided into (1) propositions on internal organizational structure and functioning, (2) propositions on interorganizational relationships, and (3) propositions on relationships with the general community. Each proposition is accompanied by a paragraph of elaboration explaining why we believe the proposition to be of significance to any intergroup relations organization or agency. The propositions are as follows:

1. Propositions on internal organizational structure.

a. The objectives and methods of the organizations should be clearly stated and periodically reviewed and re-examined.

As sociologist Robin Williams have noted in "The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions," it is necessary for organizations to make periodic examination of their underlying goals and causal assumptions, since agencies often lack clarity about goals, may be aiming at several simultaneous or even contradictory goals, or may have adopted methods inappropriate to these goals. Also, these goals and methods must be continually re-examined, since organizatins often drift far away from their stated purposes unless they ask themselves with some frequency: What are we set up to do?

b. Staff members and directors should be agreed on the organizations objectives.

We assume that an agency will operate with maximum smoothness only if there is agreement in different levels of the program about what the goals and

methods are supposed to be. Too often, the supposed policymakers or Board of Directors of an agency lose touch with the everyday activities of staff members who must make day-by-day decisions; while the latter may become so actively and emotionally involved in specific problems that they lose sight of the program's original objectives. Where staff and policymakers find themselves in sharp opposition to each other, a period of intensive discussion and assessment is indicated. Where the policymaking functions may have inadvertantly been taken over by staff members, the agency might make a reassessment of the role of Boards of Directors or Advisory Committees, considering whether the new policymaking process might actually be of benefit to the agency.

c. Responsibility for policymaking functions should be clearly defined and allocated.

The actualy policymaking function of an organization is a valuable subject for study, in these terms: What are the group's assumptions on who should make policy, and from what philosophical premises are these assumptions based? Will case history analysis or other intensive observations reveal who actually does make policy. Is it in line with the original philosophy? If not, so what? Is the agency functioning more or less smoothly; more or less democratically; more or less effectively?

d. The organizaton should periodically ask itself: Are we still doing what we set out to do?

This might be determined by a three-fold formulation of the questions an evaluator might ask: (1) What are the stated purposes and goals and the organizational structure of this group? (2) How is policy made and transmitted and executed? (3) How does it actually look when the agency is operating in a community? The comparison between the original written statements of agency objectives and the observation of what the staff member is actually doing day by day is sometimes quite revealing.

e. Regardless of the answer to question "d", the program should ask itself if it is actually being effective by intergroup relations and other standards.

if it is actu

This might be partly answered by the suggestion of more specific questions to ask on effectiveness:

(1) Does the group have any adequate indices by which it can measure change - something that can be "counted"?

(2) Is the agency using the most efficient office methods possible - efficient filing systems, easy communication procedures, economy measures, keeping up to date?

(3) How aware is the program of the best relevant social science materials - researches, publicatons, theories found useful elsewhere? How much "social science" is the group using and how much does it need touse? What is meant by "using social science"?

(4) Does the group have an adequate and accurate grasp of the nature of the minority community?

(5) Is the agency aware of and using the best of intergroup relations literature? ("The best" might be determined both by the evaluations of scientists and by the reports of other practitioners on what they have found most useful.)

A discussion of "what is effective and what is not effective" will appear in a separate memorandum. The criteria of specific effectiveness will vary from one organization to another depending on its original philosophy or its type of motivation. However, if an evaluative survey finds that (a) the agency is <u>not</u> doing what it set out to do, but (b) <u>is</u> being effective - or the <u>reverse</u> - the need for sharp reappraisal will be felt by all levels of the program.

f. The functions of Board members, committees, executive director, staff and volunteers should be clearly defined.

It is important for an organization to be certain that each level of the program understands its function clearly and knows what it is supposed to do and what others are supposed to do. For example, Boards of Directors and Advisory Committees must decide whether their function is to (1) do the work; (2) make policy, direct, control; (3) advise, suggest, and modify policy decisions of staff; or (4) merely "rubber-stamp" or act as a prestigeful "front" for what staff members seek to accomplish. The actual functions of the executive director should be clearly outlined. (Some intergroup agencies have already done this.) The staff members must know how much responsibility they must assume, how much freedom and flexibility they have in making day-to-day decisions, and how they should use Boards of Directors

or advisers. Volunteer workers, if the agency has been able to recruit them, should be clearly informed of where their energies and resources can be most effective. They must be shown, as so many volunteers are not, what they are expected to do, and why it is important to the program.

g. The limitations under which the program operates should be made clear. Are they inherent in organizational structure and purpose, or can they be modified?

Observations of American intergroup relations organizations convince us that each is restrained to some extent by factors limiting the staff member's ability to function optimally, or "tying his hands". We note limitations such as these: being a municipal, state or governmental agency; being a minority-sponsored organization; lacking adequate funds and staff; possessing conservative directors or advisory committees; being tax exempt; being non-tax exempt; being relatively unsophisticated; lacking clarity about objectives. We suggest that an organization should appraise itself in terms of these limitations, and see how they can be altered or modified; or how the staff member can extend himself as far as possible within the framework of these limitations.

h. The agency should have criteria for deciding when to terminate a program.

This agonizing problem confronts many organizations: When may we say that the job is done and we can withdraw, or that we have achieved what we have set out to achieve? This question may be answered internally in accordance with the traditional objectives and methods of the given organization; but we further suggest that all interested or involved segments of the general community or the minority community be consulted for their opinion on whether a given program should be terminated. Serious public relations problems may develop if an organization assumed that it is time to withdraw despite the belief in the needy community that the problems have still not been solved. In our own experience with community-wide projects, we have suggested that programs be established on the basis of recognized community needs, and that the program be terminated after the need is satisfied, without a time limit, hoping that the community has grasped the program's objectives and will carry them on. This is the ideal; on a more practical level, program termination often has to be based on

how long the financial resources last.

2. Propositions on interorganizational relationships.

Experience has convinced us that appraisal of an organization's internal structure and functioning is but part of the problem of evaluation. The large number of intergroup organizations, with their varying philosophies, objectives, methods, and resources suggest that the relationship of each to the other is an important subject for study if the total intergroup relations movement is to function adequately. We therefore suggest these propositions about the relations of a given organization to the others in the field:

a. The organization should be thoroughly familiar with the purposes, objectives, and limitations of the other intergroup organizations.

We often note conflict or misunderstanding between intergroup agencies caused by lack of understanding of what another group is set up to do, or how it goes about executing its functions. Thus, certain organizations are engaged in perennial conflicts, locally and nationally; some organizations are "whipping boys", continually criticized for lack of militancy, sophistication or willingness to cooperate; a few organizations are viewed enviously as having vast resources but "no program." Success of intergroup efforts depends partly of a maximum of interorganizational coordination and understanding, and a minimum of interagency strife. We therefore suggest that each agency ask itself whether every constituent part of its program understands the total range of organizational potential in this field, asking of every agency: What is it set up to do? What does it actually do? What are its resources and facilities? And, how can we help it, and how can it help us?

b. Channels for communication and coordination of activities among intergroup organizations should be created or strengthened.

Related to the factor of understanding all agencies in this field is the necessity of keeping information and ideas flowing smoothly from one organization to another. Each should ask itself if the machinery of communication might still be improved. Some agencies have solved the communication problem through newsletters, some through periodic conferences, some through sharing the same building or offices. One method, effectively worked out in Philadelphia is the coordinating of the local

affiliates of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials into a single organization with a series of luncheons and an agenda of projects to be developed jointly. Other cities might emulate this experience.

c. The organization might consider having representation on committees of other agencies and the reverse, if this is considered desirable.

One method of improving interagency communication is the delegation of staff or advisory committee members to serve as advisors or conferees with other agencies. This practice may have its disadvantages since it may serve to sharpen the areas of misunderstanding and disagreement between agencies, when the difference in their philosophies and objectives becomes apparent. The desirability of maintaining communication in this manner might be a subject of discussion both within a given agency or between several agencies in this field.

d. The organization should be willing to discuss with other organizations some different approaches to a similar problem.

It is currently recognized in intergroup relations that it is not necessary or even expedient to use only one method or technique of solving an intergroup relations problem, to the exclusion of all others. Rather, it is believed that action should be pursued along a multitude of fronts, employing numerous methods as effectively as possible. Therefore, it may often be feasible for organizations to coordinate their efforts in a given area, delegating specific functions in accordance with an agency's methods and resources. Intergroup organizations might ask themselves whether inter-organizational relationships might be improved by this type of coordination based on delegations of functions.

e. The organization should be trying, as far as possible, to exercise patience, understanding, and non-competitiveness in its relations with other intergroup organizations.

In addition to the mechanical details of maintaining fruitful communication between intergroup agencies, we suggest that an additional dimension should also be considered. Fluent communication is assured only if backed by a sincere desire on the part of each agency to view sympathetically the problems of another, to exercise

patience and restraint when another agency's procedures are not immediately understandable, to seek to avoid the type of interorganizational competition for funds and credit that so dissipate the energies of the total intergroup relations movement. Perhaps the more vehement negative attitudes engendered in work such as this might be reserved for the opposition.

3. Propositions on relations with the general community.

We finally consider that an organization might view itself in terms of where it fits into the generally community picture, its meaning in the community, its familiarity with the community, and the community's familiarity with the agency. Recognizing that no agency exists "in a vacuum", we suggest that, rather, each agency should be viewed <u>in the community context</u> - how it relates to the general processes of American community life. We suggest these propositions:

a. Component parts of the organization should understand and agree upon the meaning of the word "community." It should know the various community resources and sources of information and the areas of support, indifference, and opposition to its objectives.

Sociologist Louis Wirth, noting the carelessness with which people utilize the term "community," has stated that it has been used "with an abandon reminiscent of poetic license". It is true that people mean different things by community: some refer only to a territorial area; some mean people having common activities; some refer to those possessing shared interests; and some mean that a given aggregate has "a sense of psychological unity." At any rate, all persons in a given intergroup agency should be agreed upon the meaning of "community," should know their community's resources in terms of (1) intergroup agencies and forces; (2) other forces sympathetic to good intergroup relations; and (3) general community resources that can be utilized by all citizens. In addition the intergroup relations world is showing its increasing sophistication by seeking to know the power structure of American communities, along lines pursued by Floyd Hunter in his book, "Community Power Structure." Therefore, an intergroup agency should ask itself: Who runs things in this community? Who gets things started; who executes them? Do we know who our community "gatekeepers" are?

b. The organization should be thoroughly informed of the needs of the community, and in contact with such vital community segments as the media of communication, the forces of law and order, the persons responsible for each function of city, state, and federal government.

We suggest that in addition to understanding general community resources and how they can be tapped, an agency should ask itself if its communication with the general community is good: does it know what various areas of the community are thinking and needing; is it able to "knock on any door" when seeking help, information or community sentiment; does it have a means of evaluating what the community thinks about the agency? Particularly, in time of a crisis, would the agency have an immediate channel of communication with the relevant community segments. For example, in a community undergoing tension because of the imminence of public school desegregation, would the agency be able immediately to alert the media of communication to the proper handling of news; secure the cooperation of forces of law and order; invoke sanctions from outside the community wherever possible? And at all times, the minority community should be consulted or represented.

c. The organization should periodically ask itself: "What would happen to intergroup relations in the community if we went out of business tomorrow?

This is a harsh and cruel question, but one that each agency must have frequently asked itself. The value of such a question lies in this fact: It immediately makes every person involved ask himself more careful questions. "What am I doing? What positive effect is it having? Is it having any negative effects? Who in the community is benefiting from my actions and who is not? How can I improve the service that I am performing?" In other words, some of the most crucial issues of program evaluation are involved in this extremely anxiety-producing question posed above. The process of answering this question may even increase the anxiety level of various segments of an organization's program; but, more likely, will make the evaluative experience a richer one for all persons involved.

In addition to these questions, it is suggested that the organization might consider developing a group of assumptions on community prejudice and discrimination

from which it might operate, answering these questions: What is our theory of how change comes about in intergroup relations? What is the best way to change prejudicial race attitudes, or to change discriminatory behavior? To what extent do changed attitudes result in changed behavior - or the reverse? What is the optimum speed with which attitudes may be expected to change? These are vital questions that each agency might consider.

The reader may be surprised, disturbed, or appalled at the many propositions posed in this discussion, requiring perhaps an "agonizing reappraisal" of the way an agency has been thinking, functioning, interacting and commmicating. However, past experience convinces us that whereas program evaluation may sometimes be viewed as a painful, startling, and anxiety-producing experience, it might more aptly be viewed as a time for complete stocktaking, a minimizing of duplication and wasted motion, an opportunity for widened commmication and viewing of new organizational potentialities, and for "taking a giant step" toward progress in the mutually shared goal of seeking more efficient and effective practices in the field of intergroup relations.

GSM JAN '56

A REVIEW OF MORE AND LESS EFFECTIVE ACTIONS IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

by

Dr. Robert Johnson

We believe that in American intergroup relations today, an increasingly great interest and emphasis is being directed toward determining what is effective action, and toward attempting to minimize wasted motion. Part of America's increasing sophistication about racial problems involves a thorough knowledge of the best way of utilizing existing resources and techniques. Customary and conventional modes of taking action are more and more being re-examined and, in some cases, discarded in favor of newer and more imaginative methods. We will consider here some things that are known about more and less effective action in intergroup relations.

In advance, we state a warning: The question of effectiveness is the "$64,000 Question" in contemporary America, and if any individual practitioner in race relations asks us how he can be optimally effective in his own specific program from day to day, we must answer modestly but cautiously that <u>we just don't know</u>.

But the studies of social scientists and the experience of intergroup relations practitioners are adding greatly to our knowledge. We now feel that we can present a few general principles, suggestions and diagrams, that might at least enlarge the perspective and general knowledge of the person working in the race relations field. In the hope that these suggestions might add to a person's general ability to cope with his specific community problems, we will discuss the following general areas:

A. Social scientists believe it is more effective to work toward changing discriminatory patterns of behavior rather than to concentrate on changing individual prejudicial attitudes.

B. Social scientists are evolving a new battery of propositions on race relations that the practitioner may find helpful.

C. There are more and less effective practitioners in intergroup relations, whose characteristics may be spelled out in detail.

D. There are more and less effective action techniques, whose merits should be assessed in terms of their probable impact in a given community.

E. There are more and less effective ways of utilizing each action technique.

F. There are certain "specifics" that each effective practitioner should know.

G. There is a variety of possible alternative actions in each area of segregation and discrimination.

H. The individual can add to this general effectiveness by learning to live the effective personal life in intergroup relations.

Recognizing the highly tentative nature of these propositions and suggestions, we nevertheless request that the reader will consider them carefully, asking himself if they are meaningful, or would "hold water" in his community.

A. Social scientist conclude that it is more effective to change patterns that to change attitudes.

American thinking on race relations has long been influenced by the theories of social science. Possibly the best known American sociologist of the 19th Century was William Graham Sumner, who had a gloomy and pessimistic view of the possibility of effecting positive change in race relations. He is best known for his references to such things as "the absurd attempt to make the world over," "The tide will not be changed by us," "stateways cannot change folkways," and "you cannot legislate against the mores." This, when he applied it to race relations in the South, indicated that the relations between whites and Negroes were static and could not be altered by social action.

Social scientists have since modified their pessimism considerably, spurred on chiefly by Gunnar Myrdal who vigorously expressed "grave skepticism" toward Sumner's views and pointed out the bias in American social science "against all attempts to intervene in the social process by legislation." However, some social scientists have maintained the view that it is necessary to change individual prejudicial attitudes before actual racial behavior would change. But more recently, social scientists who have actually looked at the evidence of change in American race relations, are beginning to take the opposite view. Here are some examples:

> (Dr. Gordon Allport, at Harvard) "Turning now to social programs... there is first of all considerable agreement that it is wiser to attack segregation and discrimination than to attack prejudice directly."
>
> (Dr. Robert MacIver, at Columbia) "Wherever the direct attack is feasible, that is, the attack on discrimination itself, it is more promising than the indirect attack, that is, the attack on prejudice itself. It is more effective to challenge conditions than to challenge attitudes or feelings."
>
> (Dr. Kenneth Clark, at City College of New York) "...desired changes in the behavior of individuals and groups can be brought about by a change in the social situation in which they are required to function....Some of the examined evidence suggests that compatible changes in attitudes and motivation may occur as a consequence of the changed situation and changed behavior."
>
> (Cornell University Intergroup Relations Study) "Major changes in individual prejudices occur most quickly and thoroughly from exposure to social interaction in a new social environment rather than from information and exhortation alone."

These conclusions are supported by other social scientists, such as Milton Gordon and John Roche at Haverford College, Dietrich Reitzas and Joseph Lohman at the University of Chicago, and John P. Dean and Alex Rosen at Cornell University. The future thinking of the American layman may become strongly affected by these studies of sociological evidence, indicating the desirability of attacking discriminatory practices as well as, or rather than, prejudicial individual attitudes "in a vacuum." The reader might ask himself what practical implications this point of view has in his own community.

B. Other social science propositions on race relations.

We will not detail the numerous social science propositions here. The job of pulling them together and systematizing them still remains for some thorough analyst to do. We seek here merely to indicate that they exist, to offer some brief examples, and to urge the practitioner to ask himself whether they are consistent with or contrary to his own past experience. First we cite five of the summary principles suggested by Robert MacIver in his book, The More Perfect Union.

---Rally to the cause of national welfare and unity rather than to particular groups.

---Attacks on discrimination along several fronts are more effective than giving priority to a single strategy.

---The primary business of strategy is to explore the weaker points and lines of least resistance of the discriminatory forces.

---Appropriate leadership must be recruited from the great potential forces that can be rallied to fight discrimination.

---Minority groups have an essential part to play in the conquest of the discrimination to which they are exposed.

A succinct and concise book on the "how-to-do-it" of integration has recently been published by the University of Chicago Press. It is A Manual of Intergroup Relations by John P. Dean and Alex Rosen, and it presents 27 propositions on racial change, drawn from careful study of successful integration experiences. Some sample propositions from this book are as follows:

> Proposition 5: Fullest minority participation in planning policy and program involves the participation of minority persons with insight into minority problems, skills in social relationships with persons of different social and ethnic status, articulateness in discussing minority-majority relations, and the emotional poise to handle touchy subjects and situations without becoming bitter or hostile.
>
> Proposition 9: Leaders who control the operating practices of an institution or social environment can establish intergroup policies and practices for that environment within a wide range of community customs...

Proposition 10: Desegregation that proceeds by firm and decisive steps backed by the responsible authorities is more readily accepted and taken for granted than a halting desegregation that appears unsure of itself.

Proposition 16: Interaction in a favorable environment generally leads to friendship formation between majority and minority group persons, regardless of the level of disengaged prejudice in the individual.

Proposition 23: Social conflict on an intergroup relations issue, if successfully resolved, usually leads to further movement toward better intergroup relations.

A final example of principles on the process of desegregation and integration might be summarized from Kenneth Clark's monograph on Desegregation: An Appraisal of the Evidence. After reviewing hundreds of examples of successful desegregation, Dr. Clark concludes that the accomplishment of successful desegregation with a minimum of social disturbance depends upon the following five factors: (a) A clear and unequivocal statement of policy by authorities; (b) firm enforcement of and persistence in the execution of this policy by authorities; (c) a willingness to deal with violations by resort to the law and strong enforcement action; (d) a refusal by authorities to resort to subterfuge or other evasions of the policy; (e) an appeal to the individuals involved in terms of moral or democratic principles.

Other sources of general principles on race relations might be cited. The Governing of Men, by psychiatrist-anthropologist Alexander Leighton, contains numerous principles of government for the administrator, drawn from experience in the Japanese-American relocation center. Robin Williams" The Reduction of Intergroup Tension, contains 102 propositions summing up the best of social science knowledge on subjects like tension and conflict, individual prejudice, the minority community, and propositions for successful change in intergroup relations. Robert Johnson's The Nature of the Minority Community suggests hypotheses on raising the action potential of the American Negro Community. These materials are easy to obtain; a harder task looms when the

practitioner seeks to translate the general statements into specific actions in his community. However, they might serve as a valuable adjunct to his own tried-and-true-experiences.

C. <u>There are more and less effective intergroup practitioners whose characteristics may be described.</u>

We suggest that in large part, the success or failure of a given intergroup relations program is related largely to the caliber and abilities of the staff member assigned to carry out the program. We further suggest that a staff member may grow through instruction or experience, from a less able practitioner to a more able one. Finally, we believe that careful study of more and less effective practitioners may reveal the salient characteristics of each, and contribute greater self-insight to whoever reads it.

We report here on one study that attempted to state the characteristics of the effective and the naive, ineffective professional worker in intergroup relations. This study was done by John Dean and Alex Rosen, in <u>A Manual of Intergroup Relations</u>. The authors were able to match the responses of practitioners to a questionnaire with ratings of these practitioners by a national body. With the assistance of statistical tables, the authors listed the characteristics of the effective and the ineffective worker in terms of (a) attitudes, (b) knowledge, and (c) skills.

Briefly, the effective professional worker was characterized by these attributes: In terms of attitudes, a commitment to integration, a long-range view, self-insight, an understanding of the minority community. In terms of knowledge, an understanding of the nature of prejudice and the diversity of minority experience, the bases of friendly action, the processes of social change, and the available community resources. In terms of skills, being at ease and putting others at ease, interpreting minority and majority experiences accurately, handling tension incidents wisely.

These are the characteristics of the naive, ineffective worker: (attitudes) timidity and vagueness about intergroup goals, patronizing actions that resent the minority group's non-appreciation, consideration of self as completely unprejudiced, oversentimentality toward minorities; (knowledge) failing to understand the nature of prejudice, lack of understanding of the diversity of minority experience, expecting prejudice to wither away by itself, using crude rules of thumb and cliches, feeling that his particular intergroup problems are unique; (skills) making "slips" or using testimonials or stereotypes toward minorities, by-passing interpretation in favor of exhortation that people are all alike, perceiving racial incidents as bad and shying away from anything that might lead to friction.

The activity of any intergroup relations organization might well be directed toward (a) trying its best to recruit staff members who possess the characteristics of the effective professional worker; (b) trying to determine the kinds of training and experience that might move a staff member to a more effective performance in this field; and (c) taking a careful inventory of staff and personnel practices in terms of the criteria that Dean and Rosen have outlined above.

D. <u>There are more and less effective techniques, assessable in terms of the varying types of community.</u>

We believe that effective work in the intergroup relations field requires a great degree of flexibility and a fertile imagination. The range of specific techniques that may be applied to a given community problem is great. But we believe that past social research and social action experience is beginning to give a small but growing body of knowledge on which specific techniques are <u>more</u> effective and which are <u>less</u> effective. In other words, if a program's finances, energies, and other resources are to be optimally allocated, the organization must decide "which horse to back," as far as techniques are concerned.

As an example, we might state a few brief conclusions of social scientists and practitioners on some actions that are considered somewhat less effective. A primary example is the use of mass media in the intergroup relations field. This is especially important if an organization has to decide whether to invest in mass media, in educational programs, or in legislative drives. Sociologist Robin Williams has suggested that "it is reasonable to doubt that racial and cultural conflicts can be appreciably alleviated by conventional methods of mass education," adding that "it would appear that the most promising area of study here is rather that of attitude and behavioral change resulting from education in group situations." Sociologist Robert MacIver adds that while he cannot question the high potential value of mass appeal materials, he believes that "they constitute the most hazardous of all the activities undertaken" by the Jewish agencies that he studied.

Numerous other reservations have been stated about various techniques in this field. However, in order to view at firsthand the range of action methods available to the practitioner, we present the following "exercise." A research instrument was constructed by the Cornell Intergroup Relations Study group, for the purpose of determining intergroup practitioners' evaluations of the most effective and least effective techniques of intergroup relations. It appears on the ensuing pages. In analysing the results of this inventory, the 17 suggested methods are re-arranged, into a continuum ranging from methods that do not attack either prejudice or discrimination, to methods that attack prejudice only, and finally to methods that attack discrimination directly. The reactions of practitioners to this instrument may be matched against the best available knowledge about what is effective in intergroup relations. Methods and techniques known to merely waste time and money, or to have "boomerang effects" may then be discarded in favor of procedures that

QUESTIONNAIRE ON ACTION TECHNIQUES IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Instructions

Suppose that you and several other interested persons wanted to develop a program to improve intergroup relations in your community.

Check in the appropriate column how effective you think each of these techniques would be if you undertook them: very effective, fairly effective, or not so effective. Also make a check if you think a technique might have negative effects.

Now go back and check which one of the "very effective" techniques you think would be most effective.

	Very effective	Fairly effective	Not so effective	Might have negative effects
1. Arrange group discussions among parents to modify their intergroup attitudes, since prejudice begins at home.	___	___	___	___
2. Protest discriminatory acts by petitions, open letters to officials, and other publicity.	___	___	___	___
3. Arrange forums, lectures, and public meetings to interpret to the community the accomplishments and cultural backgrounds of different minority groups.	___	___	___	___
4. Organize a citizens' committee to study the local situation and make recommendations.	___	___	___	___
5. Set a good personal example of your social circle, work relations, and friends.	___	___	___	___
6. Get dramatic posters and exhibits in public places such as restaurants, libraries, show cases, and public transportation.	___	___	___	___
7. Arrange meetings at which outside experts can discuss intergroup relations with civic leaders and influential persons.	___	___	___	___
8. Persuade minorities to stop agitating and give time a chance to solve the problem.	___	___	___	___
9. Get a few influential persons to negotiate privately behind the scenes with establishments that discriminate.	___	___	___	___
10. Get clergymen throughout the city to deliver sermons urging greater tolerance and understanding of minorities.	___	___	___	___

	Very effective	Fairly effective	Not so effective	Might have negative effects
11. Organize boycotts or mass picketing of firms that practice discrimination.	___	___	___	___
12. Negotiate with violators of civil rights and fair practices legislation to initiate better intergroup practices or face legal consequences.	___	___	___	___
13. Arrange for radio programs, newspaper articles, etc., that will attack prejudice.	___	___	___	___
14. Bring legal action against persons or firms that continue to practice discrimination.	___	___	___	___
15. Organize intergroup relations workshops for specific groups that are handling intergroup situations.	___	___	___	___
16. Get minority leaders to spend most of their time encouraging members of the minority to improve themselves so majority group members will be more willing to accept them.	___	___	___	___
17. Arrange education courses on intergroup relations that are open to the public.	___	___	___	___

are more effective. In addition, practitioners from a wide variety of communities might assess the relative effectiveness of various methods in terms of the unique structure and functioning of their own community.

E. There are more and less effective ways of utilizing each action technique.

We wish to add a further point here: the effective community worker should concern himself not only with which techniques are effective and which are not; he should also consider that there are more and less effective ways of utilizing each technique that exists, on the continuum ranging from action within the minority community, through action to change majority group prejudices, to action to change majority group discriminatory practices. We present, on the ensuing two pages, suggestion of the more and less effective practices in regard to each technique.

We recognize the tentativeness of this scheme, and realize that each person may relate himself to it by classifying himself "on the side of the angels." We nevertheless present it on the next two pages, hoping (a) to end some of the fury of the "change attitudes -- change practices" controversy; (b) to suggest that practitioners should move away from excessive emphasis on a single technique since action should be undertaken along a multitude of fronts; and (c) perhaps to illustrate the slang phrase: " 'Taint what you do - it's the way that you do it."

F. There are certain "specifics" that every practitioner should know.

So far, we have emphasized general principles applied by social scientists and practitioners to race relations. We feel that we should move increasingly toward "specifics" - toward the more immediate details affecting the life of the race

MORE AND LESS EFFECTIVE TECHNIQUES EMPLOYED BY INTERGROUP PRACTITIONERS

Type of Action	Less Effective Procedures	More Effective Procedures
1. Action in minority community.	Laying the burden on minorities to improve themselves in order to end prejudice; making the minorities take the initiative in changing patterns; forcing minorities into painful situations without support.	Raising minority aspiration levels; promoting minority initiative; increasing minority self-confidence and self-esteem.
2. Exhortation.	Speaking over and over to those already "saved"; using broad generalizations like "the wages of sin are death".	Dramatic presentations accompanied by recommendations or action proposals; speaking to groups in terms of their most cherished values.
3. The media approach.	Signs, slogans and posters that do not tell people what to do. For example, "Love thy neighbor" or "All men are brothers".	Statements by "culture heroes"; immediate personalized media that reach the individual and indicate specific courses of action.
4. Education.	The straight recounting of corrective facts, sometimes insufficient, because of the many emotional facets of prejudice.	Education involving emotions as well as intellect; becoming educated is part of an integrated interaction process; "learning what we live".
5. Surveys.	People confining their actions to gathering and discussing facts, or duplicating surveys already done; using surveys as an excuse for not taking action.	People participating personally in fact-finding, increasing their emotional involvement, with a stated intent to implement any facts they find, and with interpretation.

Type of Action	Less Effective Procedures	More Effective Procedures
6. Revelation or "shock treatment".	Stating unverified facts without context or interpretation, engendering surprise, disbelief and resistance.	"Shock treatment" of audiences backed by solid fact, and involving a process of a) confrontation, b) interpretation and c) redirection.
7. Participation.	Self-conscious inter-cultural "talent shows" that place and undue emphasis on the cultural characteristics of the minority that are unique; throwing unprepared persons together without goals, context or guidance.	Joint integrated activity on an area of vital common interest, preferably involving equal status contact.
8. Negotiation.	Quelling each individual discrimination complaint by private agreement without consulting others; compromising, appeasing, or "selling out".	Representative community groups persuading discriminators to adopt and state a specific, clear-cut non-discriminatory policy; holding a spirit of no compromise.
9. Legal and legislative action.	Failure to coordinate action, resulting in confusion, crystallization of resistance, or acceptance of compromise solutions.	Carefully planned and co-ordinated action with an unassailable case, access to competent legal talent, thorough knowledge of all sanctions and "klobbering" devices available.
10. More direct action.	Adopting the illegal or immoral tactics of the opposition in the process of picketing, boycotting, mass demonstrations.	Determining the legality of these "protest techniques"; operating within the framework of the law; mobilizing maximal community

relations worker. Our observations of intergroup practitioners at the Fisk University Race Relations Institute and at other gatherings convince us that the effective practitioner should know the following things:

1. Know the best of the theoretical thinking on race relations that can be applied to his specific program, as suggested above.

2. Know the total range of possible effective race relations techniques, and study the timing and strategy involved in applying the most appropriate technique effectively.

3. Know how to work with his board; how to keep them (a) interested, (b) informed, (c) active, and (d) flexible. More specific ways of doing this can be outlined for the interested reader.

4. Be familiar with the best resources. In addition to social science knowledge, the effective practitioner should know the best of the intergroup relations materials and how to obtain and distribute them rapidly, without getting involved in too much needless paper work. The term "resources" should also include all the other intergroup organizations, and the practitioner should readily know (a) what they are set up to do, (b) what they actually do, (c) what their limitations and advantages are, and (d) how they can help his organization, and now he can help them.

5. Know the policy statements of community organizations and how they propose to implement them locally. Study the 40 or so statements made at Fisk's Southwide Interorganizational Conference in 1955, and press local constituencies of these groups to implement them as far as possible. Also, local bodies might be pressured or "moved" through their regional or national headquarters.

6. Know about the conditions of tension and violence and the ways of handling them. Social scientists have done some study in this area but even more directly useful information may be obtained from such persons as sociologist-sheriff Joseph Lohman, who has developed effective techniques and handbooks, in teaching policemen how to quell racial tension.

7. Know all the outside sanctions that can be brought to bear on a community in times of stress or crisis. For example, under what conditions can be practitioner take legal action, bring in the State Bureau of Investigation: get the state to cut off local school funds?

These actions, ambitiously stated, will call upon the best of the practitioner's knowledge, attitudes, and skills. But we believe that maximum effectiveness will be definitely hampered unless the race relations worker masters them.

G. There is a variety of possible alternative actions in each area of segregation and discrimination.

We gather that some organizations are set up specificly to work on problems of schools, others on employment, others on housing, etc. But there are also organizations that are not limited in this way, but are dedicated toward working in any area where segregation and discrimination are rampant, and where human rights are being violated. For organizations such as these, we urge them to decide (a) in what area they can work most effectively, and (b) what the most effective action is that they can pursue in that area. For example, suppose an organization wants to work in the area of public school desegregation but is unable to do so because (a) other organizations are working in that area, or (b) the area is "too hot to handle." Then the organization might consider that it could be working effectively in any one of these areas:

1. Employment
2. Transportation, and other public accomodations
3. Housing
4. Dealing with tension incidents
5. Religious life
6. The Negro community

The criteria for selecting a given area over others might be these: (1) it is not an "impossible" situation, (2) there is "symbolic value" in the area as far as the minority community is concerned, (3) there is a serious need for improvement in that area, and (4) staff or directors have some knowledge, influence, or experience in that area. We suggest, briefly, a range of actions that might be pursued in each of the above mentioned areas:

1. Employment:

(a) Persuade qualified minorities to make personal application for non-traditional jobs.

(b) Seek integration of Negroes into city, state, and federal jobs.

(c) Approach key employers in the community to see if they will establish a precedent by changing their employment patterns.

(d) See that the non-discriminatory provisions of the President's Committee on Government Contracts are fully followed in the community, helping persons discriminated against to file a complaint, if necessary.

(b) Write to all relevant transportation authorities asking them to issue policy statements implementing the recent Interstate Commerce Commission ruling.

(c) Set up a "test case" to show how this ruling is being evaded.

(d) Boycott the Negro facility and ask that facilities be opened to all.

3. Housing

(a) Encourage and support Negro families seeking homes in predominantly white neighborhoods.

(c) Work to stablize "changing neighborhoods" by encouraging whites to avoid "panic selling."

(d) See if the powers of FHA or VA can be invoked to prevent the construction of government-financed segregated housing developments.

4. Handling Tension incidents

(a) Keep an accurate, up-to-date file on all incidents of racial tension, conflict, atrocity.

(b) Try to get publicity for anti-Negro tension incidents in the media of communication.

(c) Be "on-the-spot" in order to do what you can to solve tension incidents personally.

(d) Be alert to the forces of law and order that can evoked in event of racial tension, and keep them informed of potential problems, e.g., the police, national guard, governor, FBI.

5. Religious life

(a) Urge white and Negro ministers to deliver more church sermons urging tolerance and understanding.

(b) Encourage church clubs and youth groups to have joint meetings and discussions groups.

(c) Urge white and Negro ministers to meet together or to integrate the Ministerial Alliances.

(d) Review the national policy statements about segregation and discrimination made by each local church body; urge the local body to implement the policies in the most effective manner possible.

6. The Negro community

(a) Persuade minorities to be on their best behavior, and to equip themselves for possible new opportunity.

(b) Remind Negroes of all state and federal laws protecting their rights, and indicate wherever these laws are being violated.

(c) Help or persuade the Negro community to pay poll taxes or otherwise qualify to vote; teach youths how to register as they come of age.

(d) Organize the most effective economic counter-boycott possible in the Negro community.

These are but a few of the actions that are possible in Southern communities. Note that under each heading, they tend to range from less to more "direct action" methods, in order that some allowance may be made for differences between various communities or states. The area of action in public schools has been omitted here, but numerous publications of effective action in school desegregation exist and are readily obtainable. We recommend here that each staff member of an intergroup organization, in collaboration with his board of advisors, consider the criteria for selection of an action area, and then decide within the limits of his environment, what is the most militant action that can be pursued effectively.

H. Living the effective personal life in intergroup relations

In conclusion, we feel that in addition to the perhaps overwhelming recommendations on effectiveness that we have listed above, the effective worker can add to his contribution by considering how to lead the personally effective life as far as race relations are concerned. Each person must work out for himself the best way of doing this. We will not detail our suggestions here, although the writer has advanced some suggestions in the 1956 Winter issue of Child Study Magazine, in an article called "The Family's Stake in Desegregation." Briefly, the suggestions are: "Know thyself" and the extent of your own prejudices; know the facts - know what is effective; learn how to "silence a bigot;" learn how to handle tension incidents; and "set a good personal example." And a sixth point might be added for all white and Negro persons interested in effectiveness:

wherever possible, stop supporting segregation. And who knows, we may wake some morning only to find, happily, that we have "worked ourselves out of a job."

Staige was asking about the Consultant Service Program, and who the consultants are. This all seems so old, I wonder if it does not need up-dating before I give it to him?

MA

Effective September 9, 1960, our new address is:

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

5-23-57

File

SRC Consultants

Dr. Kenneth Clark
31 W. 110th Street
New York, New York
Tel. Enright 9-6464

Dr. A. Lee Coleman
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky
Tel. 2-2200 Ext. 2352

Dr. Robert Johnson
Nat'l. Conf. Christians and Jews
43 West 57th Street
New York, New York

Dr. W. B. Jones, Jr.,
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee
Tel. 5-5155

Dr. Lewis Killian
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida
Tel. 2-800 Ext. 7-2121

Dr. Hylan Lewis
~~Unitarian Ser. Committee~~
~~9 Park Street~~
~~Boston, Massachusetts~~
~~Tel. CA 7-3660~~

3516 - 28th St., N.E. } Home
Washington 18, D.C.
Office: Dir, Child Rearing Study
Health + Welfare Council
1101 "M" Street, N.W.
Washington 5, D.C.

Dr. Herman H. Long
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee
Tel. CH 2-3396

Mrs. Bonita Valien
~~Fisk University~~ 227 Hamilton St.
~~Nashville, Tennessee~~ Albany 10, N.Y.
Tel. CH 2-4451

Dr. Harry J. Walker
Howard University
Department of Sociology
Washington 1, D. C.

deceased

Dr. G. D. Wilson
Department of Education
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Kentucky
Te. Capital 3-0927

Mr. Whitney M. Young
~~Atlanta University~~
~~School of Social Work~~
~~Atlanta, Georgia~~
Cambridge, Mass

Dr. Kenneth Morland
Randolph-Macon College
Lynchburg, Va.

Consultant Service

CONSULTANTS INVOLVED IN THE CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM
OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

1. Panel of Regular Consultants

xDR. KENNETH B. CLARK -- Associate Professor, Psychology, City College of New York; Associate Director of Northside Center for Child Development; Ph.D. Psychology, Columbia University (1940); book -- Prejudice and Your Child; numerous articles; (b) New York City; Negro.

DR. A. LEE COLEMAN -- Associate Professor, Rural Sociology, University of Kentucky; editor, Journal of Rural Sociology; Ph.D. Sociology-Anthropology, Cornell University; The Negro Population of Kentucky at Mid-Century and other bulletins of Kentucky Agricultural Experimental Station, University of Kentucky; (b) Devereau, Georgia; white. (Consultant, Kentucky Council on Human Relations, NCCJ, ADL.)

xMR. JOHN HOPE, II -- Director of Consultant Service Program and Chief Consultant, SRC; Director of Industrial Relations, Race Relations Department, Fisk University; M.A. Econ., Brown University; further study University of Chicago; books -- Three Southern Plants of International Harvester (Negro Employment) and Equality of Opportunity; (b) Atlanta, Georgia; Negro. (Consultant on intergroup relations to municipal and state government bodies, industrial firms, unions and other private organizations.)

DR. W. B. JONES -- Professor of Sociology, University of Tennessee; Ph.D. Sociology, Vanderbilt University (1939); (b) Tennessee; white. (Director, Tennessee Civil Defense, Preliminary Operational Survival Plan Project; on several state and other commissions dealing with penal problems and institutions; consultant, Tennessee Council on Human Relations and Tennessee Commission on Youth Guidance.)

DR. ROBERT JOHNSON -- Research Director, National Conference of Christians and Jews; Ph.D. Sociology, Cornell (1955); contributed to A Manual of Intergroup Relations, Dean and Rosen; (b) Nashville, Tennessee; Negro. (Evaluator of AFSC Community Relations Program and of Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights.)

DR. LEWIS M. KILLIAN -- Associate Professor of Sociology, Florida State University; Ph.D. Sociology, University of Chicago; book -- Collective Behaviour, with Ralph H. Turner, Prentice Hall, 1957, and numerous articles; (b) Darien, Georgia; white.

xDR. HYLAN LEWIS -- Associate Director, Unitarian Service Committee, Boston; Ph.D. Sociology, University of Chicago; book -- The Blackways of Kent, and numerous articles; (b) Richmond, Virginia; Negro. (Research Consultant, Commission on Race and Housing, Fund for the Republic.)

xDR. HERMAN H. LONG -- Director, Race Relations Department, Congregational Christian Church, Fisk University; Ph.D. Psychology, University of Michigan (1949); book -- People versus Poverty, and numerous articles; (b) Birmingham, Alabama; Negro. (former President, NAIRO; Consultant

on Intergroup relations to municipal and state government bodies and private organizations; member Commission on Educational Organizations, NCCJ.)

DR. C. H. PARRISH -- Professor of Sociology, University of Louisville; Associate for Program Development, SRC; Ph.D. Sociology, University of Chicago; (b) Kentucky; Negro. First Negro faculty member, University of Louisville.

*MRS. BONITA VALIEN -- Associate Professor, Sociology, Fisk University; M.A. Sociology and further study, Wisconsin; books -- The St. Louis Story; A Study of Desegregation and The Clinton Story (with P. Valien and Holden); (b) Fort Worth, Texas; Negro. (longtime research assistant to the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson; Consultant, Southern Education Reporting Service.)

xDR. HARRY J. WALKER -- Associate Professor, Sociology, Howard University; Ph.D. Sociology, University of Chicago (1945); book -- The Negro in American Life, Oxford Book Company, 1954; numerous articles and research projects in intergroup relations. (formerly Director of Community Services, Southside Planning Board Chicago; Secretary of Committee on Education, Training and Research in Race Relations, University of Chicago; Research Consultant, Commission on Race and Housing, Fund for the Republic.)

MR. WHITNEY M. YOUNG, Jr. -- Dean, Atlanta University School of Social Work; M.A. Social Work, University of Minnesota (1947); formerly Executive Secretary Omaha Urban League; (b) Kentucky; Negro.

11. Potential Consultant Resources who are on Call

Dean B. R. Brazeal
Morehouse College

Dr. Robert Brisbane
Morehouse College

Dr. Earl Brewer
Emory University

Mr. Will Campbell(a)
National Council of Churches
Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. Emmett Dorsey
Howard University

Dr. Samuel Gandy
Dillard University

Mrs. Grace Hamilton
Atlanta Urban League

Dr. Robert E. Martin
Howard University

Dr. Robert G. Menefee
Berea College
Berea, Kentucky

Miss Irene Osborne*(a)
American Friends Service Committee
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dr. Willis Sutton*(a)
University of Kentucky

Dr. Daniel C. Thompson
Dillard University

Mr. Robert Thompson
Atlanta Urban League

(a) Used as consultants since May 1957 Consultant Conference.

111. Special Consultants

Three local school superintendents whose names must be kept confidential by agreement.

Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director, SRC, and Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant, SRC, have served in consultant program from time to time without cost to this program.

* Member field staff, Ashmore Project, Fund for the Advancement of Education.

x Rosenwald Fellow.

Consultant Service

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

May 23, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: DIRECTORS OF SRC STATE AFFILIATES AND CONSULTANTS

FROM: JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT, CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

SUBJECT: THE CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM -- PURPOSE, REQUISITES FOR EFFECTIVENESS, AND SCOPE

The major purpose of the Consultant Service Program (CSP) is to provide technical assistance in program development to SRC affiliates and other groups whose objectives are similar or compatible with those of SRC, e.g., the elimination of segregation and discrimination based upon race in the Southern economy. It seeks to provide professional guidance on how to achieve democratic race relations; not persuasive advocates to foster and promote acceptance of the principle. Effective implementation of the policy, not its establishment, is emphasized.

Such assistance is provided by a panel of consultants highly qualified by formal training, experience, and temperament, who are available on a part-time basis to organizations, community groups, official bodies concerned with and/or committed to the desegregation process. Initially, the service was confined primarily to the SRC state affiliates as an SRC service without cost to them, though it was available to outside groups on a cost or partial cost basis. From the start, this restriction in scope of service was simply based upon limitations of resources and the recognition of a priority to members of the SRC family. But the operations of the first few months clearly demonstrated a broader need for such aid to unaffiliated local groups and official bodies if the common aims of these and SRC affiliates were to be achieved expeditiously and efficiently.

Foundation aid was sought and obtained which now allows us to provide technical assistance to non-SRC as well as SRC affiliated local as well as state or regional groups on basis of need and their ability to effectively use such resources either without cost or on basis of their ability to pay for it. This, it is believed, has greatly extended the range of potential availability of technical assistance in program development, community organization, etc. to groups fostering the goals and spirit of the Desegregation Decision in the South and has further increased the flexibility and efficiency with which these professional talents can be allocated so as to gain maximum positive results for the region as a whole.

On the other hand, it places a heavier burden upon SRC and state affiliate staff members to publicize the CSP and in a sense "selling" the services to potential users. Figuratively speaking, the writer and, indeed, the SRC as a whole, is a broker whose function is to bring together in the most effective way those groups or key individuals who have need for such professional services and those who possess the talents required but are not organizationally situated so as to focus them where they can be most fruitful in gaining SRC objectives. Since the resources of the CSP are limited, all requests for assistance cannot be accepted however deserving they might be. Rather, our role appears to be that of choosing from the requests submitted those which appear to be most promising and most likely to be multiplying and accelerating in their impact upon the productivity and sophistication of leadership, those which will not only render needed high level scarce services to groups involved in our cause but may activate and encourage other groups to similarly employ and finance such skills. Ours is the task of complementing and supplementing existing (and sometimes dormant) resources in the community, not competing with them; of providing the additional element that may motivate liberal groups to constructive action and prevent frustrating inertia in the face of complex and discouraging obstacles; of supporting the dedicated and effective volunteer layman with limited technical skill and advice at the time and point of need and getting out of his way when he is ready to move forward unaided,with skill, understanding, and courage.

But the function of administration of the CSP goes far beyond mere brokerage of a given service. The service itself though requiring a definite level and type of formal training as social scientists or practitioners, must be subtly and deftly tailored to the individual needs of each group and frequently is not separable from a particular consultant. Such a person through temperament, personality, or experience may give as a part of his total professional contribution a unique element (or spark) that gives his service a plus value in particular situations -- and, indeed, may conceivably provide a negative one in others.

Consequently, if the CSP is to be equal to the varied types of present demands and ready to meet new ones as they arise, the panel must be varied enough in its composition to provide maximum flexibility without

loss of the basic common qualifications necessary for overall efficiency. On the other hand, if lofty standards are to be maintained, the consultants should receive frequent enough assignments to motivate their continuous awareness and study of new developments in the Southern situation and periodic re-evaluation of the situation as scholars. Thus, in terms of present limits of resources and consultation opportunities, very real restrictions on panel size are necessary, while pressure for overall competence and flexibility seem to increase as the demands move closer to the specific friction points, e.g., the local community with a pending court order, the school board, the park commission, etc. Under these conditions, the consultant is challenged to give rather specific suggestions to fit the particular conditions, advise as to whether particular plans or strategies seem sound or not.

Therefore, effective administration of the CSP, in addition to bringing consultant and consultee together, depends upon the extent to which the composition of the panel includes and the program utilizes the blend of specialties and high professional qualifications needed to meet varied demands; the extent to which the individual consultants are able to accept assignments when requested; the amount and quality of their preparation for assignments, and the support given by SRC research and information facilities.

A clear distinction should be made between efforts aimed at gaining adherents and achieving acceptance of the principle of equality and the policy of desegregation and integration, and those directed to the application of these principles and policies with maximum speed and efficiency and a minimum of overt conflict. Both of these are necessary and should be pursued by staffs of all state affiliates but the emphasis given to each will vary from state to state at a given time and in each state from time to time. It is imperative that the director always have clearly in mind which of these aims he seeks, or the relative significance of each, in every project developed -- policy acceptance or effective implementation of policy in specific program areas chosen to fit the needs of a particular community -- because the best techniques for achieving these respective goals are not necessarily the same.

The primary field of operation and usefulness of the CSP is the latter -- implementing the letter and spirit of the Desegregation Decision. Its major sphere of operation is among organizations and strategically placed individual community leaders who have accepted in principle, at least, the Desegregation Decision and those who, without regard to their personal attitude, are by their positions impelled to seek its

implementation (or to maintain order and avoid illegal opposition) -- willingly or unwillingly. The CSP should prepare to assist those who are working for implementation whether through personal conviction, organizational involvement and consequent implicit acceptance of group discipline, or administrative responsibility to implement laws, court orders, etc. applied to their employer.

Its prime target is thus leadership, not rank-and-file membership; those in a position to motivate, multiply, and accelerate affirmative action, not followers. Therefore, efforts at "selling" the CSP should be aimed at leadership groups who for some reason are ready to at least consider action. This is where the state and SRC staffs should cooperate as broker. The success of this operation requires rifle shot, not shotgun, methods of promotion; careful choice of persons or groups who can most profitably use consultant service; and specific promotional efforts, mainly personal, aimed at encouraging them to seek such help. Mimeographed general mailings are not likely to be effective and may alert the opposition thus generating counteractive efforts which may unnecessarily cause the diversion of some of our efforts to defensive channels.

The following are some of the organizational frameworks through which, it is felt, the CSP can be effective in the next two or three year period which may be used as a basis for determining where it can be useful in strengthening and broadening program:

I. SRC state affiliates and their local units, with emphasis upon more promising local community situations. (Utilize the assistance and other organizational contacts and associations of board members in developing opportunities.)

II. Assistance to and coordination with other organizations and agencies insofar as they are promoting activities with goals similar to ours, including purely local groups and local units of national, regional, or state organizations.

A. Religious groups, e.g., United Church Women, Council of Jewish Women and other Jewish groups, the Catholic Interracial Committee, the organizations of various religious denominations and/or their subordinate agencies and commissions concerned with our cause; local inter-denominational ministerial associations, etc.

B. Civic Organizations, e.g., League of Women Voters, American Association of University Women, PTAs, etc.

C. Professional Organizations, e.g., organization of social workers, nurses, etc.; Council of Social Agencies; etc.

D. Organizations of Economic groups.

1. Labor Unions.

2. Business and Industrial Organizations and Service Clubs, e.g., Chambers of Commerce (Sr. and Jr.), Kiwanis, Lions, Rotary, and other such clubs.

III. Official governmental bodies concerned with problems of desegregation and the elimination of discrimination.

A. Departments and/or Boards of Education (local, state) and their administrative heads.

B. Law enforcement officials and/or agencies, e.g., municipal police chiefs, commissioners, etc.; county sheriffs; state officials (patrol, troopers, rangers, etc.); state guard.

C. Public transportation officials and commissions and their administrative heads (municipal, county, state).

D. Public recreation officials and their administrative heads (municipal, county, state).

E. Other public bodies concerned with segregation and discrimination, e.g., industrial or labor and industry commissions; health and welfare commissions; etc.

Among the principal methods by which consultants can serve the above groups are the following:

I. By the use of consultant teams working in group study situations of leaders or policy level officials, with participation usually by invitation only.

A. Developing plans and contributing (some or all) consultants or resource persons needed for a workshop, institute, or conference, by invitation from the consultee group and in participation with it.

B. Selecting and providing resource persons in particular problem areas for participation in workshops, conferences, etc. of other organizations, usually as part of a larger group of consultants, e.g., the LeMoyne Race Relations Conference.

II. By the use of technical assistance on a specific problem from a consultant with specialized competence in that particular problem area. Such aid is likely to come from

one consultant and conceivably could involve a more sustained association than is characteristic of workshops and conferences. Consultants for this purpose may or may not be members of our panel and some may not be used more than once.

The choice of method for a given consultant service request will depend upon the specific needs and circumstances involved.

PA

CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM

Fiscal Report - June 25, 1957

Balance - May 1, 1957		$10,750.63	
Disbursements for May 1957			
Travel	$1,767.12		
Consultant Fees	2,933.44		
	$4,700.56		
Balance - June 1, 1957		6,050.07	
Disbursements through June 25, 1957			
Total	$1,241.15		
Balance - June 25, 1957		4,808.92	
Due from New World Foundation		5,000.00	
Total on Hand and Due		9,808.92	
Obligated			
SRC Overhead Charge	$2,000.00		
Remaining Conf. Costs	250.00		
		2,250.00	
BALANCE FOR 1957			$7,558.92

Cost of Special Conferences:

5/21-22/57	State Staff Conference	$ 786.97
5/23-24/57	Consultant Conference	2,335.62
		$3,122.59

MEMORANDUM

TO: ALL SRC CONSULTANTS April 8, 1957
FROM: JOHN HOPE II, Chief Consultant

The main purpose of this memo is to ask you to mark the dates May 10 and 11 on your calendar. We want to convene all consultants who have been involved in our Consultant Service Program in the past year for a meeting in Atlanta on these dates. The purpose is to appraise our past and plan our future program. The effectiveness of your important contribution to the effort is apparent in many ways but one of the most obvious of these is the fact that a Foundation has seen fit to underwrite this phase of the SRC program for another year. Thus, we are "in business" with greater opportunities before us and at the same time more of a challenge to our ingenuity, training, technical skill and "horse sense" to find the best ways of using this apparently effective tool for the best interest of the South and the nation during this crucial transitional period.

Please hold these dates open for us. I will advise you further about the specific plans for this meeting in the near future. It will probably begin with dinner at 6:00 p.m. May 10 and end the next day (Saturday) about 4:00.

In the meanwhile, if you have suggestions or criticisms that might be helpful to us in planning this conference, they will be gratefully received.

Finally you will be interested to know that we hope to give greater emphasis to servicing local communities in the coming year and assisting within the limits of budget organizations and groups unaffiliated with SRC as well as our affiliates on the basis of need and the prospect of improving and enriching their contribution to the objectives which we seek. This may necessitate the broadening of our consultant panel both as to number and range of training and experience. To this end, I will welcome your suggestions of the names (address and brief statement of qualifications, etc.) of persons who are qualified by training, temperament, and interest to serve as consultants. These may include persons with the more specialized skills pertinent to particular problem areas as well as those with the broader qualifications for general consultative purposes such as our present panel demonstrates, e.g., professional educators; persons trained and experienced in religion but with training and/or experience in the area of community organization and social action; industrial and labor relations persons; functionaries in and students with training and experience in dealing with law enforcement, municipal administration, school boards and administrators, etc. However, I must emphasize that this request does not imply resources for major expansion of our services but rather the somewhat selfish interest in adding a few of the very best persons available to fit the needs of our service while compiling a much larger list from which we may comfortable suggest competent persons to others seeking consultant services, some of which are outside of the scope of our program. Such requests are on the increase and any contributions that can be made toward furnishing qualified technical resources to points of need is itself an important service at this time.

Please advise me promptly whether you are free to attend this meeting on May 10th and 11th.

DOMESTIC SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram

FULL RATE TELEGRAM	X
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
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	PAID		THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.	4/24/57

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

DR. W. B. JONES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

MEETING BEGINS WITH 6:00 P.M. DINNER MAY 24TH AND RUNS THROUGH 4:00 P.M. MAY 25th.

PAUL ANTHONY

FILE COPY

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at destination

1957 MAY 24 AM 8 51

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CT KVA019 PD AR=KNOXVILLE TENN 24 800AME=
JOHN ANTHONY=
63 AUBURN ST ATLA=
CONFIRM WESTERN UNION MEETING TODAY AND TOMORROW=
DR W B JONES=

Consultant Service Program

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

From JH II
Re: Consultant team expansion —

Consultant Program

This is a list of Prospective Consultants Suggested by one or more Staff and Present CSP Consultants to date. Classifications are highly tentative based on limited information. Please arrange in ascending order of preference those you think should be invited to Consultant Conference (First 6 or 7) and fill in additional information needed. Will telephone afternoon Wednesday May 1st.

General Purpose -- Sociologist, Inter-group Practitioners, etc.

Brisbane
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Lois Dean
2461 Glen Mary Avenue
Louisville, Kentucky

Dr. Sam Dorsey
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Robert Martin, Ph.D.
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dr. J. Kenneth Moreland, Head
Sociology Department
Randolph Macon College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dr. Ralph Patrick
Washington University
St. Louis, Missouri

Dr. S. U. Smith, Ph.D.
Department of Sociology
Florida A. and M. University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dr. Willis Sutton,
Sociologist
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Thompson
Professor of Sociology
Dillard University

Robert Thompson
Atlanta Urban League
Atlanta, Georgia

Economic Emphasis -- Economic Development Labor, Labor-Management, Minority Utilization, etc.

Mr. Harry Alston
Southern Office
National Urban League
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Thelma Babbitt,
National Director
Job Opportunity Program
AFSC

Dr. Eli Ginsbert, (Ginsberg - Negro Potential ?)
Professor of Economics,
Columbia University;
Research Director,
National Manpower Commission

Phillip Hammer
Hammer and Company
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Ben Segal,
Labor Consultant
Fund for the Republic

Mr. Emory Via
Labor Consultant, SRC — Coming for SRC —

Mr. Carlton Yeldell
Labor Consultant
National Urban League
New York, New York

Religious Emphasis

Rev. Nick Hood
New Orleans, Louisiana

Sam Gandy
Dean of the Chapel
Dillard Univ.
New Orleans —

Rev. Carlton Lee
Touguloo College
Touguloo, Mississippi

Canon Robt. McCloskey
Episcopal Diocese of Fla.
Jacksonville, Fla.

Others -- (Classification based on my lack of information only)

Dr. Earl Brewer
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Bryce Ryan
Sociologist
L.S.U. or Southern Methodist

cc of letter and list to John Hope, 5/15/57

May 14, 1957

Dr. Robert Brisbane
Department of Political Science
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Brisbane:

This is an invitation to attend a conference on SRC's Consultant Service Program, to be held in Atlanta on May 24-25.

For the past year SRC has offered the services of qualified consultants to its affiliated state organizations in order to help them develop meaningful programs. This service, which has been called the Consultant Service Program, has generally taken the form of workshops for Staff and Board of the state affiliates.

Experience indicates a need for similar professional consultation with civic organizations and groups which are working for desegregation in their own communities, and also with official bodies - such as school boards - which are faced with the task of initiating desegregation in public facilities.

Assistance has thus far been provided to two community groups of lay leadership and a public body. It is now clear that even modest success at the local level will create a larger and more varied demand for service than our present panel of consultants can meet. The range of professional qualifications, training, and experience of the panel must be broadened if we are to maintain the level of excellence and flexibility demonstrated by our consultants to date.

On May 24-25, the SRC Consultant Conference will be held at Atlanta University, starting with a six o'clock dinner at the A.U. dormitory, 50 Chestnut Street, S.W. At this meeting the present consultant panel and SRC staff members involved in the program will take stock of activities to date and make plans for the future.

We are asking a few seledted professionals, who we feel are well qualified to serve as consultants, to join us in the planning and at the same time to get acquainted with the consultant program and its aims and methods. It would be assumed that each of them would be available for occasional service as a consultant on a fee basis, if and when the needs of the program require their particular talents, though no commitment is implied at this time.

We very much hope that you will join us in this conference. SRC will defray your travel and other expenses. Please indicate whether you can attend by air mail to Mr. Paul Anthony, Administrative Assistant, c/o SRC at the address on this letterhead. Reservations for all participants will be made at the Atlanta University dormitories; your prompt reply may give us time to provide a travel advance.

Hope to greet you in Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II
Chief Consultant

JH:mm

Letter of invitation to Consultant Conference sent to following people, May 14, 1957:

Dr. Robert Brisbane
Department of Political Science
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Robert Martin
Department of Political Science
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Daniel C. Thompson
Department of Sociology
Dillard University
New Orleans, La.

Mr. Robert Thompson
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Irene Osborne
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. Philip Hammer
70 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Canon Robert McCloslay
Episcopal Diocese of Florida
Jacksonville, Florida

Dr. Samuel Gandy
Dean of the Chapel
Dillard University
New Orleans, La.

Dr. Earl Brewer
Department of Sociology
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Robert Menefee
Sociology Department
Berea College
Berea, Kentucky

Dr. B. R. Brazeal
Dean
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Willis A. Sutton
Bureau of Community Service
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Ky.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MEMORANDUM May 20, 1958

To: SRC Consultants

From: Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

:

At long last here are the minutes of the meeting of consultants held here in Atlanta a year ago.

We regret the long delay in getting these out, but hope they will still prove to be helpful.

All good regards.

:

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

May 23, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: DIRECTORS OF SRC STATE AFFILIATES AND CONSULTANTS

FROM: JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT, CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

SUBJECT: THE CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM -- PURPOSE, REQUISITES FOR EFFECTIVENESS, AND SCOPE

The major purpose of the Consultant Service Program (CSP) is to provide technical assistance in program development to SRC affiliates and other groups whose objectives are similar or compatible with those of SRC, e.g., the elimination of segregation and discrimination based upon race in the Southern economy. It seeks to provide professional guidance on how to achieve democratic race relations; not persuasive advocates to foster and promote acceptance of the principle. Effective implementation of the policy, not its establishment, is emphasized.

Such assistance is provided by a panel of consultants highly qualified by formal training, experience, and temperament, who are available on a part-time basis to organizations, community groups, official bodies concerned with and/or committed to the desegregation process. Initially, the service was confined primarily to the SRC state affiliates as an SRC service without cost to them, though it was available to outside groups on a cost or partial cost basis. From the start, this restriction in scope of service was simply based upon limitations of resources and the recognition of a priority to members of the SRC family. But the operations of the first few months clearly demonstrated a broader need for such aid to unaffiliated local groups and official bodies if the common aims of these and SRC affiliates were to be achieved expeditiously and efficiently.

Foundation aid was sought and obtained which now allows us to provide technical assistance to non-SRC as well as SRC affiliated local as well as state or regional groups on basis of need and their ability to effectively use such resources either without cost or on basis of their ability to pay for it. This, it is believed, has greatly extended the range of potential availability of technical assistance in program development, community organization, etc. to groups fostering the goals and spirit of the Desegregation Decision in the South and has further increased the flexibility and efficiency with which these professional talents can be allocated so as to gain maximum positive results for the region as a whole.

On the other hand, it places a heavier burden upon SRC and state affiliate staff members to publicize the CSP and in a sense "selling" the services to potential users. Figuratively speaking, the writer and, indeed, the SRC as a whole, is a broker whose function is to bring together in the most effective way those groups or key individuals who have need for such professional services and those who possess the talents required but are not organizationally situated so as to focus them where they can be most fruitful in gaining SRC objectives. Since the resources of the CSP are limited, all requests for assistance cannot be accepted however deserving they might be. Rather, our role appears to be that of choosing from the requests submitted those which appear to be most promising and most likely to be multiplying and accelerating in their impact upon the productivity and sophistication of leadership, those which will not only render needed high level scarce services to groups involved in our cause but may activate and encourage other groups to similarly employ and finance such skills. Ours is the task of complementing and supplementing existing (and sometimes dormant) resources in the community, not competing with them; of providing the additional element that may motivate liberal groups to constructive action and prevent frustrating inertia in the face of complex and discouraging obstacles; of supporting the dedicated and effective volunteer layman with limited technical skill and advice at the time and point of need and getting out of his way when he is ready to move forward unaided,with skill, understanding, and courage.

But the function of administration of the CSP goes far beyond mere brokerage of a given service. The service itself though requiring a definite level and type of formal training as social scientists or practitioners, must be subtly and deftly tailored to the individual needs of each group and frequently is not separable from a particular consultant. Such a person through temperament, personality, or experience may give as a part of his total professional contribution a unique element (or spark) that gives his service a plus value in particular situations -- and, indeed, may conceivably provide a negative one in others.

Consequently, if the CSP is to be equal to the varied types of present demands and ready to meet new ones as they arise, the panel must be varied enough in its composition to provide maximum flexibility without

loss of the basic common qualifications necessary for overall efficiency. On the other hand, if lofty standards are to be maintained, the consultants should receive frequent enough assignments to motivate their continuous awareness and study of new developments in the Southern situation and periodic re-evaluation of the situation as scholars. Thus, in terms of present limits of resources and consultation opportunities, very real restrictions on panel size are necessary, while pressure for overall competence and flexibility seem to increase as the demands move closer to the specific friction points, e.g., the local community with a pending court order, the school board, the park commission, etc. Under these conditions, the consultant is challenged to give rather specific suggestions to fit the particular conditions, advise as to whether particular plans or strategies seem sound or not.

Therefore, effective administration of the CSP, in addition to bringing consultant and consultee together, depends upon the extent to which the composition of the panel includes and the program utilizes the blend of specialties and high professional qualifications needed to meet varied demands; the extent to which the individual consultants are able to accept assignments when requested; the amount and quality of their preparation for assignments, and the support given by SRC research and information facilities.

A clear distinction should be made between efforts aimed at gaining adherents and achieving acceptance of the principle of equality and the policy of desegregation and integration, and those directed to the application of these principles and policies with maximum speed and efficiency and a minimum of overt conflict. Both of these are necessary and should be pursued by staffs of all state affiliates but the emphasis given to each will vary from state to state at a given time and in each state from time to time. It is imperative that the director always have clearly in mind which of these aims he seeks, or the relative significance of each, in every project developed -- policy acceptance or effective implementation of policy in specific program areas chosen to fit the needs of a particular community -- because the best techniques for achieving these respective goals are not necessarily the same.

The primary field of operation and usefulness of the CSP is the latter -- implementing the letter and spirit of the Desegregation Decision. Its major sphere of operation is among organizations and strategically placed individual community leaders who have accepted in principle, at least, the Desegregation Decision and those who, without regard to their personal attitude, are by their positions impelled to seek its

implementation (or to maintain order and avoid illegal opposition) -- willingly or unwillingly. The CSP should prepare to assist those who are working for implementation whether through personal conviction, organizational involvement and consequent implicit acceptance of group discipline, or administrative responsibility to implement laws, court orders, etc. applied to their employer.

Its prime target is thus leadership, not rank-and-file membership; those in a position to motivate, multiply, and accelerate affirmative action, not followers. Therefore, efforts at "selling" the CSP should be aimed at leadership groups who for some reason are ready to at least consider action. This is where the state and SRC staffs should cooperate as broker. The success of this operation requires rifle shot, not shotgun, methods of promotion; careful choice of persons or groups who can most profitably use consultant service; and specific promotional efforts, mainly personal, aimed at encouraging them to seek such help. Mimeographed general mailings are not likely to be effective and may alert the opposition thus generating counteractive efforts which may unnecessarily cause the diversion of some of our efforts to defensive channels.

The following are some of the organizational frameworks through which, it is felt, the CSP can be effective in the next two or three year period which may be used as a basis for determining where it can be useful in strengthening and broadening program:

I. SRC state affiliates and their local units, with emphasis upon more promising local community situations. (Utilize the assistance and other organizational contacts and associations of board members in developing opportunities.)

II. Assistance to and coordination with other organizations and agencies insofar as they are promoting activities with goals similar to ours, including purely local groups and local units of national, regional, or state organizations.

A. Religious groups, e.g., United Church Women, Council of Jewish Women and other Jewish groups, the Catholic Interracial Committee, the organizations of various religious denominations and/or their subordinate agencies and commissions concerned with our cause; local inter-denominational ministerial associations, etc.

B. Civic Organizations, e.g., League of Women Voters, American Association of University Women, PTAs, etc.

C. Professional Organizations, e.g., organization of social workers, nurses, etc.; Council of Social Agencies; etc.

D. Organizations of Economic groups.

1. Labor Unions.

2. Business and Industrial Organizations and Service Clubs, e.g., Chambers of Commerce (Sr. and Jr.), Kiwanis, Lions, Rotary, and other such clubs.

III. Official governmental bodies concerned with problems of desegregation and the elimination of discrimination.

A. Departments and/or Boards of Education (local, state) and their administrative heads.

B. Law enforcement officials and/or agencies, e.g., municipal police chiefs, commissioners, etc.; county sheriffs; state officials (patrol, troopers, rangers, etc.); state guard.

C. Public transportation officials and commissions and their administrative heads (municipal, county, state).

D. Public recreation officials and their administrative heads (municipal, county, state).

E. Other public bodies concerned with segregation and discrimination, e.g., industrial or labor and industry commissions; health and welfare commissions; etc.

Among the principal methods by which consultants can serve the above groups are the following:

I. By the use of consultant teams working in group study situations of leaders or policy level officials, with participation usually by invitation only.

A. Developing plans and contributing (some or all) consultants or resource persons needed for a workshop, institute, or conference, by invitation from the consultee group and in participation with it.

B. Selecting and providing resource persons in particular problem areas for participation in workshops, conferences, etc. of other organizations, usually as part of a larger group of consultants, e.g., the LeMoyne Race Relations Conference.

II. By the use of technical assistance on a specific problem from a consultant with specialized competence in that particular problem area. Such aid is likely to come from

one consultant and conceivably could involve a more sustained association than is characteristic of workshops and conferences. Consultants for this purpose may or may not be members of our panel and some may not be used more than once.

The choice of method for a given consultant service request will depend upon the specific needs and circumstances involved.

Consultant Service Prog. conf

AGENDA

SRC Consultant Service Program Conference

May 24-25, 1957

Friday, May 24

6:00 P.M.	Dinner Meeting, Atlanta University Dining Hall
7:30	General Session, Board Room, Administration Building, Atlanta University. John Hope II, SRC Chief Consultant, presiding.

Brief background presentations:

1. Policy and Role of SRC - Harold Fleming
2. The South our Oyster - Fred Routh
3. Concept and Origin of the Consultant Service Program - C. H. Parrish
4. Development and Outlook of the Consultant Service Program - John Hope II

8:00	Round Table

Saturday, May 25

7:15 A.M.	Breakfast (with apologies for the early hour)
9:00	Convene in Board Room for assignment to committees
12:30	Luncheon
1:45	General Session
	Committee Reports and Discussion
	Free Discussion
4:00	Adjournment

file copy
May 5, 1958

These are minutes of May 24-25, 1957 consultants meeting held in Atlanta, Ga
Sent to all consultants including CHP + Vernon Eagle (6 copies)
May 20, 1958

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

The Consultant's Conference
Atlanta, Georgia

INTRODUCTION

The Southern Regional Council called together its panel of consultants and a distinguished group of social scientists to evaluate the record of the Consultant Service Program and to suggest next steps.

Participants were divided into four groups; consultants and "guests" almost equally divided among all four.

The following reports have been condensed but they contain the most important points discussed in each group. In language and style, they retain the flavor of the full reports.

GROUP I

Group I was given the task of trying to come up with answers to the following questions: (1) what is the most effective role of the Consultant Program within the frame of reference of SRC's operation? (2) what are workable definition, scope, and assumptions for such a program? It was agreed that the most serious obstacle to the transition from a segregated to a non-segregated society is the activity of state and local government agencies designed to prevent or delay this transition. Of course, there are obvious hazards in attempting to deal with this obstacle within the framework of SRC's operation. However, it would seem possible for a group of skilled, sophisticated and knowledgeable consultants to present information to community groups that would be relevant to this problem without jeopardizing SRC's tax exempt status. For example, the percentage of Negroes who are registered in the various states and the various communities; the percentage of Negroes who, after registering, do not vote; and techniques used to keep Negroes from registering and voting. But even such a modest approach as this may well arouse higher resentment and invite attack from those who now control the political structure in much of the South.

It was the feeling throughout the discussion of this point that we cannot expect any strategy to guarantee the agency or individual involved in it, immunity from attack unless the strategy be ineffective and inaccurate.

These considerations raised many questions; among the most important of which was the need for clarifying the procedures for operational contact with community groups. It is not enough that we have contacted community groups, we are now at the point where we have to find out how to have meaningful contact with community groups.

To answer such questions as these, SRC might think of developing a pilot project in a selected community in which it would work out such technical problems as the way in which you translate a program on paper into an actual community activity. The success of such a pilot operation would be self-advertising. Other communities would hear about it and request similar types of services. This further suggests a re-examination of the policy of making consultant services available to communities only on their invitation. Perhaps in the near future, there will be need for a more aggressive promotion of the consultant services to communities - letting communities know that it is available and subtly suggesting that under certain circumstances it can be used.

An additional thought here is that the consultant service could be used in some kind of quiet liaison with specific groups that thus far have not been identified with racial problems as such, but have been identified in the public's mind with problems of extending democracy. For example, such groups as the League of Women Voters, organized labor, and groups of professional educators of various disciplines such as Sociology and Psychology.

The second obstacle which was recognized as important was the increasing blockage in communications. It was felt that this was not accidental, but that the rigidity and the lack of communication among various groups in the community on the issue of desegregation might be an effective manipulative technique on the part of those who desire to evade the process of desegregation as long as possible.

The suggested role of consultants which emerged from the discussion of this point was that consultants should explain to the groups with whom they work the techniques which have been found effective in facilitating communication even under conditions of deliberate blockage; the consultants could pinpoint the priorities among the various groups in which communication should be established and the most effective ways of initiating

it. Second, it was felt that the consultants could play a role in analysing and explaining to the groups with whom they work the basis, the genesis, and the function of blocked communication. This is based on the assumption that such understanding will make for more effective amelioration.

A third suggestion was that the consultant program itself, its machinery and its procedures, could be used as a basis for increasing communication. In this regard it was thought that a new look should be taken at the present procedure of using consultants to meet with a "closed" group of individuals where the nature of their activities is pretty much limited to that group. It was suggested that some modification of this be considered whereby the presence of the consultants in a community, under certain circumstances, might be publicized in an appropriate and effective way. By reaching directly a large number of individuals in the community, much of the spadework could be facilitated and the desired change in community attitudes might be brought about more quickly.

Another way in which it was thought the consultants might be useful in attacking this particular problem is in providing specialized services to indigenous community leaders - specialized public relations services, or public education services particularly in the area of public announcements, speeches, helping them when requested, to determine what should be said, when, how, and how strongly. It was felt that many of these groups are badly in need of the kind of specialized public relations help and strategy which we might be able to provide them under certain conditions. In this regard it was also suggested that the consultant program of SRC should probably look to the possibility of inviting specialists from the mass media in public relations to a conference or to some kind of relationship with SRC. This could be a source from which to draw this kind of highly specialized professional knowledge of communication with community groups.

The rationale of all these specific suggestions, was that of trying to develop some approach, some technique, for wresting the propaganda initiative from the opposition, as far as possible. It was felt that this could not be done by a passive, defensive approach; it seems essential to think more imaginatively about an appropriate, aggressive, effective information program.

It was felt that another current obstacle is the increased use of violence and manipulated tensions. It

was not clear that a consultant could play a direct role in meeting this problem. As far as increased violence, manipulated tensions, and planted rumors were concerned, the best that might be expected from consultants would be the use of their skill as social scientists and analysts, in spotting, analysing, and suggesting the techniques for vitiating rumor planting and manipulation of tensions in a community. By identifying the source, purpose, and function of these they would help the individuals in the community who share our goals not to be just helpless victims.

Group I came up with two or three general principles which it was felt were relevant to the effectivness of the use of consultants in any specific area. The first was the belief that the time may have come for SRC to think of increasing the range of skills among its consultants. It was felt that the present panel of consultants, being as highly weighted as it is with social scientists, may have reflected more the realities of two years ago, than the realities of today.

There should be thought given to including on the panel of consultants, or in some relationship to SRC, individuals with specialized skills in information, education, labor relations, or work with church groups and so forth. It would be an error - as flattering as it might be to our own egos - to have the staff continue to believe that the present realities can be met by the skills and training of the present group.

The second general principle which is relevant to the effectiveness of consultants is the use of a team -- and the team should be a Negro-white team. It is not certain that valid empirical effort can be given for this, but it was the general feeling of Group I that the process contributes something and that in consultation with Negro groups, with white groups, or with integrated groups, a Negro and white expert dealing with a technical problem is of itself significant and will facilitate or add to the effectiveness of the job to be done.

Finally, we feel that it is imperative upon us to say that our discussions made perfectly clear to us the implicit answer to one of our basic questions, namely: It was the unanimous opinion of the group that there was a place and an important place for an organization that fitted the criteria of an indigenous, Southern, "white" (in a sense) organization - an organization that made no pretense of a militant attack on special legal problems but had as its major concern an attempt to talk reasonably to power controllers, to make contact with the essential decency in human beings. When that point

was made explicit, every one of our group agreed that it was possible for an effective consultation service to operate within this framework, and that it would be a major contribution to the many types of things which now seem necessary to help a troubled part - to help our whole nation meet a very complex and difficult problem.

We would like to warn, however, that we felt that the most effective consultation service, the most knowledgeable and sophisticated group of consultants, cannot be considered substitutes for an effective staff program.

GROUP II

What standards should be applied in selecting problem areas for consultant services? What are the local variables that should determine focus in a given community? First, any group which request an SRC consultant team should be given a clear understanding of the Southern Regional Council's policies and aims before final agreement is reached. They should also be given a clear understanding that, except in unusual circumstances, all teams will be interracial. This would insure that there would be no temptation or excuse for getting off into a separate-but-equal frame of reference.

To what extent should the consultants define what it is that the groups will discuss? It is a stock phrase that you should work with groups "where they are." We do not agree wholeheartedly with this principle. We feel that it is incumbent upon the consultants to give some guidance in deciding where the group should be and what they should be talking about. We don't propose that the consultants should be undemocratic about this. Local groups should be given an opportunity to express their interest, their feelings about themselves, about where they are, and what problems they want to talk about. They may come up with a realistic definition which is in accord with SRC policies and the group can go on from there. If they do not, then it is incumbent upon the consultants to give guidance, bring up things that may not have been thought of, and try to restructure the discussion.

Selecting Problem Areas

1. Problem areas which should be selected first are those which derive from the policies and practices

of agencies and institutions in the community which result in significant disability or disadvantage for certain groups in the community.

2. Problems for which the entire community accepts responsibility, which are attributed to no one group either in causation or in susceptibility of solution.

3. Problems which require joint action of both races for solution.

Discussion of 1, 2, and 3.

This rules out using consultants in programs aimed at changing a few or many individual "white" attitudes or, on the other hand, Negro self-help or self-improvement programs; programs in which a white group or an interracial group which says in effect, the real problem is for the Negroes to cut down the illegitimacy rate or cut down the crime rate or even to get out and vote more. Only if the latter is approached as a citizenship problem and not as a Negro problem, one in which both races cooperate in trying to get out the vote, should we be concerned with it.

This points up the implications of the third point, the problems which require joint action of both races. Through interracial activity, no matter what problem the people in the community may attack, they work on two things. If they're working on the problem of housing, even though they're trying to get improvements in housing for Negroes, they find the most effective way of doing this is to increase the communication between whites and Negroes who are involved in this problem.

4. Problems should be selected which relate importantly to the basic issues of segregation and discrimination. This doesn't mean that in every community the only thing that we will talk about is a frontal attack on segregation, but any issue that is taken up should relate importantly to this central issue.

5. We should consider those issues which have undergone or are in the process of undergoing policy changes resulting from legislation, court action, or action of private groups such as labor unions and churches. This is a question of effectiveness. It is not that we felt that there were not other areas in which discrimination was a problem, but we felt that efforts would be better expended in those areas where policy changes were in process.

Consultants should go where there is a possibility of a court suit, or a possibility of appeal to a new statement of policy by a private agency rather than spending time on problem-solving which would depend only upon good will and voluntary action. This does not mean that this on-going policy change has to be taking place in the particular community involved.

The other part of our assignment was the consideration of the local variables that should determine the focus in a given community. We found this more difficult to deal with. We had to state these as factors which the consultants will consider in sizing up a community in which they are working, trying to decide where they are, what they're ready to talk about, what they're ready to do. It's not a check list which can be used in any rigid sort of way, rather an enumeration of the things at which we might look. They're not arranged in any particularly logical order - just the way we thought of them.

The strength of opposition groups; the strength of pro-integration groups; the adequacy of lines of communication between groups in the community, particularly between racial groups; the posture of public officials; the attitudes of the press; whether there is a court action pending in the community; the unity of the Negro community; the level of tension; the major interests and concerns demonstrated by the local groups.

We realize that these are rather general guides. We feel that each community will be different, each group will be different, but we hope that this sort of thing would be useful as a guide for sizing up in a kind of off-the-cuff sort of way just what the situation is.

GROUP III

THE CONSULTANTS' ROLE

The first part of this report represents some mechanics and some of the nuances of the consultant's role that seem important. First, the consultant is an outsider. To what extent is this an asset, to what extent a liability? First, being an "outsider" gives him a professional status; second, it should represent a kind of detached - but yet, sympathetic interest. An important thing here is that this means that the consultant has flexibility, but coupled with that flexibility is real responsibility. Being invited in, he is assured of receptivity, and presumably he has an audience that

wants to listen. There are some liabilities to the consultant's role as an outsider that we are all aware of, but they should be mentioned. In some situations the very fact of being an outsider, of being who you are, of having the labels that you have, arouses subtle, though sometimes not so subtle resistance. It is well to be aware of this; it is also well to be aware of the factors that are involved in this resistance.

We have made much of the fact that a great deal of the consultant's time and much of his technique involves listening. We examined the pros and cons and the limitations of the so-called listener. First, and on the plus side, the listener is not threatening, his passivity makes him not too prominent. Listening, of course, enables him to pick up cues and to get the feel of a situation. And this evaluation of the situation - the "casing of the joint," so to speak - is extremely important, particularly in the earlier period, because what one does then, that on which one commits himself or does not commit himself, can be crucial.

Listening, of course, provides a basis for later helping to clarify and inform. Listening also provides an important opportunity for the group to air its own views. The group gets an opportunity to clear the air and it is possible to pass on to a more positive attack. However, listening is, by its very nature, limited - it may be defeating unless it is coupled with some positive contributions, particularly when these positive contributions are indicated.

What is the role of facts and what is the role of fact-finding, with respect to the consultant's operations? First, facts about the local situation and about other situations are an important part of the equipment of the consultant in working with local people. It takes the conversation out of the realm of bland generalizations and reduces some of the gobbledegook that we are guilty of sometimes.

Fact-gathering is important and useful, particularly in initial stages of certain operations, and certain types of fact-finding are indicated no matter what the operation. There comes a time in the operation when it is possible to move from this fact-finding stage to a service and action stage. It is important to be sensitive to timing. It is important not to be over-sold on the idea that fact-finding is the only thing that can be done simply because it is the simple, the safe, and the innocuous thing to do.

We should ask the question, in our operations, fact-finding for what, and on what level? In other words, information is selective; communication is a selective process. Fact-finding is sometimes used as a delaying or diverting tactic. In many instances we really have sufficient facts. The important thing is to marshall and select these facts and to use them in terms of some developing action or service.

Sensitivity to the Uniqueness of the Local Situation

This, too, is a technique that indicates the sensitivity of the consultant - the fact that all situations are different. This is a way of getting concrete; in other words, by saying that this is a "particular" situation, you are focusing on specific and concrete things. There is a psychological element involved here too, because it's a rather sneaky way of paying respects to the local group. We all like to think that we are unique. On the negative side a continuing concern for the uniqueness of the local situation has its limits, particularly if one restricts his activities to this level of attack. We also should seek to stress the common denominators in situations - call attention to other situations that we know about - particularly as they have some relevance for the local situation. This balance between uniqueness and the common denominators is one that should be maintained at all times.

The Importance of Spade Work

We discussed too the importance of preparation and spade work before the consultant enters a situation. It is quite clear that the sheer mechanics of getting people together, and the timing of their getting together represent difficult problems and if they are not worked out they can be delaying or defeating. Where time does not permit this spade work to be done it is important that consultants have a great deal of patience and fortitude.

The Consultant Team

It is important to be sensitive to the size and kind of team indicated. It would seem desirable to get persons with complementary skills and also with at least a working relationship that has been tried out in practice, a team

which has been formed because the members have worked together before. Certain persons have this good potential for working together well. The interracial character of the team is one of the most important contributions of these operations. It is an important demonstration. People get new images, and it is an educational force in itself.

Matching Consultants With Task

An attempt should be made to fit the consultant to the problem. For example, persons who have the same sort of professional or public status, or persons of similar titles are especially valuable in specific situations - that is, a superintendent of schools is used to consult with a superintendent or a chief of police is used to consult with a chief of police. It is desirable here, however, that when possible, such specialists, who might be used for "one-shot" operations be accompanied by persons who have complementary skills - reporting or observational skills - in order that SRC might get a full picture of what went on.

Candor, Honesty Important

Candor and honesty, as a part of the demeanor of the consultant, pays real dividends. The question here is at what point is it possible for persons to open up and become candid? Honesty, of course, is always indicated and always present. Important too is evidence that the team itself presents mutual respect and confidence among themselves. It is stressed that the individual characteristics of a team, that is, the fact that each team member is a person with his own background and his own emphases, should be exploited. These different characteristics should be blended and the differences among the team, when they are harnessed effectively, come to be a very important plus.

Mechanics of the Consultant Operation - Question of Time and Place

How long should these consultant sessions be? This, of course, obviously depends upon the particular task, and many other features. However, technique should be trimmed to the specific purposes and also to the time available. It is important to be sensitive as to how to open and to know when to close a consultant session.

The importance of the informal sessions should also be stressed, and in arranging situations, one should not

rig them in such a way that it is not possible for people to get together on an informal basis. There is some merit in sometimes taking the group outside of the local community. This, of course, has to be handled very carefully, and with awareness of the liabilities. As a general rule, we felt that it is always best to meet with the local people in their own local setting where their problems are.

Reporting

With respect to the desirable form and content of the report which the consultants should submit to SRC, there are four major things that should be included or considered. One, a brief and succinct statement of the basic facts: who, what, when, and where. Two, a running commentary on what happened and on impressions in the nature of modified field notes. Three, some diagnosis of unsolved problems, and if possible, some attempt at prognosis. Four, specific recommendations as to next steps as a follow-through, and also as to how possibly there might be some feed-back to the consultants themselves and between the community (or at least the local group) and SRC and the consultants. In this running commentary one should use names liberally. The confidential nature of the report should be stressed and should be understood in order to protect all parties; the consultant, the agency, and the people of the local community. The reports where teams are involved should be individual reports.

Again, mechanics are: Two copies of the report should go to the central office. SRC should specify the responsibility of the consultant for such reports and remuneration should be adjusted in terms of the additional time involved. The report should be the property of SRC; any use by consultants should be cleared through SRC's central office.

GROUP IV

CRITERIA FOR SELECTING OPPORTUNITIES

Group: - Who Issues the Invitation?

The questions faced were, how to know which invitations to accept, which ones to really try for? It was decided that the most important criteria was the group that invites the consultants. Is there a real potential for change in the group? If something happens after consultants leave, does it have the leadership ability

to do something about it? Is there a genuine interest and concern in this group? Is there energy that would carry it after the consultants leave? Do the members of the group have some kind of leverage in the community, either as decision-makers or being able to reach decision-makers, being able to influence public opinion, or by having a grass-roots type of connection?

Community: - Strategic Importance

Another consideration is the strategic character of an area or community. If it is a community that would be a good demonstration place or has influence on other areas then it should have a higher priority.

We arrived at a principle that we call working at the "vanguard edge." We arrived at this by asking ourselves, are we more interested in certain areas than in others? The principle arrived at was this: consultants should always be working at the vanguard edge in the locale where they are. So if, in Kentucky for instance, there were a situation that could affect teacher integration, which is strategic and symbolic, then we should by all means take it. At the other extreme if a situation in Mississippi offered nothing more than getting a group started, which would be an action group and truly interracial, we ought to meet that.

We would underscore the notion which has been said before in SRC circles, that our top priority really is the school question. We should keep this top priority in mind without necessarily shutting off help to a group that might want to do something else.

We were mindful of factors of timing, that there are certain cases where a particular moment becomes strategic in a given community, and we should have a role at that moment.

We raised some questions about publicity. The guiding principle should be that we want to protect this as a consultant service. We don't want to become a speaker's bureau, or have consultants do what local people ought to be doing. Sometimes it might well be that if it was worked out and understood, publicity would be quite all right.

Thus, the idea of servicing a genuine need of a group which will have some leadership potential continued to be our basic thread. We felt it was more basic than any geographic factor. For instance, the question was

raised, if we get many requests from Florida and none from Alabama do we keep on servicing Florida? Our answer was yes, as long as there is a genuinely new situation, a genuinely helpful role. We should not try to balance our program out in any arbitrary geographic factor.

Another thing we discussed was the question of ability of services. We felt that administrative decisions could be made by SRC about cost, about whether or not some groups could pay part or all of the cost. We thought of some situations where we might be asked to do something which would be a little bigger then our usual role. For instance, a school board asking for a week's workshop for teachers. If it is important, we ought to use imagination to get other groups to help or to get a different kind of people than we've had before. If it is important, we should go out of our way to try to meet the need.

We threw in the following suggestions: (1) making more formal and definite communication with Board members, in the states as well as those on the SRC Board, about the availability of this service; (2) use the SRC Newsletter to build this by reporting what has been done and making continuing announcements; (3) the possibility of having Southern School News carry something on this; (4) a flyer which would, in an attractive form, announce this - and we didn't mean it to be a broadside, but to go to some of these selected groups; (5) get an organizational list, basically through the CCD, of other organizations that might use SRC's consultant services. It was suggested that having a flyer available would give an opportunity for the state staff people to visit their school superintendents, explain and offer service.

The only other suggestion we had we throw in gratis, and that it may well be appropriate for consultants to be encouraged to suggest what they themselves think they might do. Modesty holds consultants back from saying, "I think I could really do a job in "X" or "Y" community," and perhaps they could be encouraged to suggest how they can be used.

FILE COPY

PERSONS ATTENDING SRC CONSULTANT CONFERENCE
May 24 - 25, 1957
Atlanta University

Consultants:

1. Dr. Kenneth Clark
   City College of New York

2. Dr. A. Lee Coleman
   University of Kentucky

3. Dr. W. B. Jones
   University of Tennessee

4. Dr. Robert Johnson
   National Conference of Christians and Jews
   New York, New York

5. Dr. Lewis M. Killian
   Florida State University

6. Dr. Hylan Lewis
   Unitarian Service Committee
   Boston, Massachusetts

7. Dr. Herman H. Long
   Race Relations Department
   Fisk University

8. Mrs. Bonita Valien
   Fisk University

9. Dr. Harry J. Walker
   Howard University

10. Dr. G. D. Wilson
    Kentucky State College

11. Mr. Whitney M. Young
    Atlanta University

Visitors:

1. Dean B. R. Brazeal
   Morehouse College

2. Dr. Robert Brisbane
   Morehouse College

3. Dr. Earl Brewer
Emory University

4. Mr. Will Campbell
National Council of Churches
Nashville, Tennessee

5. Dr. Samuel Dorsey
Howard University

6. Dr. Samuel Gandy
Dillard University

7. Mrs. Grace Hamilton
Atlanta Urban League

8. Dr. Robert E. Martin
Howard University

9. Dr. Robert G. Menefee
Berea College
Berea, Kentucky

10. Miss Irene Osborne
American Friends Service Committee
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

11. Dr. Willis Sutton
University of Kentucky

12. Dr. Daniel C. Thompson
Dillard University

13. Mr. Robert Thompson
Atlanta Urban League

SRC STAFF

1. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

2. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

3. C. H. Parrish
Associate for Program Development

4. John Hope, II
Chief Consultant

5. Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

6. Marge Manderson
Stenographer

Consultant replies to conference attendance - May 24-25, 1957
Atlanta University

Will Attend	Will Not Attend
1. Mr. Robert E. Martin Howard University	1. Mr. Robert J. McCloskey Diocese of Florida Jacksonville, Florida
2. Mr. Bob Thompson Atlanta Urban League	
3. Mr. A. Lee Coleman Lexington, Kentucky	
4. Mr. Lewis M. Killian Florida State University	
5. Mr. Harry J. Walker Howard University	
6. Mr. W. B. Jones, Jr. University of Tennessee Knoxville	
7. Mr. G. D. Wilson Kentucky State College	
8. Dr. Robert Brisbane Morehouse College	
9. Mr. Daniel C. Thompson Dillard University	

May 20, 1957

Literature distributed to Consultants, Consultant Conference, May 24-25:

South and the Supreme Court's School Decisions Chronology

SRC Origin and Aims

May, 1957, New South

Toward the South of the Future

What's Happening in School Integration

Consultant Service Background

FIRST DRAFT

After reports had been presented by the four committee groups, the Saturday afternoon, May 25, session of the Consultant Conference continued with general discussion by all conference participants.

A pamphlet concerning the Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations, sponsored by the National Council of Churches, was made available to the consultants. Mr. Campbell, of this organization, circulated a mailing list and asked ~~that incorrect addresses be changed~~ for the addition of any addresses that might not be included and the correction of any mistakes in mailing addresses which might be found. ~~present on this list, to insure receipt of future mailings by the National Council of Churches, to the consultants.~~

The ~~group~~ assembly then ~~was~~ asked for ~~to discuss and comment~~ comment on the reports of the committee groups.

The "aggressive approach" recommended by Group I was the subject of some ~~discussion~~, with particular emphasis on the feasibility of taking a more public role ~~speaking at meetings~~ open than has been the ~~consultant policy~~ policy of consultant services in the past. One objection was to the suggestion of "speaking at open meetings." It was pointed out that this tactic could be misinterpreted as an attempt to "tell the group what to do"; that the consultant, being an outsider, bears a stigma; that any resulting action should not be associated with SRC, but with the local groups, and that this could best be accomplished by the consultants offering their advice, knowledge, and skills, but with the local group taking the public role of speech-making. The suggestion by Group I was defended by mention that more than a passive, closed consultant relationship is ~~desir~~ perhaps desirable; ~~and~~ that the behind-the-scenes could ~~be~~ be combined with the public role; and that the consultant, by virtue of being an outsider, is better able to analyze that are local groups. Discussion turned to a compromise ~~was pointed to in the report of Group IV~~ between these opposing views, which had been in part ~~was, and from now on~~ suggested in the report of Group IV; ~~which emphasized that~~ the most important criteria ~~was~~ to the invitational group itself. The extension of the role to be played should be

defined by the nature of the invitational group, and should be pre-planned, a part of the spade-work for a given consultant session. The public relations use of the consultant by the invitational group should be a negotiational factor; whether news releases, radio-TV appearances, public speeches, etc., would be desirable and beneficial should be determined with the local group in advance. Perhaps public relations angles should be the subject of more exploration in the future. Finances were mentioned as being a limiting factor; the consultant program should not be allowed to be used by communities as an opportunity for free speeches. The consultant service program should keep the initiative and take a public role if the situation warrents, but not advertise this role as one of its functions.

The constricting pressure which is exercised on the Deep South states as a result of progress toward integration in the fringe states was discussed. It was stated that activity by consultants in the fringe states has more effect on the Deep South states than might be immediately apparent. Further suggestions were, in connection with this channel of thought, the fear of Negro domination in the "Black Belt" is exaggerated; little change can come so long as a peasant status remains; and the unfair representation accorded to large cities in state legislatures should be of concern to organized labor and other special interest groups. These matters, examples of the many complexities of the present situation, were thought to be items for continuing analysis and diagnosis, along with the question of Negro registration, which was briefly discussed. The point was made that an increase in Negro registration would help to protect the Negro community from wanton attack by politicians. It was the opinion of one consultant that the emphasis, at the present time, should be on the act of voting, rather than on attempts to get Negroes into office. In connection with this, it was said that it is more difficult to motivate people in the lower socio-economic class to vote, and that most Negroes in the "Black Belt" are in this class category. The growing dissatisfaction in the cities with the present political arrangements was pointed to as a possible area of break-

through.

The discussion turned to a consideration of follow-up on consultant visitations. It was suggested that more than a "one-shot deal" is needed. ~~This matter is governed by our limited resources, and~~ It was thought, however, to be more within the range of the present resources of the consultant program to relegate the matter ~~of follow-up~~ to the field staff of the state groups affiliated with SRC. The mechanics of arranging for (revisitation and) follow-up by the field staff ~~with particular~~ has been the responsibility of Fred Routh. It will not be equally possible to arrange such follow-up if there is disaffiliation of the state groups from SRC. ~~In connection with revisitation~~ Several points were mentioned in connection with revisitation: (1) there is a need to periodically go over reports to find fruitful activities on which to base future selection of opportunities; (2) the use of consultants varies, as does the possibility of follow-up, depending on the inviting group and the possible areas of work in a given community; (3) it would be helpful if the invitational groups knew that there was a possibility of revisitation within a stated period. It was stated at this point that the foregoing suggestions assumed a larger staff, ~~and~~ treasury, and consultant service facilities than are available at the present time. The budgetary framework in part determines the scope of the consultant service; however, if a strategic situation should occur, the program should be flexible enough to allow cut-backs in other places in order to expend more resources on the deserving situation. (Miami, where one consultant spent ~~a month~~ an entire month, was given as an example of concentration of resources, ~~which proved very successful.~~) ~~The best advertisement of the Consultant Service program was said to be examples of where it worked successfully~~ on a particular community with very successful results.) In connection with this point it was mentioned that the best advertisement of the Consultant Service program is examples of where it has worked successfully.

There was Comment on the ~~are~~ desirable area of concentration - hard core states or the "soft spots" ~~made~~. One conferee suggested that concentration should

center on the edges of the South, rather than in the hard core states. A counter suggestion was that two different types of vanguard are needed - one for the hard core states, another for the soft spots.

~~At this point the time schedule made adjournment necessary~~

In conclusion, since the time schedule made adjournment necessary at this time, Harold Fleming ~~then~~ expressed the thanks of the SRC staff to the consultants for an extremely productive and fruitful meeting, ~~expression was expressed by the consultants for an opportunity to discuss strategy~~ and the consultant conference was ~~terminated~~ closed with an expression of appreciation by the consultants for the ~~unusual~~ opportunity ~~to~~ to meet ~~unusual within agencies to come~~ together to discuss strategy.

"NOTE: TYPE ON SRC LETTERHEAD."

Fred + Paul:
Suggest final draft be single spaced
JH

mimeographed
No copies given to me - to PA
MM

MEMORANDUM

To: State Directors of SRC Affiliates

From: John Hope II, Chief Consultant

Subject: Information for Staff Conference

You will note that the enclosed questionnaire is a copy of the one you filled out for me about a year ago. The SRC consultants feel that it was a highly valuable instrument in briefing them on the specific program situation in a given state in anticipation of Workshops held and personal conferences with the staffs of various states. It was an indispensible introduction for consultants at the Hard Core State Staff Conference. At this meeting a two-hour period was set aside when each state staff group could discuss the specifics of its program --methods, areas of concentration, problems, future plans, etc.-- with a designated SRC Consultant. Each consultant had in advance a copy of the completed questionnaire from the group with which he was to meet. This saved much orientation time and put us all on our toes so that we could get the maximum amount of assistance possible in the time available.

The same technique will be applied at the State Staff Conference on May 21-22 and thus I am asking that you complete, as you did last year, three copies, send me two to Fisk University by May 17 and keep one copy for your files. Please bear in mind that the more fully and thoughtfully you prepare this document, the more fully and discerningly can our consultants give you the benefit of their knowledge and experience.

The following observations are made for your further guidance:

1. Generally speaking, we want your reasoned judgment or estimate and such factual information ~~that~~ you have at

hand -- not formal fact gathering in the research sense.

2. The following questions are called to your attention as particularly important for our purposes-- I, II, III (a), IV, VI (h) and (g), VIII (a) and (b), and under Resources (pp. 9-11) I, II, III.

3. In question II, let your answers concerning "next year" apply to the period after September 30, 1957.

4. In question VIII (a), (b), and (c) change "1956" to "1957" i.e., fall of 1957.

5. If your answer to VII is "yes," attach or refer to reports, articles, etc. That will provide details ~~re:~~ about enrollment, etc. ~~but~~ Do NOT spend much time on it.

If you have other questions, comments, and/or facts that you wish to bring to our attention prior to this conference, please attach them to this questionnaire. These may apply to Organization as well as Program. ~~You may know that~~ We plan to have the services of a professional money-raiser. You may wish to direct specific questions, problems, and/or comments to him. If so, I suggest that you label and put on a separate sheet (or sheets) non-program items so that we can detach and pass these materials to the persons best fitted to handle them.

I ask your full and prompt co-operation so that we may give you the best service possible. You will be interested to know that the SRC Consultants and SRC staff will meet on May 24-25. Thus, this is a good opportunity to put your problems, etc. "on the table" so that we can give you the full benefit of our joint reactions to them.

See you in Atlanta.

Draft file

THE CONSULTANT'S CONFERENCE OF SRC
May 24 - 25, 1957
Atlanta, Ga.

~~INTRODUCTION~~

The committee reports which follow are somewhat condensed. There have been some deletions and quite a few cases in which wording has been changed but at the same time every effort has been made to preserve the intended sense of each of the committee reports.

Group I was given the task of trying to come up with answers to the following questions, namely, what is the most effective role of the Consultant Program within the frame of reference of SRC's operation? Definition, scope, and assumptions of such a program. We concerned ourselves first with the presentation of what the group considered to be the most significant factor in the contemporary situation. We agreed that the most serious obstacle to the transition from a segregated to a non-segregated society is the activity of state and local government agencies designed to prevent ~~our~~ or delay this transition. Of course there are obvious hazards in attempting to deal with this obstacle within the framework of SRC's operation but ~~it would~~ it would seem possible ~~; et cetera. He nonetheless feels that it would be possible~~ for a group of skilled, sophisticated and knowledgeable consultants to present to community groups advice or suggestions or techniques that would be relevant to such specific problems as what needs to be done to increase the number of individuals who register to vote. Also, such informational issues as presenting to the communities and states or the nation as a whole, the percentage of Negroes who are registered in the various states and the various communities; the percentage of Negroes who, after registering, do not vote; and particularly, to present to the general public information concerning techniques used to

keep Negroes from registering and voting. But even such a modest approach as this may well arouse higher resentment and invite attack from those who now control the political structure in mush of the South. It was our feeling throughout the discussion of this point that we cannot expect any strategy to guarantee the agency or individual involved in it immunity from attack unless the strategy be ineffective and inaccurate. These considerations raised many questions, among the most important of which was the need for clarifying the procedures for operational contact with community groups. It seems not enough to say that we have contacted these community groups, we are now at the point where we have to find out how do you get contact with community groups. Perhaps to answer such questions as these SRC might think of developing a pilot project in a selected community in which it would work out such techniqal problems as the way in which you translate a program on paper into an actual community activity. The success of such a pilot operation would be self-advertising. Other communities would hear about it and request similar types of services. This further suggested a re-examination of the policy of making consultant services available to communities only on their invitation. Perhaps in the near future, there will be need for a more aggressive promotion of the consultant services to communities - letting communities know that this is available and subtly suggesting that under certain circumstances it can be used.

An additional thought here is that the consultant service could be used in some kind of quiet liaison with specific groups that have not been so far identified with racial problems but have been identified in the public's mind with problems of democracy or extending democracy. For example such groups as the League of Women Voters, groups of professional educators of various discipliners such as Sociology, Psychology, and labor groups.

The second obstacle which our group felt was an important one which might help us to see more clearly how consultants could be used effectively, was the obstacle, the contemporary obstacle of increasing blockage in communication. It was felt that this was not necessarily accidental, but that the rigidity and the lack of communication among various groups in the community on this issue of desegregation might be a very effective manipulative technique on the part of those who desire to evade as long as possible the process of desegregation.

The suggested role of consultants which emerged from our discussion of this was that consultants would specifically communicate to the groups with whom they work, the techniques which have been found effective in facilitating communication even under conditions of deliberate blockage; that the consultants could pinpoint for the groups the priorities among the various groups in which communication should be established as quickly as possible, and maybe the most effective ways of initiating it. Second, it was felt that the consultants could play a role in analysing and communicating to the groups with whom they work the basis, the genesis, and the function of blocked communication. This is based on the assumption that such understanding will make for more effective amelioration. A third suggestion was that the consultant program itself, its machinery, its procedures, could be used as a basis for increasing communication. In this regard it was thought that a new look should be taken at the present procedure of using consultants in which the consultant met with a closed group of individuals and the nature of their activities in relationship was pretty much limited to that group. It was suggested that some modification of this be considered whereby the presence of the consultants, in a community, under certain circumstances, could be

publicized in an appropriate and effective way. By reaching directly a larger number of individuals in the community, much of the spadework which would have to be done anyway could be facilitated and the desired change in community attitudes could be brought about more quickly. Another way in which we thought the consultants might be useful in attacking this particular problem is that of providing specialized services to the indigenous community leaders - specialized public relations services, or public education services particularly in the area of public announcements, speeches, helping them, when requested, to determine what should be said, when, how, how strongly. It was felt that many of these groups are badly in need of, but cannot afford the kind of specialized public relations help and strategy which we might be able to provide them under certain conditions. In this regard it was also suggested that the consultant program of SRC should probably look to the possibility of inviting specialists from the mass media in public relations to a conference or to some kind of relationship with SRC. This could be a source from which we could draw this kind of highly specialized professional knowledge to communicate to local community groups.

The rationale of all of these specific suggestions, we felt, was that of trying to develop some approach, some technique, for wresting the propaganda initiative from the opposition, as far as it was possible. It was felt in our group that this could not be done by a passive, defensive approach; that maybe we ought to think more imaginatively about an appropriate, aggressive, effective propaganda program.

Finally, we felt that another major obstacle of the present is that of increased violence and manipulated tensions. In attempting to deal with this and another obstacle which was mentioned, namely, changed economic conditions in the South, our group was not sure that a consultant could play a direct role in meeting these problems. The best we could come up with was a belief

that as far as increased violence, manipulated tensions, planted rumors were concerned, maybe the best that you could expect from consultants would be that they would use their skill as social scientists and analysts, in spotting, analysing, and suggesting the techniques for vitiating rumor planting and manipulation of tensions in a community. That by identifying the source, purpose and function of these they would help the individuals in the comunnity who share our goals not to be just helpless victims of this, but to use such knowledge in whatever way seems appropriate in their particular community.

We came up with two or three general principles which the group felt were relevant to the effectiveness in any specific area of the use of consultants. The first was our belief that the time may have come for SRC to think of increasing the range of skills among its consultants. We think that the present panel of consultants, being as highly weighted as it is with social scientists, may have reflected more the realities of two years ago, than the realities of today.

We feel that maybe there should be thought given to including in the panel of consultants, or in some relationship to SRC, individuals with specialized skills in propaganda, education, labor relations, or specific actual work with church groups and so forth. We feel that it would be an error - as flattering as it might be to our own egos - to have the staff continue to believe that the present realities as we see them can be met by the skills and training of the present group. Although we still believe that there is some place for us, we don't believe that we have the particular knowledge which a particular engineering job might require at this time.

The second general principle which we feel is relevant to the effective use of consultants is that we feel that in every case of the use of consultant service, the consultants should consist of a team, and that this team should

be a black-white team, a Negro-white team. We don't know that we can give you valid empirical support for this, but it was the general feeling of the people in our group that the process contributes something and that in consultation with Negro groups or with white groups or with Negro and white groups, the fact of a Negro and white expert dealing with a technical problem is itself of a practical significance and will facilitate or add to the effectiveness of the job to be done.

And finally, we feel that it is imperative upon us to say that our discussions made perfectly clear to us the implicit answer to one of our basic questions, namely, the examination of the framework of SRC and we felt that there was no doubt, in the light of the way in which our discussion gravitated, that we were not questioning the framework. It was the unanimous opinion of the group that there was a place and an important place for an organization that fitted the criteria ennumerated by Harold Fleming last night, namely, an indigenous, Southern, "white" (in a sense) organization - an organization that made no pretense of a militant attack on special legal problems but an organization that had as its major concern an attempt to talk reasonably to power controllers, to make contact with the essential decency in human beings. When that point was made explicit, every one of our group agreed that it was possible for an effective consultation service to operate within this framework, and that it would be a major contribution to the many types of things which now seem necessary to help a troubled part - to help our whole nation meet a very complex and difficult problem.

We would like to warn, however, that we felt that the most effective consultation service, the most knowledgeable and sophisticated group of consultants, cannot be considered substitutes for an effective staff program. They are at best axillary; they are at best a resource, and, not that we sense any tendency to look upon the consultants as a major foundation for program, but the more effective we are, the greater the danger is, of believing that we can do more than we obviously can.

GROUP II

What standards should be applied in selecting problem areas for consultatant services? What are the local variables that should determine the focus in a given community? SRC's objectives should be made clear. First, any group which requests an SRC consultant panel should be given a clear understanding of the Southern Regional Council policies and aims before the panel is given to them. They should also be given a clear understanding that all actions of the Southern Regional Council will be consistent with these policies; specifically, that all panels will be interracial panels. This understanding would insure that whatever particular problems a panel might discuss with a local group would always be discussed within the frame of reference of SRC's firm committment to integration as a principle, and there would be no temptation or excuse for getting off into a separate-but-equal frame of reference, working with groups where they are. A second preliminary statement is in answer to the question:To what extent should the consultants define what it is that the groups will discuss? It is kind of a stock phrase to say that you should work with the groups "where they are", in other words, let them define what it is they want to talk about, what actions they want to consider. We did not agree wholeheartedly with this principle of taking them where they are; we felt that it was incumbent on the consultants to give them some guidance in deciding where the consultants should be and what they should be taking about. We don't propose that the consultants should be undemocratic about this, in fact, we think it is important that as a first step the local group be given an opportunity to express its interest, express its feelings about itself, about where it is, and what problems it wants to talk about. It may be that it will come up with a realistic definition which is in accord with SRC policies and the group can go on from there. If it does not, then we feel that it is incumbent upon the

consultants to give them some guidance, bring up things that they may not have thought of, and try to restructure their thinking in such a way that they will be following the lines that SRC feels are in accord with its policies. We turn now to the question of standards for selecting problem areas. Selecting Problem Areas - Lower Case

1. Problem areas which should be selected first are those problem areas which derive from the policies and practices on the part of agencies and institutions in the community which result in significant disability or disadvantage for certain groups in the community.

2. Those problems for which the entire community accepts responsibility, which are attributed to no one group either in causation or in susceptibility of solution.

3. They should be problems which require joint action of both races for solution. Our thinking here was, I think, in accord with what was said last night about ours not being a mass movement, not being a mass propaganda agency that our concern is not primarily with trying to change attitudes en masse. We are primarily concerned with, as was stated in this first principle, policies and practices on the part of agencies and institutions, which result in the things that we wish to change.

DISCUSSION OF 1, 2, and 3 ——— Center in lower case

We feel that this rules out using consultants to discuss such programs as simply trying to find ways to change a few or many individual "white" attitudes or, on the other hand, Negro self-help or self-improvement programs; nor programs in which the white group or the interracial group with which we may meet says in effect, the real problem is for the Negroes to cut down the illegitimacy rate or cut down the crime rate or even to get out and vote more. We also felt that this would even rule out a direct consideration by the consultants of such things as getting out the votes, since this is a

problem that is viewed as particularly Negro and can very well be done by other groups. Only if it is apprached as a citizenship problem and not as a Negro problem, one in which both races cooperate in trying to get out the vote, should we be concerned with it.

And I think this points up the implications of the third one, that the problems which we consider should be ones which require joint action of both races. Part of our thinking here also was that no matter what problem the people in the community may attack, they work on two things if they go at it the way we suggest. Say they're working on the problem of housing. Now it may be that they're trying to get improvements in housing for Negroes, but the most effective way of doing this is also to increase the communication between whites and Negroes who are involved in this problem so that the problem of improving the channels of communication goes along with the other.

4. Problems should be selected which relate importantly to the basic issues of segregation and discrimination. Now this doesn't mean that in every community the only thing that we will talk about is a frontal attack on segregation, but any issue that is taken up should relate importantly to this central issue.

5. We should consider those issues which have undergone or are in the process of undergoing policy changes resulting from legislation, court action, or action of private groups such as labor unions and churches. This is a question of effectiveness. It is not that we felt that there were not other areas in which discrimination was a problem, but we felt that efforts would be better expended in those areas where policy changes were in process, and we had this as a background against which to work. We should go where there is a possibility of a court suit, or a possibility of appeal to a new statement of policy by a private agency rather than spending our time on problems which

would depend entirely upon good will and voluntary action in order to get some changes made. This does not mean either that this on-going policy change has to be taking place in the particular community involved. For instance, there may be communities which have transportation problems which have no suits now, but we have the background of transportation suits in other communities which cause us to be able to include these things in that community, because there is the broad framework of policy change on the legal level.

The other part of our assignment was the consideration of the local variables that should determine the focus in a given community. We found this, I think, a little more difficult to deal with. We had to state these as factors which the consultants will consider in sizing up a community in which they are working, trying to decide where they are, what they're ready to talk about, what they're ready to do. It's not a check list which can be used in any rigid sort of way, rather an enumeration of the things at which we might look. I will simply enumerate those, and they're not arranged in any particularly logical order - just the way we thought of them.

The strength of opposition groups; the strength of pro-integration groups; the adequacy of lines of communication between groups in the community, particularly between racial groups; the posture of public officials; the attitude of the press; whether there is a court action pending in the community; the unity of the Negro community. Some instances were cited where it was felt that the possibilities for action were less than in other communities because the Negro community was so divided that this constituted a serious handicap; the level of tension; the major interests and concerns demonstrated by the local groups. Here, we give them their chance to have their say and to define the problems for themselves; and the areas of agreement that seem to exist in the community on the type of problems which we consider.

We realize that these are rather general guides. We feel that each community will be different, each group will be different, and we could not

set up a blueprint which would tell the consultants or the staff just exactly what problems should be discussed in any community. But we would hope that this sort of thing would be useful as a guide for sizing up in a kind of off-the-cuff sort of way just what the situation is within the group.

GROUP III

THE CONSULTANTS' ROLE

The first part of this report represents some mechanics and some of the nuances of the consultant's role that seem to be important. First of all the consultant is an outsider. To waht extent is this an asset, to what extent does it have liabilities? In the first place being an "outsider" gives him very clear cut professional status and connections; secondly, it should represent a kind of detached - but yet, sympathetic interest. An important thing here is that this means that the consultant has flexibility, but coupled with that flexibility is real responsibility. Being invited in, he is assured of receptivity, and presumably he has an audience that is willing and wants to listen. There are some liabilities to the consultant's role as an outsider that we are all aware of, but they should be mentioned explicitly. It is quite clear in some situations the very fact of being an outsider, of being who you are, of having the labels that you have, arouses subtle, to sometimes not so subtle resistance. It is well to be aware of this; it is also well to be aware of the factors that are involved in this resistance. In some instances it reflects a clash of personalities. And sometimes it reflects the position of the presumed constituency participating in this kind of give and take.

We have made much of the fact that a great deal of the consultant's time and much of his technique involves listening. We examined the pros and cons

and the limitations of the so-called listener. In the first place and on the plus side, the listener is not threatening, his passivity makes him not too prominent. Listening, of course, enables one to pick up cues and to get the feel of a situation. And this evaluation of the situation - the casing of the joint, so to speak - is extremely important, particularly in the earlier period, because what one does then, that on which one commits himself or does not comit himself, can be crucial. Listening, of course, provides a basis for later on helping to clarify and helping to inform. Listening also, here, provides a very important opportunity for the group itself to air its own views. The group gets an opportunity to clear the air, so to speak, and it is possible to pass on to a more positive attack. However, listening is, by its very nature, limited.- it may be defeating unless it is coupled with some positive contributions, particularly when these positive contributions are indicated. The matter of giving information that is relevant and important, the correcting of stereotypes - an instance is recited wherein the case of publ c officials and the case even of persons who are active on the local front, that specific information was very helpful and very useful in really restructuring their activities and making them much more effective.

What is the role of facts and what is the role of fact-finding, with respect to the consultant's operations? We stressed that, in the first place, facts about the local situation and about other situations are an important part of the equipment of the consultant in working with local people. One of the very important things that it does -- it takes the conversation out of the realm of these bland generalizations and reduces some of the gobbledegook that we are guilty of sometimes. The point here, I think, is obvious; its that if one does have facts, facts about the local situation possibly, certainly

facts about other situations which can be thrown into the hopper, this is well taken and effective.

It is obvious that fact gathering is important and useful, particularly in initial stages of certain operations, and certain planes or certain levels of fact-finding are indicated no matter what the operation. There comes a time in the operation when it is possible to move from this fact-finding stage to a service and action stage. It is important to be sensitive to that possibility. It is important to be not over-committed to, not over-hold on the idea that fact-finding sometimes is the only thing that a person can do, or at least that can be done, because it is the simple, the safe, and the innocuous thing to do.

On the negative side, fact-finding itself is an umbrella term. We should ask the question, in our operations, fact-finding for what, and on what level? In other words, information is selective; communication is a selective process. And of course the obvious thing, of which we are all aware, is that fact-finding is sometimes used as a delaying or diverting tactic. In many instances we really have all the facts. The important thing is to marshall and select these facts and to use them in terms of some developing action or service.

Sensitivity to the Uniqueness of the Local Situation

This, too, is a technique that indicates the sensitivity of the consultant - the fact that all situations are different. This is a way of getting concrete; in other words, by saying that this is a "particular" situation, you are focusing on specific and concrete things. There is a psychological element involved here too, because it's a very sneaky way of paying respects to the local group. We all like to think that we are unique. On the negative side a continuing concern for the uniqueness of the local situation has its limits, particularly if one restricts his activities to this level of attack. We

also should seek to stress the common denominators in situations - call attention to other situations that we know about - particularly as they have some relevance for the local situation. This balance between uniqueness and the common denominators is one that should be maintained at all times.

The Importance of Spade Work

We discussed too the importance of preparation and spade work before the consultant enters a situation, where time permits such preparation and spade work. It is quite clear that the sheer mechanics of getting people together, and the timing of their getting together represent sometimes very difficult problems and if they are not worked out they can be delaying or defeating. Where time does not permit this spade work to be done it is important that consultants have a great deal of patience and fortitude.

The Consultant Team

It is important to be sensitive to situations with respect to the size and kind of team indicated. It would seem desirable to get persons with complimentary skills and also with at least a working relationship that has been tried out in practice, a team which has been formed because of the fact that the members have worked together before. Certain persons have this good potential for working together well. The interracial character of the team is one of the most important contributions of these operations. It is an important demonstration. People get new images, and it is an educational force in itself.

Where possible, it is desirable to use consultants who have had experiences or analogous experience similar to those of the person or group to whom they go.

Matching Consultants

For example, persons who have the same sort of professional or public status, or persons of similar titles are especially valuable in specific

situations - an attempt should be made to fit the consultant to the problem, that is, a superintendent of schools is used to consult with a superintendent or a chief of police is used to consult with a chief of police. It is desirable here, however, that when possible, such persons, such specialists, who might be used for one-shot operations might be accompanied by persons who have complimentary skills - reporting or observational skills - in order that one might get a full picture of what went on.

Candor, Honesty Important

We stressed the point that candor and honesty as a part of the demeanor of the consultant pays real dividends. Of course, the question here is at what point is it possible for persons really to open up and really to become candid? Honesty, of course, is always indicated and always present. Very important too is the evidence that the team itself presents mutual respect and confidence among themselves. It is stressed that the individual characteristics of a team, that is, the fact that each team member is a person, a person with his own background and his own emphases should be exploited, these different characteristics should be blended and the differences among the team, when they are harnessed effectively, come to be a very important plus.

Mechanics of the Consultant Operation - Question of Time and Place

How long should these consultant sessions be? This, of course, obviously depends upon the particular task, and many other features. Obviously, technique should be trimmed to the specific purposes and also to the time available. It is important to be sensitive as to how to open and to know when to close a consultant session or a consultant situation. In other words, the skillful wrap-up, or the stopping at the proper psychological moment. One should be aware of these and should think about them ahead of time. The importance of the informal sessions should also be stressed, and in arranging situations,

one should not rig them in such a way that it is not possible for people to get together on an informal basis. There is some merit in sometimes taking the group outside of the local community, to take them to another spot. This, of course, has to be handled very carefully, and with awareness of the liabilities. As a general rule, we felt that it is always best to meet with the local people in their own local setting where their problems are.

Reporting

With respect to the desirable form and content of the report which the consultants should submit to SRC, there are four major things that should be included or considered. One, a brief and succinct statement of the basic facts: who, what, when, and where. In other words, the vital statistics on the setting. Two, a running commentary on what happened and on impressions in the nature of modified field notes, with which we are all familiar and have had experience. Three, some diagnosis of unsolved problems, and if possible, some attempt at prognosis. Four, specific recommendations as to next steps as a follow-through, and also as to how possibly there might be some feed-back to the consultants themselves and between the community and, or at least the local group, and SRC and the consultants. In this running commentary one should use names - use them liberally. The confidential nature of the report should be stressed and should be understood in order to protect all parties; the consultant, the agency, and the people of the local community. The reports where teams are involved should be individual reports. Again, mechanics are: Two copies of the report should go to the central office. SRC should specify the responsibility of the consultant for such reports and remuneration should be adjusted in terms of the additional time involved. The report should be the property of SRC; any use by consultants should be cleared through SRC's central office.

GROUP IV

Criteria for Selecting Opportunities

GROUP: - Who Issues the Invitation?

The questions we faced were, how do we know which invitations to accept, which ones do we really try to shoot for? We found ourselves coming back over and over again to a notion so often that we decided it was basic, and that was that the most important criteria was the group that invites you. Is there a real potential for change in the group? If something happens after we leave, does this group have the leadership ability to do something about it? Is there a genuine interest and concern in this group; is there energy that would carry it on and that can spark the consultants so action will be taken after the consultants leave and do the members of the group have some kind of leverage in the community, either as decision-makers or being able to reach decision-makers, being able to influence public opinion, or by having a grass-roots type of connection?

COMMUNITY: - Strategic Importance

Another consideration is the strategic character of an area or community. If it's a community that would be a good demonstration place or has influence on other areas, has symbolic value, then it would have a higher priority. We thought also in terms of need. Some groups may not have financial resources to get specialized help, or they may be in communities where there is no specialized help unless we provide it.

Then we arrived at a principle that we call working at the "vanguard edge." We arrived at this by asking ourselves, are we more interested in certain areas

than in others? Are we going to discriminate against Kentucky because its all settled? Are we going to discriminate against Mississippi because its too tough? The principle we arrived at was this::that we think we should always be working at the vanguard edge in the locale where we are. So if, in Kentucky for instance, there were a situation that could truly affect teacher integration, which is strategic and is symbolic, and isn't yet done, then we should by all means take it. At the other extreme is the situation in Mississippi offering nothing more than getting a group started, which would be truly an action group and truly interracial. We ought certainly to meet that, where we might not in some other area, thinking it was not an appropriate goal.

So we thought, as a guiding principle, this working out of the most possible; the really vanguard edge in each locality. We talked some about what areas of activity we'd like most to service, and we thought we would underscore the notion which has been said before in SRC circles, that our top priority really is the school question. All of us felt we didn't mean by that that we wouldn't sometimes service something else, that we would keep this top priority in mind without necessarily shutting off help to a group that might be wanting to do something else.

We were mindful of factors of timing, that there are certain cases where a particular moment becomes strategic in a given community, and we are going to try to have a role at that moment. One obvious case is where a school suit is about to make a situation ripe, as in Charlottesville, and we definitely have an interest, or situations where something about the political situation would make one time good, another time bad - we would try to be respectful of that.

We raised some questions about do we want publicity, would we ever speak to a mass meeting. I thought here that, the guiding principle should be that we want to protect this as a consultant service, we don't want to become

a speaker's bureau, or have consultants do what local people ought to be doing. Sometimes it might very well be that if it was worked out and understood, publicity would be quite all right, and sometimes - after consultation - there might even be a large public meeting set up which we would service, but it would be in the framework of our truly playing a consultant role.

Thus, the idea of servicing a genuine need of a group which will have some leadership potential continued to be our basic thread. We felt that was more basic than any geographic factor; for instance, the group question was raised, if we get many requests from Florida and none from Alabama do we keep on servicing Florida? Our answer was yes, as long as there is a genuinely new situation, a genuinely helpful role; that we're not going to try to balance this out in any arbitrary geographic factor.

Another thing we discussed was the sheer question of inability of services, and there we felt that administrative decisions could be made about cost, about whether or not some groups could pay part of the cost or pay all of it. We felt that we ought to give consultation really free; in other words, if groups can manage their own program and pay for it, but they want to drum some speakers or help in setting it up, that we really ought to service that and be quite generous with advice-giving or making referrals. We thought of some situations where we might be asked to do something which would be a little bigger than our usual role, for instance, somebody said supposing a school board asked you to give them a week's workshop for the teachers, or some such thing. Some of these might stretch our resources and we couldn't honestly meet them within the framework now set up. If it is important, however, we ought to use imagination to get other groups to help or to get a different kind of people than we've had before. If it is important we ought to really go out of our way to try to meet the need.

We didn't know whether or not it feel within our group to discuss finding opportunities - the actual ferreting out of the opportunities.- the feeling of the group was that we shouldn't be entirely passive about this, that people have to know this is available or they're not going to ask for it. We threw in the following suggestions: that of making more formal and definite communication with our Board Members, in the states as well as the SRC Board, about the availability of this service; that we might use the SRC Newsletter to really build this by reporting what has been done and making continuing announcements; the possibility was thought of of having Southern School News carry something on this; it was suggested that there could be a nice little flyer which would, in an attractive form, announce this - and we didn't mean it to be a broadside, but to go to some of these selected groups; another suggestion was that we could get an organizational list, basically through the CCD, of other organizations that might use our services and might not otherwise fall within the SRC usual mailing list. It was suggested that having a flyer available or something formal would give a nice opportunity for the state staff people to visit their school superintendents, explain and offer service. This would be a genuine offer of service and a good opportunity to talk with the superintendents again.

The only other suggestion we had we throw in gratis, and that it may well be appropriate for consultants to be encouraged to suggest what they themselves think they might do. Modesty holds consultants back from saying, "I think could really do a job in X or Y community," and perhaps they could be encouraged to suggest how they can be used.

After this presentation of reports by the four committees, the afternoon session of the Consultant Conference continued with general discussion.

A pamphlet concerning the Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations, sponsored by the National Council of Churches, was made available to the

consultants. Will Campbell, of this organization, circulated a mailing list and asked for the addition of any addresses that might not be included and the correction of any mistakes in mailing addresses which might be found.

The conference participants were then asked for commentary on the reports of the committee groups.

The "aggressive approach" recommended by Group I was the subject of some discussion, with particular emphasis on the feasibility of taking a more public role than has been the policy of consultant services in the past. Some objection was voiced to the suggestion of speaking at open meetings. It was pointed out that this tactic could be misinterpreted as an attempt to "tell the group what to do"; that the consultant, being an outsider, bears a stigma; that any resulting action should not be associated with SRC but with the local group, and that this could best be accomplished by the consultants offering their advice, knowledge, and skills, but with the local group taking the public role of speech-making. The suggestion by Group I was defended by mention that more than a passive, closed consultant relationship is perhaps desirable; that the behind-the-scenes could be combined with the public role; and that the consultant, by virtue of being an outsider, is better able to analyze than are local groups.

Discussion turned to a compromise between these opposing views, which had in part been suggested in the report by Group IV - the most important criteria is the invitational group itself. The extension of the role to be played should be defined by the nature of the invitational group, and should be pre-planned, a part of the spadework for a given consultant session. The public relations use of the consultant by the invitational group should be a negotiational factor; whether news releases, radio-TV appearances, public speeches, etc., would be desirable and beneficial should be determined with the local group in advance. Perhaps public relations angles should be the subject of more exploration in

the future. Finances were mentioned as being a limiting factor; the consultant program should not be allowed to be used by communities as an opportunity for free speeches. The consultant service program should keep the initiative and take a public role if the situation warrants, but not advertise this role as one of its functions.

The constrictive pressure which is exercised on the Deep South states as a result of progress toward integration in the fringe states was discussed. It was stated that activity by consultants in the fringe states has more effect on the Deep South area than might be immediately apparent. Furthermore, in connection with this channel of thought, the fear of Negro domination in the "Black Belt" is exaggerated; little change can come so long as a "peasant-status" remains; and the pitifully small representation accorded to large cities in state legislatures should be of concern to organized labor and other urban interest groups. These matters, examples of the many complexities of the present situation, were thought to be items for continuing analysis and diagnosis, along with the question of Negro registration, which was briefly discussed. The point was made that an increase in Negro registration would help to protect the Negro community from wanton attack by politicians, and one consultant expressed the opinion that the emphasis, at the present time, should be on the act of voting rather than on attempts to get Negroes into office. In connection with this, it was said that it is more difficult to motivate people in the lower socio-economic class to vote, and that most Negroes in the "Black Belt" are in this class category. The growing dissatisfaction in the cities with the present political arrangements was pointed to as a possible area of break-through.

The discussion turned to a consideration of follow-up on consultant visitations. It was suggested that more than a "one-shot deal" is needed. It was thought, however, to be more within the range of the present resources of the consultant program to relegate this matter to the field staff. The mechanics of arranging for revisitation and follow-up by the field staff has been the responsibility of Fred Routh. It will not be equally possible to arrange such follow-up if there is disaffiliation of the state groups from SRC. Several points were mentioned in connection with revisitiation: (1) there is a need to periodically go over reports to find fruitful activities on which to base future selection of opportunities; (2) the use of consultants varies, as does the possibility of follow-up, depending on the inviting group and the possible areas of work in a given community; (3) it would be helpful if the invitational groups knew that there was a possibility of revisitation within a stated period. It was stated at this point that the foregoing suggestions assume larger staff, treasury, and consultant service facilities than are available at the present time. The budgetary framework in part determines the scope of the consultant service; however, if a strategic situation should occur, the program should be flexible enough to allow cut-backs in other places in order to expend more resources on the deserving situation. Miami, where one consultant spent an entire month, was given as an example of concentration of resources on a particular community with very successful results. It was mentioned that the best advertisement of the consultant service program is examples of where it has worked successfully.

There was some comment on the desirable area of concentration - hard core states or the "soft spots." One conferee suggested that concentration should center on the edges of the South, rather than in the hard core states. A counter suggestion was that two different types of vanguard are needed - one for the hard core states, another for the soft spots.

In conclusion, Harold Felming expressed the thanks of the SRC staff to the consultants for an extremely productive and fruitful meeting, and the Consultant Conference was closed with an expression of appreciation by the consultants for the opportunity to meet together to discuss strategy.

(DRAFT) - To be sent to John Hope
Prepared by C. H. Parrish

THE CONSULTANT'S CONFERENCE OF SRC
May 24 - 25, 1957
Atlanta, Ga.

The committee reports which follow are somewhat condensed. There have been some deletions and quite a few cases in which wording has been changed but at the same time every effort has been made to preserve the intended sense of each of the committee reports.

Group I was given the task of trying to come up with answers to the following questions, namely, what is the most effective role of the Consultant Program within the frame of reference of SRC's operation? Definition, scope, and assumptions of such a program. We concerned ourselves first with the presentation of what the group considered to be the most significant factor in the contemporary situation. We agreed that the most serious obstacle to the transition from a segregated to a non-segregated society is the activity of state and local government agencies designed to prevent or delay this transition. Of course there are obvious hazards in attempting to deal with this obstacle within the framework of SRC's operation but it would seem possible for a group of skilled, sophisticated and knowledgeable consultants to present to community groups advice or suggestions or techniques that would be relevant to such specific problems as what needs to be done to increase the number of individuals who register to vote.

Also, such informational issues as presenting to the communities and states or the nation as a whole, the percentage of Negroes who are registered in the various states and the various communities; the percentage of Negroes who, after registering, do not vote; and particularly, to present to the general public information concerning techniques used to keep Negroes from registering and voting. But even such a modest approach as this may well arouse higher resentment and invite attack from those who now control the

political structure in much of the South. It was our feeling throughout the discussion of this point that we cannot expect any strategy to guarantee the agency or individual involved in it immunity from attack unless the strategy be ineffective and inaccurate. These considerations raised many questions; among the most important of which was the need for clarifying the procedures for operational contact with community groups. It seems not enough to say that we have contacted these community groups, we are now at the point where we have to find out how do you get contact with community groups. Perhaps to answer such questions as these SRC might think of developing a pilot project in a selected community in which it would work out such technical problems as the way in which you translate a program on paper into an actual community activity. The success of such a pilot operation would be self-advertising. Other communities would hear about it and request similar types of services. This further suggested a re-examination of the policy of making consultant services available to communities only on their invitation. Perhaps in the near future, there will be need for a more aggressive promotion of the consultant services to communities - letting communities know that this is available and subtly suggesting that under certain circumstances it can be used.

An additional thought here is that the consultant service could be used in some kind of quiet liaison with specific groups that have not been so far identified with racial problems but have been identified in the public's mind with problems of democracy or extending democracy. For example such groups as the League of Women Voters, groups of professional educators of various discipliners such as Sociology, Psychology, and labor groups.

The second obstacle which our group felt was an important one which

might help us to see more clearly how consultants could be used effectively, was the obstacle, the contemporary obstacle of increasing blockage in communication. It was felt that this was not necessarily accidental, but that the rigidity and the lack of communication among various groups in the community on this issue of desegregation might be a very effective manipulative technique on the part of those who desire to evade as long as possible the process of desegregation.

The suggested role of consultants which emerged from our discussion of this was that consultants would specifically communicate to the groups with whom they work, the techniques which have been found effective in facilitating communication even under conditions of deliberate blockage; that the consultants could pinpoint for the groups the priorities among the various groups in which communication should be established as quickly as possible, and maybe the most effective ways of initiating it. Second, it was felt that the consultants could play a role in analysing and communicating to the groups with whom they work the basis, the genesis, and the function of blocked communication. This is based on the assumption that such understanding will make for more effective amelioration. A third suggestion was that the consultant program itself, its machinery, its procedures, could be used as a basis for increasing communication. In this regard it was thought that a new look should be taken at the present procedure of using consultants in which the consultant met with a closed group of individuals and the nature of their activities in relationship was pretty much limited to that group. It was suggested that some modification of this be considered whereby the presence of the consultants, in a community, under certain circumstances, could be publicized in an appropriate and effective way. Br reaching directly

a larger number of individuals in the community, much of the spadework which would have to be done anyway could be facilitated and the desired change in community attitudes could be brought about more quickly. Another way in which we thought the consultants might be useful in attacking this particular problem is that of providing specialized services to the indigenous community leaders - specialized public relations services, or public education services particularly in the area of public announcements, speeches, helping them, when requested, to determine what should be said, when, how, how strongly. It was felt that many of these groups are badly in need of, but cannot afford the kind of specialized public relations help and strategy which we might be able to provide them under certain conditions. In this regard it was also suggested that the consultant program of SRC should probably look to the possibility of inviting specialists from the mass media in public relations to a conference or to some kind of relationship with SRC. This could be a source from which we could draw this kind of highly specialized professional knowledge to communicate to local community groups.

The rationale of all of these specific suggestions, we felt, was that of trying to develop some approach, some technique, for wrestling the propaganda initiative from the opposition, as far as it was possible. It was felt in our group that this could not be done by a passive, defensive approach; that maybe we ought to think more imaginatively about an appropriate, aggressive, effective propaganda program.

Finally, we felt that another major obstacle of the present is that of increased violence and manipulated tensions. In attempting to deal with this and another obstacle which was mentioned, namely, changed economic conditions in the South, our group was not sure that a consultant could play a direct role in meeting these problems. The best we could come up with was a belief

that as far as increased violence, manipulated tensions, planted rumors were concerned, maybe the best that you could expect from consultants would be that they would use their skill as social scientists and analysts, in spotting, analysing, and suggesting the techniques for vitiating rumor planting and manipulation of tensions in a community. That by identifying the source, purpose and function of these they would help the individuals in the community who share our goals not to be just helpless victims of this, but to use such knowledge in whatever way seems appropriate in their particular community.

We came up with two or three general principles which the group felt were relevant to the effectiveness in any specific area of the use of consultants. The first was our belief that the time may have come for SRC to think of increasing the range of skills among its consultants. We think that the present panel of consultants, being as highly weighted as it is with social scientists, may have reflected more the realities of two years ago, than the realities of today.

We feel that maybe there shouldbe thought given to including in the panel of consultants, or in some relationship to SRC, individuals with specialized skills in propaganda, education, labor relations, or specific actual work with church groups and so forth. We feel that it would be an error - as flattering as it might be to our own egos - to have the staff continue to believe that the present realities as we see them can be met by the skills and training of the present group. Although we still believe that there is some place for us, we don't believe that we have the particular knowledge which a particular engineering job might require at this time.

The second general principle which we feel is relevant to the effective use of consultants is that we feel that in every case of the use of consultant

service, the consultants should consist of a team, and that this team should be a black-white team, a Negro-white team. We don't know that we can give you valid empirical support for this, but it was the general feeling of the people in our group that the process contributes something and that in consultation with Negro groups or with white groups or with Negro and white groups, the fact of a Negro and white expect dealing with a technical problem in itself of a practical significance and will facilitate or add to the effectiveness of the job to be done.

And finally, we feel that it is imperative upon us to say that our discussions made perfectly clear to us the implicit answer to one of our basic questions, namely, the examination of the framework of SRC and we felt that there was no doubt, in the light of the way in which our discussion gravitated, that we were not questioning the framework. It was the unanimous opinion of the group that there was a place and an important place for an organization that fitted the criteria ennumerated by Harold Fleming last night, namely, an indigenous, Southern, "white" (in a sense) organization - an organization that made no pretense of a militant attack on special legal problems but an organization that had as its major concern an attempt to talk reasonably to power controllers, to make contact with the essential decency in human beings. When that point was made explicit, every one of our group agreed that it was possible for an effective consultation service to operate within this framework, and that it would be a major contribution to the many types of things which now seem necessary to help a troubled part - to help our whole nation meet a very complex and difficult problem.

We would like to warn, however, that we felt that the most effective consultation service, the most knowledgeable and sophisticated group of consultants, cannot be considered substitutes for an effective staff program.

They are at best auxillary; they are at best a resource, and, not that we sense any tendency to look upon the consultants as a major foundation for program, but the more effective we are, the greater the danger is, of believing that we can do more than we obviously can.

GROUP II

What standards should be applied in selecting problem areas for consultant services? What are the local variables that should determine the focus in a given community? SRC's objectives should be made clear. First, any group which requests an SRC consultant panel should be given a clear understanding of the Southern Regional Council policies and aims before the panel is given to them. They should also be given a clear understanding that all actions of the Southern Regional Council will be consistent with these policies; specifically, that all panels will be interracial panels. This understanding would insure that whatever particular problems a panel might discuss with a local group would always be discussed within the frame of reference of SRC's firm committment to integration as a principle, and there would be no temptation or excuse for getting off into a separate-but-equal frame of reference, working with groups where they are. A second preliminary statement is in answer to the question: To what extent should the consultants define what it is that the groups will discuss? It is kind of a stock phrase to say that you should work with the groups "where they are", in other words, let them define what it is they want to talk about, what actions they want to consider. We did not agree wholeheartedly with this principle of taking them where they are; we felt that it was incumbent on the consultants to give them some guidance in deciding where the consultants should be and what they should be talking about. We don't propose that the consultants whould be undemocratic about this, in fact, we think it is important that as a first step the local group be

given an opportunity to express its interest, express its feelings about itself, about where it is, and what problems it wants to talk about. It may be that it will come up with a realistic definition which is in accord with SRC policies and the group can go on from there. If it does not, then we feel that it is incumbent upon the consultants to give them some guidance, bring up things that they may not have thought of, and try to restructure their thinking in such a way that they will be following the lines that SRC feels are in accord with its policies. We turn now to the question of standards for selecting problem areas.

Selecting Problem Areas

1. Problem areas which should be selected first are those problem areas which derive from the policies and practices on the part of agencies and institutions in the community which result in significant disability or disadvantage for certain groups in the community.

2. Those problems for which the entire community accepts responsibility, which are attributed to no one group either in causation or in susceptibility or solution.

3. They should be problems which require joint action of both races for solution. Our thinking here was, I think, in accord with what was said last night about ours not being a mass movement, not being a mass propaganda agency that our concern is not primarily with trying to change attitudes en masse. We are primarily concerned with, as was stated in this first principle, policies and practices on the part of agencies and institutions, which result in the things that we wish to change.

Discussion Of 1, 2, and 3

We feel that this rules out using consultants to discuss such programs as simply trying to find ways to change a few or many individual "white" attitudes or, on the other hand, Negro self-help or self-improvement programs;

nor programs in which the white group or the interracial group with which we may meet says in effect, the real problem is for the Negroes to cut down the illegitimacy rate or cut down the crime rate or even to get out and vote more. We also felt that this would even rule out a direct consideration by the consultants of such things as getting out the votes, since this is a problem that is viewed as particularly Negro and can very well be done by other groups. Only if it is approched as a citizenship problem and not as a Negro problem, one in which both races cooperate in trying to get out the vote, should we be concerned with it.

And I think this points up the implications of the third one, that the problems which we consider should be ones which require joint action of both races. Part of our thinking here also was that no matter what problem the people in the community may attack, they work on two things if they go at it the way we suggest. Say they're working on the problem of housing. Now it may be that they're trying to get improvements in housing for Negroes, but the most effective way of doing this is also to increase the communication between whites and Negroes who are involved in this problem so that the problem of improving the channels of communication goes along with the other.

4. Problems should be selected which relate importantly to the basic issues of segregation and discrimination. Now this doesn't mean that in every community the only thing that we will talk about is a frontal attack on segregation, but any issue that is taken up should relate importantly to this central issue.

5. We should consider those issues which have undergone or are in the process of undergoing policy changes resulting from legislation, court action, or action of private groups such as labor unions and churches. This is a question of effectiveness. It is not that we felt that there were not other areas in which discrimination was a problem, but we felt that efforts would

be better expended in those areas where policy changes were in process, and we had this as a background against which to work. We should go where there is a possibility of a court suit, or a possibility of appeal to a new statement of policy by a private agency rather than spending our time on problems which would depend entirely upon good will and voluntary action in order to get some changes made. This does not mean either that this on-going policy change has to be taking place in the particular community involved. For instance, there may be communities which have transportation problems which have no suits now, but we have the background of transportation suits in other communities which cause us to be able to include these things in that community, because there is the broad framework of policy change on the legal level.

The other part of our assignment was the consideration of the local variables that should determine the focus in a given community. We found this, I think, a little more difficult to deal with. We had to state these as factors which the consultants will consider in sizing up a community in which they are working, trying to decide where they are, what they're ready to talk about, what they're ready to do. It's not a check list which can be used in any rigid sort of way, rather an enumeration of the things at which we might look. I will simply enumerate those, and they're not arranged in any particularly logical order - just the way we thought of them.

The strength of opposition groups; the strength of pro-integration groups; the adequacy of lines of communication between groups in the community, particularly between racial groups; the posture of public officials; the attitude of the press; whether there is a court action pending in the community; the unity of the Negro community. Some instances were cited where it was felt that the possibilities for action were less than in other communities because the Negro community was so divided that this constituted a serious handicap; the

level of tension; the major interests and concerns demonstrated by the local groups. Here, we give them their chance to have their say and to define the problems for themselves; and the areas of agreement that seem to exist in the community on the type of problems which we consider.

We realize that these are rather general guides. We feel that each community will be different, each group will be different, and we could not set up a blueprint which would tell the consultants or the staff just exactly what problems should be discussed in any community. But we would hope that this sort of thing would be useful as a guide for sizing up in a kind of off-the-cuff sort of way just what the situation is within the group.

GROUP III

THE CONSULTANTS' ROLE

The first part of this report represents some mechanics and some of the nuances of the consultant's role that seem to be important. First of all the consultant is an outsider. To what extent is this an asset, to what extent does it have liabilities? In the first place being an "outsider" gives him very clear professional status and connections; secondly, it should represent a kind of detached - but yet, sympathetic interest. An important thing here is that this means that the consultant has flexibility, but coupled with that flexibility is real responsibility. Being invited in, he is assured of receptivity, and presumably he has an audience that is willing and wants to listen. There are some liabilities to the consultant's role as an outsider that we are all aware of, but they should be mentioned explicitly. It is quite clear in some situations the very fact of being an outsider, of being who you are, of having the labels that you have, arouses

subtle, to sometimes not so subtle resistance. It is well to be aware of this; it is also well to be aware of the factors that are involved in this resistance. In some instances it reflects a clash of personalities. And sometimes it reflects the position of the presumed constituency participating in this kind of give and take.

We have made much of the fact that a great deal of the consultant's time and much of his technique involves listening. We examined the pros and cons and the limitations of the so-called listener. In the first place and on the plus side, the listener is not threatening, his passivity makes him not too prominent. Listening, of course, enables one to pick up cues and to get the feel of a situation. And this evaluation of the situation - the casing of the joint, so to speak - is extremely important, particularly in the earlier period, because what one does then, that on which one commits himself or does not commit himself, can be crucial. Listening, of course, provides a basis for later on helping to clarify and helping to inform. Listening also, here, provides a very important opportunity for the group itself to air its own views. The group gets an opportunity to clear the air, so to speak, and it is possible to pass on to a more positive attack. However, listening,is, by its very nature, limited - it may be defeating unless it is coupled with some positive contributions, particularly when these positive contributions are indicated. The matter of giving information that is relevant and important, the correcting of stereotypes - an instance is recited wherein the case of public officials and the case even of persons who are active on the local front, that specific information was very helpful and very useful in really restructuring their activities and making them much more effective.

What is the role of facts and what is the role of fact-finding, with

respect to the consultant's operations? We stressed that, in the first place, facts about the local situation and about other situations are an important part of the equipment of the consultant in working with local people. One of the very important things that it does — it takes the conversation out of the realm of these bland generalizations and reduces some of the gobbledegook that we are guilty of sometimes. The point here, I think, is obvious; its that if one does have facts, facts about the local situation possibly, certainly facts about other situations which can be thrown into the hopper, this is well taken and effective.

It is obvious that fact gathering is important and useful, particularly in initial stages of certain operations, and certain planes or certain levels of fact-finding are indicated no matter what the operation. There comes a time in the operation when it is possible to move from this fact-finding stage to a service and action stage. It is important to be sensitive to that possibility. It is important to be not over-committed to, not over-sold on the idea that fact-finding sometimes is the only thing that a person can do, or at least that can be done, because it is the simple, the safe, and the innocuous thing to do.

On the negative side, fact-finding itself is an umbrella term. We should ask the question, in our operations, fact-finding for what, and on what level? In other words, information is selective; communication is a selective process. And of course the obvious thing, of which we are all aware, is that fact-finding is sometimes used as a delaying or diverting tactic. In many instances we really have all the facts. The important thing is to marshall and select these facts and to use them in terms of some developing action or service.

Sensitivity to the Uniqueness of the Local Situation

This, too, is a technique that indicates the sensitivity of the consultant - the fact that all situations are different. This is a way of getting concrete; in other words, by saying that this is a "particular" situation, you are focusing on specific and concrete things. There is a psychological element involved here too, because it's a very sneaky way of paying respects to the local group. We all like to think that we are unique. On the negative side a continuing concern for the uniqueness of the local situation has its limits, particularly if one restricts his activities to this level of attack. We also should seek to stress the common denominators in situations - call attention to other situations that we know about - particularly as they have some relevance for the local situation. This balance between uniqueness and the common denominators is one that should be maintained at all times.

The Importance of Spade Work

We discussed too the importance of preparation and spade work before the consultant enters a situation, where time permits such preparation and spade work. It is quite clear that the sheer mechanics of getting people together, and the timing of their getting together represent sometimes very difficult problems and if they are not worked out they can be delaying or defeating. Where time does not permit this spade work to be done it is important that consultants have a great deal of patience and fortitude.

The Consultant Team

It is important to be sensitive to situations with respect to the size and kind of team indicated. It would seem desirable to get persons with complimentary skills and also with at least a working relationship that has

been tried out in practice, a team which has been formed because of the fact that the members have worked together before. Certain persons have this good potential for working together well. The interracial character of the team is one of the most important contributions of these operations. It is an important demonstration. People get new images, and it is an educational force in itself.

Where possible, it is desirable to use consultants who have had experiences or analogous experience similar to those of the person or group to whom they go.

Matching Consultants

For example, persons who have the same sort of professional or public status, or persons of similar titles are especially valuable in specific situations - an attempt should be made to fit the consultant to the problem, that is, a superintendent of schools is used to consult with a superintendent or a chief of police is used to consult with a chief of police. It is desirable here, however, that when possible, such persons, such specialists, who might be used for one-shot operations might be accompanied by persons who have complimentary skills - reporting or observational skills - in order that one might get a full picture of what went on.

Candor, Honesty Important

We stressed the point that candor and honesty as a part of the demeanor of the consultant pays real dividends. Of course, the question here is at what point is it possible for persons really to open up and really to become candid? Honesty, of course, is always indicated and always present. Very

important too is the evidence that the team itself presents mutual respect and confidence among themselves. It is stressed that the individual characteristics of a team, that is, the fact that each team member is a person, a person with his own background and his own emphases should be exploited, these different characteristics should be blended and the differences among the team, when they are harnessed effectively, come to be a very important plus.

Mechanics of the Consultant Operation - Question of Time and Place

How long should these consultant sessions be? This, of course, obviously depends upon the particular task, and many other features. Obviously, technique should be trimmed to the specific purposes and also to the time available. It is important to be sensitive as to how to open and to know when to close a consultant session or a consultant situation. In other words, the skillful wrap-up, or the stopping at the proper psychological moment. One should be aware of these and should think about them ahead of time. The importance of the informal sessions should also be stressed, and in arranging situations, one should not rig them in such a way that it is not possible for people to get together on an informal basis. There is some merit in sometimes taking the group outside of the local community, to take them to another spot. This, of course, has to be handled very carefully, and with awareness of the liabilities. As a general rule, we felt that it is always best to meet with the local people in their own local setting where their problems are.

Reporting

With respect to the desirable form and content of the report which the consultants should submit to SRC, there are four major things that should be included or considered. One, a brief and succinct statement of the basic

facts: who, what, when, and where. In other words, the vital statistics on the setting. Two, a running commentary on what happened and on impressions in the nature of modified field notes, with which we are all familiar and have had experience. Three, some diagnosis of unsolved problems, and if possible, some attempt at prognosis. Four, specific recommendations as to next steps as a follow-through, and also as to how possibly there might be some feed-back to the consultants themselves and between the community and, or at least the local group, and SRC and the consultants. In this running commentary one should use names - use them liberally. The confidential nature of the report should be stressed and should be understood in order to protect all parties; the consultant, the agency, and the people of the local community. The reports where teams are involved should be individual reports. Again, mechanics are: Two copies of the report should go to the central office. SRC should specify the responsibility of the consultant for such reports and remuneration should be adjusted in terms of the additional time involved. The report should be the property of SRC; any use by consultants should be cleared through SRC's central office.

GROUP IV

Criteria for Selecting Opportunities

Group: - Who Issues the Invitation?

The questions we faced were, how do we know which invitations to accept, which ones do we really try to shoot for? We found ourselves coming back over and over again to a notion so often that we decided it was basic, and that was that the most important criteria was the group that invites you. Is there a real potential for change in the group? If something happens after we leave, does this group have the leadership ability to do something about it? Is

there a genuine interest and concern in this group; is there energy that would carry it on and that can spark the consultants so action will be taken after the consultants leave and do the members of the group have some kind of leverage in the community, either as decision-makers or being able to reach decision-makers, being able to influence public opinion, or by having a grass-roots type of connection?

Community: - Strategic Importance

Another consideration is the strategic character of an area or community. If it's a community that would be a good demonstration place or has influence on other areas, has symbolic value, then it would have a higher priority. We thought also in terms of need. Some groups may not have financial resources to get specialized help, or they may be in communities where there is no specialized help unless we provide it.

Then we arrived at a principle that we call working at the "vanguard edge." We arrived at this by asking ourselves, are we more interested in certain areas than in others? Are we going to discriminate against Kentucky because its all settled? Are we going to discriminate aginst Mississippi because its too tough? The principle we arrived at was this: that we think we should always be working at the vanguard edge in the locale where we are. So if, in Kentucky for instance, there were a situation that could truly affect teacher integration, which is strategic and is symbolic, and isn't yet done, then we should by all means take it. At the other extreme is the situation in Mississippi offering nothing more than getting a group started, which would be truly an action group and truly interracial. We ought certainly to meet that, where we might not in some other areas, thinking it was not an appropriate goal.

So we thought, as a guiding principle, this working out of the most possible; the really vanguard edge in each locality. We talked about what

areas of activity we'd like most to service, and we thought we would underscore the notion which has been said before in SRC circles, that our top priority really is the school question. All of us felt we didn't mean by that that we wouldn't sometimes service something else, that we would keep this top priority in mind without necessarily shutting off help to a group that might be wanting to do something else.

We were mindful of factors of timing, that there are certain cases where a particular moment becomes strategic in a given community, and we are going to try to have a role at that moment. Oneobvious case is where a school suit is about to make a situation ripe, as in Charlottesville, and we definitely have an interest, or situations where something about the political situation would make one time good, another time bad - we would try to be respectful of that.

We raised some questions about do we want publicity, would we ever speak to a mass meeting. I thought here that, the guiding principle should be that we want to protect this as a consultant service, we don't want to become a speaker's bureau, or have consultants do what local people ought to be doing. Sometimes it might very well be that if it was worked out and understood, publicity would be quite all right, and sometimes - after consultation - there might even be a large public meeting set up which we would service, but it would be in the framework of our truly playing a consultant role.

Thus, the idea of servicing a genuine need of a group which will have some leadership potential continued to be our basic thread. We felt that was more basic than any geographic factor; for instance, the question was raised, if we get many requests from Florida and none from Alabama do we

keep on servicing Florida? Our answer was yes, as long as there is a genuinely new situation, a genuinely helpful role; that we're not going to try to balance this out in any arbitrary geographic factor.

Another thing we discussed was the sheer question of inability of services, and there we felt that administrative decisions could be made about cost, about whether or not some groups could pay part of the cost or pay all of it. We felt that we ought to give consultation really free; in other words, if groups can manage their own program and pay for it, but they want to drum some speakers or help in setting it up, that we really ought to service that and be quite generous with advice-giving or making referrals. We thought of some situations where we might be asked to do something which would be a little bigger than our usual role, for instance, somebody said supposing a school board asked you to give them a week's workshop for the teachers, or some such thing. Some of these might stretch our resources and we couldn't honestly meet them within the framework now set up. If it is important, however, we ought to use imagination to get other groups to help or to get a different kind of people than we've had before. If it is important we ought to really go out of our way to try to meet the need.

We didn't know whether or not it fell within our group to discuss finding opportunities - the actual ferreting out of the opportunities - the feeling of the group was that we shouldn't be entirely passive about this, that people have to know this is available or they're not going to ask for it. We threw in the following suggestions: that of making more formal and definite communication with our Board members, in the states as well as the SRC Board, about the availability of this service; that we might use the SRC Newsletter to really build this by reporting what has been done and making continuing announcements; the possibility was thought of of having Southern School News carry

something on this; it was suggested that there could be a nice little flyer which would, in an attractive form, announce this - and we didn't mean it to be a broadside, but to go to some of these selected groups; another suggestion was that we could get an organizational list, basically through the CCB, of other organizations that might use our services and might not otherwise fall within the SRC usual mailing list. It was suggested that having a flyer available or something formal would give a nice opportunity for the state staff people to visit their school superintendents, explain and offer service. This would be a genuine offer of service and a good opportunity to talk with the superintendents again.

The only other suggestion we had we throw in gratis, and that it may well be appropriate for consultants to be encouraged to suggest what they themselves think they might do. Modesty holds consultants back from saying, "I think could really do a job in X or Y community," and perhaps they could be encouraged to suggest how they can be used.

After presentation of reports by the four committes, the afternoon session of the Consultant Conference continued with general discussion.

A pamphlet concerning the Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations, sponsored by the National Council of Churches, was made available to the consultants. Will Campbell, of this organization, circulated a mailing list and asked forthe addition of any addresses that might not be included and the correction of any mistakes in mailing addresses which might be found.

The conference participants were then asked for commentary on the reports of the committee groups.

The "aggressive approach" recommended by Group I was the subject of some discussion, with particular emphasis on the feasibility of taking a more public role than has been the policy of consultant services in the past. Some objection was voiced to the suggestion of speaking at open meetings. It was pointed out that this tactic could be misinterpreted as an attempt to "tell the group what to do"; that the consultant, being an outsider, bears a stigma; that any resulting action should not be associated with SRC but with the local group, and that this could best be accomplished by the consultants offering their advice, knowledge, and skills, but with the local group taking the public role of speech-making. The suggestion by Group I was defended by mention that more than a passive, closed consultant relationship is perhaps desirable; that the behind-the-scenes could be combined with the public role; and that the consultant, by virtue of being an outsider, is better able to analyze than are local groups.

Discussion turned to a compromise between these opposing views, which had in part been suggested in the report by Group IV - the most important criteria is the invitational group itself. The extension of the role to be played should be defined by the nature of the invitational group, and should be pre-planned, a part of the spadework for a given consultant session. The public relations use of the consultant by the invitational group should be a negotiational factor; whether news releases, radio-TV appearances, public speeches, etc., would be desirable and beneficial should be determined with the local group in advance. Perhaps public relations angles should be the subject of more exploration in the future. Finances were mentioned as being a limiting factor; the consultant program should not be allowed to be used by communities as an opportunity for free speeches. The consultant service program should keep the initiative and take a public role if the

situation warrants, but not advertise this role as one of its functions.

The constrictive pressure which is exercised on the Deep South states as a result of progress toward integration in the fringe states was discussed. It was stated that activity by consultants in the fringe states has more effect on the Deep South area than might be immediately apparent. Furthermore, in connection with this channel of thought, the fear of Negro domination in the "Black Belt" is exaggerated; little change can come so long as a "peasant-status" remains; and the pitifully small representation accorded to large cities in state legislatures should be of concern to organized labor and other urban interest groups. These matters, examples of the many complexities of the present situation, were thought to be items for continuing analysis and diagnosis, along with the question of Negro registration, which was briefly discussed. The point was made that an increase in Negro registration would help to protect the Negro community from wanton attack by politicians, and one consultant expressed the opinion that the emphasis, at the present time, should be on the act of voting rather than on attempts to get Negroes into office. In connection with this, it was said that it is more difficult to motivate people in the lower socio-economic class to vote, and that most Negroes in the "Black Belt" are in this class category. The growing dissatisfaction in the cities with the present political arrangements was pointed to as a possible area of break-through.

The discussion turned to a consideration of follow-up on consultant visitations. It was suggested that more than a "one-shot deal" is needed. It was thought, however, to be more within the range of the present resources of the consultant program to relegate this matter to the field staff. The mechanics of arranging for revisitation and follow-up by the field staff has been the responsibility of Fred Routh. It will not be equally possible to arrange such follow-up if there is disaffiliation of the state groups from

SRC. Several points were mentioned in connection with revisitation: (1) there is a need to periodically go over reports to find fruitful activites on which to base future selection of opportunities; (2) the use of consultants varies, as does the possibility of follow-up, depending on the inviting group and the possible areas of work in a given community; (3) it would be helpful if the invitational groups knew that there was a possibility of revisitation within a stated period. It was stated at this point that the foregoing suggestions assume larger staff, treasury, and consultant service facilities than are available at the present time. The budgetary framework in part determines the scope of the consultant service; however, if a strategic situation should occur, the program should be flexible enough to allow cut-backs in other places in order to expend more resources on the deserving situation. Miami, where one consultant spent an entire month, was given as an example of concentration of resources on a particular community with very successful results. It was mentioned that the best advertisement of the consultant service program is examples of where it has worked successfully.

There was some comment on the desirable area of concentration - hard core states or the "soft spots." One conferee suggested that concentration should center on the edges of the South, rather than in the hard core states. A counter suggestion was that two different types of vanguard are needed - one for the hard core states, another for the soft spots.

In conclusion, Harold Fleming expressed the thanks of the SRC staff to the consultants for an extremely productive and fruitful meeting, and the Consultant Conference was closed with an expression of appreciation by the consultants for the opportunity to meet together to discuss strategy.

ORIGINAL (Transcription by M.M)

A major portion of the Saturday afternoon, May 25, general session of the Consultant Conference was given to reports ~~to the group by~~ from the four committees which had conferred during the morning, ~~session.~~

Chairman of the first committee to report was Dr. Kenneth Clark; committee members included Dr. Samuel Dorsey, Mrs. Grace Hamilton, Dr. Robert Johnson, Dr. Robert Menefee, and Dr. Daniel Thompson. The questions considered by this group were: "What is the most effective role of the Consultant Program within the frame of reference of SRC's operation? Definition, scope, and assumptions of such a program."

Dr. Clark reported as follows:

Begin -> Group I was given the task of trying to come up with answers to the following questions, namely, what is the most effective role of the Consultant Program within the frame of reference of SRC's operation? Definition, scope, and assumptions of such a program." We approached our task by making some assumptions, namely, that the frame of reference of SRC's operation, as presented to us last night, was one which we could examine, and attempt to answer this question in terms of whether it would be possible to have an effective consultant program within that stated frame of reference. If the answer to that assumption was "yes", then we would go on with our work. If the answer to that was "no", then we would have to state what, in our thinking, was a frame of reference or what modification in the stated frame of reference would be appropriate to an effective consultant program as we saw it. We assumed, therefore, that the frame of reference was not static, but something that had to be tested and retested against contemporary realities and problems, ~~and~~ If this assumption is a valid one, then we felt that we had to ask ourselves logically the next question, ~~w~~ What are the present social realities which ~~we think to be~~ are most salient, most significant in terms of attaining the goals of SRC and related organizations; what are the significant contemporary problems; what are the present obstacles to a smooth transition from a segregated to a non-segregated society?

WHAT ARE THE SOCIAL REALITIES IN THE PRESENT SITUATION

Quotes [ ]

Now these were the questions which we posed for the beginning of our attempt to answer as well as we could these basic questions. We started ~~our by~~ with a presentation of what the group considered to be the most significant factor in the contemporary. - Not the problem two years ago or three years ago, for that matter maybe even a year ago - but as of now, what appears, what has emerged to be the most significant social problem relevant to this whole question of a transition from a segregated to a non-segregated society. The point that we agreed on was that [the ~~chief~~ most serious obstacle to such a transition at this time seems to be that ~~selling~~ certain political and governmental officials are using the machinery of state and local government as the chief instruments for effecting opposition to desegregation and compliance to the May 17, 1954 decision.] We then discussed the role of consultants relevant to this problem of how do you deal with this specific problem. ~~And~~ It was suggested then that the role of consultants would have to be directed toward the following areas; that is, to establish contacts to give the most effective kind of advice and analysis of the political problems and techniques that would be useful to local leaders and groups in an attempt to modify the existing balance of political power. ~~and~~ That there must be appropriate contact with Negro and selected white community leaders or groups in order to communicate to them professional advice on problems related to the struggle for the achievement of a changed political structure. The major question which immediately emerged, once that line of thinking became focused, was how can this focus of the use of consultant service be squared with the important frame of reference of SRC, namely, that it is a tax exempt organization. The person, Sam Dorsey, who ~~is~~ was chief proponent of this point of view, which we all shared as he developed it, was required to answer this question before we felt that we could reasonably and legitimately bring this before you. ~~and~~ He made ~~the following~~ some offense /defense/, ~~he said that~~ without claiming to be expert on this very technical and important legal and maybe political problem of the nature of tax exempt status, ~~and~~ or the kind of activities of an agency which will or

will not violate this. He nonetheless felt that it would be possible for a group of skilled, sophisticated and knowledgeable consultants to present to community groups advice or suggestions or techniques that would be relevant to such specific problems as what needs to be done to the increased number of individuals who register to vote. Also, such informational issues as presenting to the communities and states or the nation as a whole the percentage of Negroes who are registered in the various states and the various communities; the percentage of Negroes who, after registering, do not vote; and particularly, to present to the general public information concerning techniques used to keep Negroes from registering and voting. ~~what techniques seem to be most effective, and so forth~~. It was his feeling, and the group sort of agreed, that we did not see that this kind of specialized consulting service would put in jeapordy the tax exempt status of SRC. It was stated, however, and I want to present to the group this very strong feeling of our group, that any effective consultative program will necessarily, because of its effectiveness, arouse ire, resentment, and invite attack from those who now control the political power in much of the South. It is too much to expect that such individuals will be naive enough to see under their very noses a program that has as its goal changing the balance of power or political alignment without being quite disturbed about it. It was our feeling throughout our discussion that we cannot expect that any strategy will guarantee the agency or the individual involved in an effective strategy immunity from attack, unless the strategy be ineffective and inaccurate. There are a number of questions which remain, and unfortunately we didn't have the answers, so I present you with the questions. We thought, in discussing this point, that there appears to be need for clarifying the proceedures for operational contact with community groups. We felt that it was not enough to say that we have contact with community groups; we are now at the point where we have to find out how do you get contact with community groups. It was suggested in this regard

PILOT PROJECT

that it may very well be that SRC ~~could~~ should think of developing a pilot project in a selected community in which it would work out such technical problems ~~of~~ as the way in which you translate a program on paper into an actual community activity. It was suggested that certain other agencies had attained success with the pilot project approach, not only in terms of working out technical bugs, but also in terms of spreading publicity-wise, in other communities, ~~particularly~~ If the pilot project is successful, other communities hear about it and request similar types of services. It was also felt that one could facilitate cooperative and coordinated activities among community groups working toward our common goal. In this too, the proceedure would have to be developed by actually going into a community and seeing how one does this. At this point in our discussion, it became perfectly clear, we all felt, that there should be a reexamination of the policy of the making available of consultant services to communities on their invitation. We were not prepared to say that this should be changed, but we were wondering whether there might not be now or in the near future a need for a more aggressive promotion of the consultant service in communities, letting communities know that this is available and subtly suggesting that under certain circumstances it can be used. It was also felt that maybe the consultant services could be used not only in this area of removing or modifying as much as possible the political blockage to effective desegregation, but in other areas too. Maybe the consultant service could be used in some kind of quiet liason with specific groups that have not been so far identified with the racial problems but have been identified ~~w/~~ in the public's mind with problems of democracy, or extending democracy, for example, such groups as the League of Women Voters, groups of professional educators, or various "discipliners", such as sociology, psychology, and labor groups. The second obstacle which our group felt was an important one which might help us to see more clearly how consultants could be used effectively, was the obstacle, the comtemporary obstacle of increasing blockage in communication. It was felt that this was not necessarily accidental,

Obstacle Primary ?!

liaison

(2)

but that the rigidity and the lack of communication among various groups in the community on this issue of desegregation might be a very effective manipulative technique on the part of those who desire to evade as long as possible the process of desegregation. The suggested role of consultants which emerged from our discussion of this was that consultants would specifically communicate to the groups with whom they work, the techniques which have been found effective in facilitating communication even under conditions of deliberate blockage; that the consultants could pinpoint for the groups the priorities among the various groups in which communication should be established as quickly as possible, and maybe the most effective ways of initiating it. ~~communication.~~ Second, it was felt that the consultants could play a role in analysing and communicating to the groups with whom they work the basis, ~~and~~ the genesis, & the function of blocked communication. ~~and the function of blocked communication~~. This is based on the assumption that ~~some~~ such understanding will make for more effective amelioration. A third suggestion was that the consultant program itself, its machinery, its proceedures, could be used ~~and necessarily is used~~ as a basis for increasing communication. In this regard it was thought that we ought to think about changing or modifying the present proceedure or the present way of using consultants which, as we understood it, was one in which the consultant met with a closed group of individuals and the nature of their activities and relationship was pretty much limited to that group, except of course, what happens among people who are left in the community after the consultant leaves. Someone suggested that it may be possible that ~~we~~ could have some modification of this, whereby the presence of the consultants in a community, under certain circumstances, could be publicized in an appropriate and effective way. They might ~~and~~ in that way, reach directly larger numbers of individuals in the community, almost facilitating the spade work which the community groups will eventually have to do anyway. Another way in which we thought the consultants might be useful in attacking this particular problem is that of providing specialized services to the indigenous community leaders - specialized

public relations services, or public education services ~~to them~~, particularly in the area of public announcements, speeches, helping them, when requested, to determine what should be said, when, how, how strongly. It was felt that many of these groups are badly in need of, ~~and~~ but cannot afford the kind of specialized public relations help and strategy which we might be able to provide them under certain conditions. In this regard it was also suggested that the consultant program of SRC should probably look to the possibility of inviting specialists from the mass media in public relations to a conference or to some kind of relationship with SRC. ~~that~~ This could be a source from which we could draw this kind of highly specialized professional knowledge to communicate to local community groups. The rationale of all of these specific suggestions, we felt, was that of trying to develop some approach, some technique, for wresting the propaganda initiative from the opposition, as far as it was possible. ~~and~~ It was felt in our group that this could not be done by a passive, defensive approach; that maybe we ought to think more imaginatively about an appropriate, aggressive, effective propaganda program. Finally, we felt that another major obstacle of the present is that of increased violence and manipulated tensions. In attempting to deal with this and another obstacle which was mentioned, namely, changed economic conditions in the South, our group was not sure that a consultant could play a direct role in meeting these problems. The best we could come up with was a belief that as far as increased violence, manipulated tensions, planted rumors were concerned, maybe the best that you could expect from consultants would be that they would use their skill as social scientists and analysts in spotting, analysing, and suggesting the techniques for vitiating rumor planting and manipulation of tensions in a community. That by identifying the source, purpose and function of these, they ~~and, hopefully, that such identification and analysis~~ would help the individuals in the community who share our goals not to be just helpless victims of this, but to use such knowledge in whatever way seems appropriate in their particular community. We came up with two or three general principles which the group felt were relevant to the effectiveness in

any specific area of the use of consultants. The first was our belief that the time may have come for SRC to think of increasing the range of skills among its consultants. We think that the present panel of consultants, being as highly weighted as it is with social scientists, may have reflected more the realities of two years ago, than the realities of today. ¶ We feel that maybe there should be thought given to including in the panel of consultants, or in some relationship to SRC, individuals with specialized skills in propaganda, education, labor relations, or specific actual work with church groups and so forth. We feel that it would be an error ~~to~~ - as flattering as it might be to our own egos - to have the staff continue to believe that the present realities as we see them can be met by the skills and training of the present group. Although we still believe that there is some place for us, we don't believe that we have the particular knowledge which a particular engineering job might require at this time. ¶ The second general principle which we feel ~~that~~ is relevant to the effective use of consultants is that we feel that in every case of the use of consultant service, the consultants should consist of a team, and that this team should be a black-white team, a Negro-white team. We don't know that we can give you valid empirical support for this, but it was the general feeling of the people in our group that the process contributes something and that in consultation with Negro groups or with white groups or with Negro and white groups, the fact of a Negro and white expert dealing with a technical problem is itself of a practical significance and will facilitate or add to the effectiveness of the job to be done. ¶ And finally, we feel that it is imperative upon us to say that our discussions made perfectly clear to us the implicit answer to one of our basic questions, namely, the examination of the framework of SRC and we felt that there was no doubt, in the light of the way in which our discussion gravitated, that we were not questioning the frame-work. It was the unanimous opinion of the group that there was a place and an important place for an organization that fitted the criteria ennumerated by Harold Fleming last night,

namely, an indigenous, Southern, "white," (in a sense) organization - an organization that made no pretense of a militant attack on special legal problems but an organization that had as its major concern an attempt to talk reasonably to power controllers, to make contact with the essential decency in human beings. When that point was made explicit, every one of our group agreed that it was possible for an effective consultation service to operate within this frame-work, and that it would be a major contribution to the many types of things which now seem necessary to help a troubled part - to help our whole nation meet a very complex and difficult problem.

¶ We would like to warn, however, that we felt that the most effective consultation service, the most knowledgeable and sophisticated group of consultants, cannot be considered substitutes for an effective staff program. They are at best axillary; they are at best a resource, and, not that we sense any tendency to look upon the consultants as a major foundation for program, but the more effective we are, the greater that danger is, of believing that we can do more than we obviously can. ~~do.~~

Follow corrected text —

Report from Group II. Chairman, Lewis Killian. Members: Robert Brisbane, Herman Long, Robert Martin, Bob Thompson, Whitney Young. Questions: What standards should be applied in selecting problem areas for consultant services? What are the local variables that should determine the focus in a given community?

~~Report of Group II~~ Group II

General Question (1)

~~Group II had as its questions~~ [What standards should be applied in selecting problem areas for consultant services? What are the local variables that should determine the focus in a given community?] ~~We found that it was difficult, in fact, impossible to separate the question of what consultants should talk about with local groups from the question of what sort of local group they should talk to and under what conditions, and so we overlapped a little bit with the report of Group I, in that we did discuss initially what standards should be used in the selection of groups which SRC should serve. We didn't arrive at as elaborate a set of recommendations as did Group I, and we should not have since this was not our primary mission, but we did come up with two statements which we did feel that we should pass on to the larger group.~~ Thus,

SRC's objectives should be made clear

[First, any group which requests an SRC consultant panel should be given a clear understanding, before the panel is given to them of the Southern Regional Council policies and aims. They should also be given a clear understanding that all actions of the Southern Regional Council ~~would~~ will be consistent with these policies; specifically, that all panels will be interracial panels.] ~~So we arrived at the same conclusion on this point that you did.~~ Group I ~~We felt that these two conditions~~ This understanding would insure that whatever particular problems a panel might discuss with a local group, ~~it~~ would always be discussed within the frame of reference of SRC's firm committment to integration as a principle, and there would be no temptation, ~~no~~ or excuse for getting off into a separate-but-equal frame of reference,] ~~which some local groups that we might visit might try to force us into, might say that they had expected.~~

Working with groups where they are.

A preliminary statement in answer to the ~~The second question that we discussed before we got down to our main questions was,~~ [To what extent should the consultants define

what it is that the groups will discuss. It is kind of a stock phrase to say that you should work with the groups "where they are", in other words, let them define what it is they want to talk about, what actions they want to consider. We did not agree wholeheartedly with this principle of taking them where they are, ~~and~~ we felt that it was incumbent on the consultants to give them some guidance in deciding where the consultants should be and what they should be talking about. We don't propose that the consultants should ~~not~~ be undemocratic about this, in fact, we think it is important that as a first step the local group be given an opportunity to express its interest, express its feelings about itself, about where it is, and what problems it wants to talk about. ~~and~~ It may be that it will come up with a realistic definition which is in accord with SRC policies and the group can go on from there. ~~but~~ If it does not, then we feel that it is incumbent upon the consultants to give them some guidance, bring up things that they may not have thought of, and try to restructure their thinking in such a way that they will be following the lines that SRC feels are in accord with its policies. ~~Then we came to the question of the standards that should be applied in selecting problem areas for consultant services, and we came up with this statement of applied standards, the first three of which are very closely related, so I will just read those first three and then discuss them together.~~ We turn now to the question of standards for selecting problem areas.

1. Problem areas which should be selected ~~should be~~ first are those problem areas which derive from the policies and practices on the part of agencies and institutions in the community which result in significant disability or disadvantage for certain groups in the community.

2. Those problems for which the entire community accepts responsibility, which are attributed to no one group either in causation or in susceptibility of solution.

3. They should be problems which require joint action of both races for solution. Our thinking here was, I think, in accord with what ~~Harold~~ was ~~saying~~ said last night about our not being a mass movement, not being a mass propaganda agency, that our concern is not primarily with trying to change attitudes en masse. ~~that~~ We are

primarily concerned with, as was stated in this first principle, policies and practices on the part of agencies and institutions, which result in the things that we wish to change.

Discussion of 1, 2, 3.

We feel that this rules out using consultants to discuss such programs as simply trying to find ways to change a few or many individual "white" attitudes or, on the other hand, Negro self-help or self-improvement programs, nor programs ~~in which the white group or the interracial group that~~ with which we may meet ~~with, perhaps,~~ says in effect, the real problem is for the Negroes to cut down the illegitimacy rate or cut down the crime rate or even to get out and vote more. We also felt that this would even rule out a direct consideration by the consultants of such things as getting out the votes, since this is a / problem / that is viewed as particularly ~~a~~ Negro ~~problem,~~ and can very well be done by other groups, ~~and~~ Only if it is approached as a citizenship problem and <u>not</u> as a Negro problem, ~~and~~ one in which both races cooperate in trying to get out the vote, ¶ we should be concerned with it. And I think this points up the implications of the third one, that the problems which we consider should be ones which require joint action of both races. Part of our thinking here also was that no matter what problem the people in the community may attack, they work on two things if they go at it the way we ~~would like to~~ suggest. Say they're working on the problem of housing, Now it may be that they're trying to get improvements in housing for Negroes, but the most effective way of doing this is also to increase the communication between whites and Negroes who are involved in this problem so that the problem of improving the channels of communication goes along with the other.

4. ~~Our fourth standard for the selection of problems is that~~ Problems should be selected which relate importantly to the basic issues of segregation and discrimination. Now this doesn't mean that in every community the only thing that we will talk about is a frontal attack on segregation, but any issue that is taken up should relate importantly to this central issue.

~~And fifth~~ 5., we should consider those issues which have undergone or are in the process of undergoing policy changes resulting from legislation, court action, or action of private groups such as labor unions and churches. This is a question of effectiveness. It is not that we felt that there were not other areas in which discrimination was a problem, but we felt that efforts would be better expended in those areas where policy changes were in process, and we had this as a background against which to work, or we should go where there ~~was~~ is a possibility of a court suit, or a possibility of appeal to a new statement of policy by a private agency rather than spending our time on problems which would depend entirely upon good will and voluntary action in order to get some changes made. This does not mean either that this on-going policy change has to be taking place in the particular community involved. For instance, there may be communities which have transportation problems which have no suits now, but we have the background of transportation suits in other communities which cause us to be able to include these things in that community, because there is the broad framework of policy change on the legal level.

The other part of our assignment was the consideration of the local variables that should determine the focus in a given community. We found this, I think, a little more difficult to deal with. ~~and~~ We had to state these as factors which the consultants will consider in sizing up a community in which they are working, trying to decide where they are, what they're ~~going~~ ready to talk about, what they're ready to do. It's not a check list which can be used in any rigid sort of way, rather an enumeration of the things ~~that~~ at which we might look, ~~and~~ I will simply enumarate those, and they're not arranged in any particularly logical order - just the way we thought of them.

The strength of opposition groups; the strength of pro-integration groups; the adequacy of lines of communication between groups in the community, particularly between racial groups; the posture of public officials; the attitude of the press; whether there is a court action pending in the community; the unity of the Negro

community. Some instances were cited where it was felt that the possibilities for action were less than in other communities because the Negro community was so divided that this constituted a serious handicap; the level of tension; the major interests and concerns demonstrated by the local groups. Here, we give them their chance to have their say and to ~~find~~ define the problems for themselves; and the areas of agreement that seem to exist in the community on the type of problems which we consider.

We realize that these are rather general guides. We feel that each community will be different, each group will be different, and we could not set up a blueprint which would tell the consultants or the staff just exactly what problems should be discussed in any community. But we would hope that this sort of thing would be useful as a guide for sizing up in a kind of off-the-cuff sort of way just what the situation is within the group.

Report from Group III. Chairman, Bonita Valien. Members: Earl Brewer, Will Campbell, Hylan Lewis, Willis Sutton, and Harry Walker. Question: What are the strong and weak points in the consultant techniques used to date? What are the elements of effective reporting and analysis that will make possible follow-through by SRC? What forms should reports take?

Dr. Lewis was asked to report by the committee chairman, Mrs. Bonita Valien, as follows:

Omit

With respect to the first of these questions, that is about strong and weak points in the consultant techniques, I was reminded of the conversation that Harold and I had last night about the early days of this consultant operation. We compared it to the early days of operation, before you had radar and instruments, and the flyer then flew by the seat of his pants. I think in these early days we consultants have in effect been flying by the seat of our pants. This, of course, has nothing to do with the matter of our effectiveness or with the matter of our responsibility, because I think in flying by the seat of ones' pants one has to develop a certain sensitivity, otherwise, he doesn't fly any more. So the first part of this report really represents some mechanics ~~that~~ we think are important that we have picked up, and some of the nuances of the consultant's role that seem to be important ~~that we would like to share with you.~~ THE CONSULTANT'S ROLE. ~~We discussed Southern~~ seven main items on this matter of the strength and weaknesses of the consultant's techniques. ~~The first of these was with respect to the outsider's role that the consultant plays.~~ As an "outsider". [To what extent is this an asset, to what extent does it have liabilities?] ~~We agreed that this is something that the consultant is able to capitalize on, because,~~ [~~first of all, it~~ gives him very clear cut professional status and connections; secondly, it ~~represents~~ a kind of detachment ~~for himself~~ - should represent a kind of detachment - but yet, sympathetic interest. An important thing here, ~~as I said,~~ is that this means that the consultant has flexibility, but coupled with that flexibility is real responsibility.] ~~We agreed, too, that it is~~ on the plus side ~~when the consultant is invited~~ in. Being Invited In. [Being invited in, he is assured of receptivity, and presumably he has an audience that is willing and wants to listen.

There are some liabilities to the consultant's role as an outsider that we are all aware of, but they should be mentioned explicitly. It is quite clear in some situations the very fact of being an outsider, of being who you are, of having the labels that you have, arouses subtle, to sometimes not so subtle resistance. I ~~think each of us has had this kind of experience.~~ It is well to be aware of this; it is also well to be aware of the factors that are involved in this resistance. In some instances it reflects ~~personal, or~~ personalities, ~~the~~ or clash of personalities ~~or probably the beasties that are eating particular peoples about the consultants~~. And sometimes it reflects the position of the presumed constituency ~~of a person's~~ participating in this kind of give and take ~~and We gave several illustrations of this kind of happening~~.

As a Listener

~~The second thing we talked about was the listener's role~~. We have made much of the fact that a great deal of the consultant's time and much of his technique involves listening. ~~and~~ We examined the pros and cons and the limitations of the so-called listener. In the first place and on the plus side, the listener is not threatening, his passivity makes him not too prominent. Listening, of course, enables one to pick up cues and to get the feel of a situation. And this evaluation of the situation - the casing of the joint, so to speak - is extremely important, particularly in the earlier period, because what one does then, that on which one commits himself or does not commit himself, can be crucial. Listening, of course, provides a basis for later on helping to clarify and helping to inform. Listening also, here, provides a very important opportunity for the group itself to air its own views. ~~to air the variety of views, that is usually present in any situation. In other words, by listening,~~ The group gets an opportunity to clear the air, so to speak, and it is possible to pass on to a more positive attack. ~~It should be stressed here, and very important, that~~ However, listening is, by its very nature, limited. It may be ~~limited and~~ defeating ~~of our purposes~~ unless it is coupled with some positive contributions, particularly

when these positive contributions are indicated. The matter of giving information that is relevant and important, the correcting of stereotypes - an instance is recited wherein in the case of public officials and the case even of persons who are active on the local front, that specific information was very helpful and very useful in really restructuring their activities and making them much more effective.

TAP consultant as a resource person

~~Facts and fact finding as a source of factual information~~

~~The third thing we talked about was the question of facts, and facts and the consultant.~~ Next What is the role of facts and what is the role of fact finding, with respect to the consultant's operations? We stressed that, in the first place, facts about the local situation and about other situations are an important part of the equipment of the consultant in working with local people. One of the very important things that it does-- it takes the conversation out of the realm of these bland generalizations and reduces some of the gobbledegook that we are guilty of sometimes. ~~When people ask us for a suggestion we, of course, come back sometimes and say, "Well, this is a situation where you have an opportunity to be creative." Now, this doesn't mean very much, in fact, it certainly adds a negative cast to the situation.~~ The point here, I think, is obvious; it's that if one does have facts, facts about the local situation possibly, certainly facts about other situations which can be thrown into the hopper, this is well taken and effective. It is obvious that fact gathering is important and useful, particularly in initial stages of certain operations, and certain planes or certain levels of fact finding ~~is~~ are indicated no matter what the operation. ~~even if it's no more than the kind of informal thing we call "casing the joint."~~ ~~Whether this involves a more formal and a more extended kind of operation, that is a question.~~ ~~It is important to stress here too that our experiences indicate that~~ However, there comes a time in the operation when it is possible to move from this fact-finding stage to a service and action stage. It is important to be sensitive to that possibility. It is important to be not over-committed to, not over-sold on the ~~fact~~ idea that fact finding sometimes is the only thing that a person can do, or at least that can be done, because it is the simple, and the safe, and the innocuous thing to do.

On the negative side, fact finding itself is an umbrella term. We should ask the question, in our operations, fact finding for what, and on what level? In other words, information is ~~a~~ selective; communication is a selective process. And of course the obvious thing, of which we are all aware, is that fact finding is sometimes used as a delaying or diverting tactic. ~~I'm quite convinced that~~ In many instances we really have all the facts, ~~or at least sufficient facts - this is what Louis Worth used to always say, that we really have enough facts;~~ the important thing is to martial and select these facts and to use them in terms of some developing action or service.

Sensitivity to the uniqueness of the local situation

~~A fourth thing that we discussed was this question of the uniqueness of the local situation.~~ It's This, too, is a technique that indicates the sensitivity of the consultant - the fact that all situations are different. This is a way of getting concrete; in other words, ~~you will say~~ by saying that this is a "particular" situation, ~~so therefore~~ you are focusing on specific and concrete things. There is a psychological element involved here too, because it's a very sneaky way of paying respects to the local group, ~~because~~ We all like to think that we are unique. On the negative side, ~~this concern, the~~ a continuing concern for the uniqueness of the local situation, has its limits, particularly if one restricts his activities to this level of attack. ~~In other words, what~~ Also, we should ~~do is to~~ seek ~~and~~ also to stress the common denominators in situations - call attention to other situations that we know about - particularly as they have some relevance for the local situation, ~~so therefore~~ This balance between uniqueness and the common denominators is one that should be maintained at all times ~~considered and~~ one ~~should be~~ constantly alert ~~to.~~

The importance of spade work

We discussed too the importance of preparation and spade work before the consultant enters a situation, ~~particularly~~ where time permits such preparation and spade work. It is quite clear that the sheer mechanics of getting people together, and the timing of their getting together ~~these~~ represent sometimes very difficult problems and if they are not worked out they can be delaying or defeating. ~~In an emergency, however, it is not possible always to really do this spade work before entering the field.~~ Where time does not permit this spade work to be done ~~In such situations~~ it is important that consultants have a

a great deal of patience and fortitude, ~~because offtimes in the field situation, a great deal of waiting is necessary~~. - ~~It's like war, sometimes; much of war is waiting, and waiting to see that certain things fall into their proper slots so that one can time his operations effectively.~~

The Consultant Team

We discussed, too, ~~the characteristics of the team - the team characteristics. And here we have learned the wisdom of being sensitive to when a certain kind of team or a certain size team is indicated.~~ [It is important to be sensitive to situations with respect to the size and kind of team indicated] We weren't able ~~to come to any answer to the question of what determines the size of the team,~~ in other words, how many people ~~should be on a particular team.~~ We ~~discussed the composition of the team and the importance, of course, of getting~~ [It would seem desirable to get persons with complimentary skills and also with at least a working relationship that ~~'s~~ has been tried out in practice, which has been ~~found~~ formed ~~because~~ of the fact that ~~they~~ the members have worked together before. ~~=~~ Certain persons have this good potential for working together well. The interracial character of the team] ~~which has been discussed before, we too refer to as~~ is one of the most important contributions of these operations. It is an important demonstration. People ~~have gotten~~ Get new images, and it is an educational force in itself. ~~We point to the fact that there is an increasing need to use persons of similar or analogous experiences~~ [Where possible it is desirable to use consultants who have had experiences similar to those of the person or group to whom they go.

Matching consultants

For example, persons who have the same sort of professional or public status, or persons of similar titles are especially valuable in specific situations - ~~fitting~~ An attempt should be made to fit the ~~type~~ consultant to the ~~consultant~~ problem, ~~such as~~ that is, a superintendent of schools is used to consult with a superintendent or a chief of police is used to consult with a chief of police. It is desirable here, however, that when possible, such persons, such specialists, who might be used for one-shot operations might be accompanied by persons who have complimentary skills - reporting or observational skills - in order that one might get a full picture of what went on.] [We stressed the point that candor and honesty as a part of the demeanor of the consultant pays real dividends. Of course, the question here is at what point is it possible for persons really to open up and really to become candid? Honesty, of course, is always indicated and always present. Very important

Candor, honesty important

too is the evidence that the team itself presents mutual respect and confidence among themselves. It is stressed that the individual characteristics of a team, that is, the fact that each team member is a person, a person with his own background and his own emphases should be explained ~~/developed?/~~ ~~doubled~~ ~~not be dwelt /??/~~; ~~rather~~, ~~that~~ these different characteristics should be blended and ~~that~~ the differences among the team, when they are harnessed effectively, come to be a very important plus ~~and make a far better impression than when you have the team acting like the Andrew Sisters, for example.~~

Mechanics of the Consultant Operation

~~We talked, too, about the~~ Question of time and place ~~- the time and place of the consultant operation and the effects of these factors. The questions such as, for example,~~ How long should these consultant sessions be? This, of course, obviously depends upon the particular task, and many other features ~~which we did not elaborate.~~ Obviously, technique should be trimmed to ~~the purposes,~~ the ~~[illegible]~~ /specific?/ purposes and also to the time available. It is important to be sensitive as to how to open and to ~~now~~ know ~~and~~ when to close a consultant session or a consultant situation. In other words, the skillful wrap-up, or the stopping at the proper psychological moment - one should be aware of these and should think about ~~these~~ them ahead of time. The importance of the informal sessions should also be stressed, and in arranging situations, one should not rig them in such a way that it is not possible for people to get together on an informal basis. There is some merit in sometimes taking the group outside of the local community, to take them to another spot. This, of course, has to be handled very carefully, and with awareness of the liabilities. As a general rule, we felt that it is always best to meet with the local people in their own local setting where their problems are.

Reporting

~~The last two questions had to do with reports and analysis, and these are~~ the recommendations; I'll make them brief. With respect to the desirable form and content of the report ~~that~~ which the consultants should submit to SRC, there are four major things that should be included or considered. One, a brief and succinct

statement of the basic facts: who, what, when, and where. In other words, the vital statistics on the setting. Two, a running commentary on what happened and on impressions in the nature of modified field notes, with which we are all familiar and have had experience. Three, some diagnosis of unsolved problems, and if possible, ~~one might~~ ~~risk~~ some attempt at prognosis. Four, specific recommendations as to next steps as a follow-through, and also as to how possibly there might be some feed-back ~~/feed-back/~~ to the consultants themselves and ~~feed-back~~ between the community and, or at least the local group, and SRC and the consultants. ~~These points, too, were made, that~~ In this running commentary one should use names - use them liberally. The confidential nature of the report should be stressed and should be understood in order to protect all parties: the consultant, the agency, and the people of the local community. The reports where teams are involved should be individual reports, ~~we felt~~. Again, mechanics are: [Two copies of the report should go to the central office. SRC should specify the responsibility of the consultant for such reports and remuneration should be adjusted in terms of the additional time involved. The report should be the property of SRC; any use by consultants should be cleared through SRC's Central Office.]

omit -

Group IV. Chairman, Lee Coleman. Members: B. R. Brazeal, W. B. Jones, Irene Osborne, G. D. Wilson.

Questions: What criteria should be applied in choosing the best opportunities for consultant services - as between different leadership groups; as between local, state, and wider spheres of operation? What factors of timing should be considered in the selection and coordination of opportunities?

Criteria for selection of opportunities

~~Reporting for this committee, the recorder, Irene Osborne:~~

10 - Tape 9 - The questions we faced were, how do we know which ~~ones~~ invitations to accept, which ones do we try to really shoot for, ~~which ones~~ are we really ~~trying to aim for~~. We found ourselves coming back over and over again to a notion so often that we decided it was basic, and that was that the most important criteria ~~related to who~~ was the group that invites you. ~~We'd like to see~~ Is there a real potential for change in the group~~s~~ ~~that we go to~~. ~~What we~~ have in mind ~~here is that~~ if something happens after we leave, ~~that~~ does this group have the leadership ability ~~and can~~ to do something about it? ~~Under that, we would think of~~: Is there a genuine interest and concern in this group, is there energy that would carry it on and that the consultants can spark so ~~that it can work after we leave~~ after the consultants leave, and do the members of the group have some kind of leverage in the community, either ~~through the~~ as decision makers or being able to reach decision makers, being able to influence public opinion, or by having a grass-roots type of connection? Another consideration ~~We thought also of~~ is the strategic character of an area or community. If it's a community that would be a good demonstration place or has ~~the~~ influence on other areas, has symbolic value, then it would have a higher priority. We thought also in terms of need. Some groups may not have financial resources to get specialized help, ~~otherwise~~ or they may be in communities where there is no specialized help unless we provide it. Then we arrived at a principle that we call working at the "vanguard edge." We arrived at this by asking ourselves, are we more interested in certain areas than in others? Are we going to discriminate against Kentucky because its all settled? Are we going to discriminate against Mississippi because its too tough? ~~and~~ The principle we arrived at was this: that we think we should always be working at the vanguard edge

GROUP: who issues the invitation?

take on

COMMUNITY: Strategic ~~Community~~ importance

Need

in the locale where we are. So if, in Kentucky for instance, there were a situation that could truly affect teacher integration, which is strategic and is symbolic, and isn't yet done, then we should by all means take it. At the other extreme is the situation in Mississippi offering nothing more than getting a group started, which would be truly an action group and truly interracial, we ought certainly to meet that, where we might not in some other area, thinking it was not an appropriate goal. So we thought, ~~of~~ as a ~~very~~ guiding principle, this working out the most possible, the really vanguard edge in each locality. We talked some about what areas of activity we'd like most to service, ~~that is, what areas, live schools, or what-have-you,~~ and we thought we would underscore the notion ~~that~~ which has been said before in SRC circles, that our top priority really is the school question, ~~that~~ all of us felt we didn't mean by that that we wouldn't sometimes service something else, that we would keep this top priority in mind without necessarily shutting off help to a group that might be wanting to do something else. We were mindful of factors of timing, that there are certain cases where a particular moment becomes strategic in a given community, and we are going to try to have a role at that moment. One obvious case is where a school suit is about to make a situation ripe, as in Charlottesville, and we definitely have an interest, or situations where something about the political situation would make one time good, another time bad - we would try to be respectful of that. We raised some questions about do we want publicity, would we ever speak to a mass meeting, ~~and~~ I thought ~~there was~~ here that, the guiding principle should be that we ~~do~~ want to protect this as a consultant service, we don't want to become a speaker's bureau, or have consultants do what local people ought to be doing, ~~but that~~ Sometimes it might very well be that if it was worked out and understood, publicity would be quite all right, and sometimes - after consultation - there might even be a large public meeting set up which we would service, but it would be in the frame-work of our truly playing a consultant role.

~~So this~~ Thus, the idea of servicing a genuine need of a group ~~that~~ which will have some leadership potential continued to be our basic thread. We felt that was more basic than any geographic factor; for instance, the question was raised, if we get many requests from Florida and none from Alabama do we keep on servicing Florida? Our answer was yes, as long as there is a genuinely new situation, a genuinely helpful role; that we're not going to try to balance this out in any arbitrary geographic factor.

Another ~~kind of~~ thing we discussed was the sheer question of inability of services, and there we felt that administrative decisions could be made about cost, about whether or not some groups could pay part of the cost or pay all of it. We felt that we ought to give consultation really free; in other words, if groups can manage their own program and pay for it, but they want to drum some speakers or help in setting it up, that we really ought to service that and be quite generous with ~~that kind of simply giving~~ advice-giving or making referrals. We thought of some situations where we might be asked to do something which would be a little bigger than our usual role, for instance, somebody said supposing a school board asked you to give them a week's workshop for the teachers, or some such thing. Some of these might stretch our resources and we couldn't honestly meet them within the framework now set up, ~~but that~~ 19 - Tape 9 ~~, If~~ it is important, however, we ought to use imagination to get other groups to help or to get a different kind of people than we've had before, ~~and if~~ it is important we might to really go out of our way to try to meet the need.

We didn't know whether or not it fell within our group to discuss finding opportunities - the actual ferreting out of the opportunities ~~- but~~ the feeling of the group was that we shouldn't be entirely passive about this, that people have to know this is available or they're not going to ask for it, ~~so~~ We threw in the following suggestions: that of making more formal and definite communication with our Board Members, in the states as well as the SRC Board, about the availability of this service; that we might use the SRC Newsletter to really build this by reporting what has been done and making continuing announcements; the possibility was thought

of of having Southern School News carry something on this; it was suggested that there could be a nice little flyer which would, in an attractive form, announce this - and we didn't mean it to be a broadside, but to go to some of these selected groups; another suggestion was that we could get an organizational list, basically through the CCD, of other organizations that might use our services and might not otherwise fall within the SRC usual mailing list. It was suggested that having a flyer available or something formal would give a nice opportunity for the state staff people to visit their school superintendents, explain and offer service. This would be a genuine offer of service and a good opportunity to talk with the superintendents again. ~~And~~ The only other suggestion we had we throw in gratis, and that it that it may ~~then~~ well be appropriate for consultants to be encouraged to suggest what they themselves think they might do. Modesty holds consultants back from saying, "I think could really do a job in X or Y community," and perhaps they could be encouraged to suggest how they can be used.

After ~~the~~ this presentation of reports by the four committees, ~~groups~~, the ~~Saturday~~ afternoon, ~~May 25~~, session of the Consultant Conference continued with general discussion ~~by all conferees~~.

A pamphlet concerning the Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations, sponsored by the National Council of Churches, was made available to the consultants. ~~Mr.~~ Will Campbell, of this organization, circulated a mailing list and asked for the addition of any addresses that might not be included and the correction of any mistakes in mailing addresses which might be found.

The conference participants were then asked for commentary on the reports of the committee groups.

The "aggressive approach" recommended by Group I was the subject of some discussion, with particular emphasis on the feasibility of taking a more public role than has been the policy of consultant services in the past. ~~One~~ Some objection was voiced to the suggestion of speaking at open meetings. It was pointed out that this tactic could be misinterpreted as an attempt to "tell the group what to do"; that the consultant, being an outsider, bears a stigma; that any resulting action should not be associated with SRC but with the local group, and that this could best be accomplished by the consultants offering their advice, knowledge, and skills, but with the local group taking the public role of speech-making. The suggestion by Group I was defended by mention that more than a passive, closed consultant relationship is perhaps desirable; that the behind-the-scenes could be combined with the public role; and that the consultant, by virtue of being an outsider, is better able to analyze than are local groups. Discussion turned to a compromise between these opposing views, which had in part been suggested in the report by Group IV - the most important criteria is the invitational group itself. The extension of the role to be played should be defined by the nature of the invitational group, and should be pre-planned, a part of the spade-work for a given consultant session. The public relations use of the consultant by the invitational group should be a negotiational factor; whether news releases,

radio-TV appearances, public speeches, etc., would be desirable and beneficial should be determined with the local group in advance. Perhaps public relations angles should be the subject of more exploration in the future. Finances were mentioned as being a limiting factor; the consultant program should not be allowed to be used by communities as an opportunity for free speeches. The consultant service program should keep the initiative and take a public role if the situation warrants, but not advertise this role as one of its functions.

The constrictive pressure which is exercised on the Deep South states as a result of progress toward integration in the fringe states was discussed. It was stated that activity by consultants in the fringe states has more effect on the Deep South area than might be immediately apparent. Furthermore, in connection with this channel of thought, the fear of Negro domination in the "Black Belt" is exaggerated; little change can come so long as a "peasant-status" remains; and the ~~unfair~~ and pitifully small representation accorded to large cities in state legislatures should be of concern to organized labor and other ~~special~~ urban interest groups. These matters, examples of the many complexities of the present situation, were thought to be items for continuing analysis and diagnosis, along with the question of Negro registration, which was briefly discussed. The point was made that an increase in Negro registration would help to protect the Negro community from wanton attack by politicians, and one consultant expressed the opinion that the emphasis, at the present time, should be on the act of voting rather than on attempts to get Negroes into office. In connection with this, it was said that it is more difficult to motivate people in the lower socio-economic class to vote, and that most Negroes in the "Black Belt" are in this class category. The growing dissatisfaction in the cities with the present political arrangements was pointed to as a possible area of break-through.

The discussion turned to a consideration of follow-up on consultant visitations. It was suggested that more than a "one-shot deal" is needed. It was thought, however, to be more within the range of the present resources of the consultant program to

relegate this matter to the field staff. The mechanics of arranging for revisitation and follow-up by the field staff has been the responsibility of Fred Routh. It will not be equally possible to arrange such follow-up if there is disaffiliation of the state groups from SRC. Several points were mentioned in connection with revisitation: (1) there is a need to periodically go over reports to find fruitful activities on which to base future selection of opportunities; (2) the use of consultants varies, as does the possibility of follow-up, depending on the inviting group and the possible areas of work in a given community; (3) it would be helpful if the invitational groups knew that there was a possibility of revisitation within a stated period. It was stated at this point that the foregoing suggestions assume larger staff, treasury, and consultant service facilities than are available at the present time. The budgetary frame-work in part determines the scope of the consultant service; however, if a strategic situation should occur, the program should be flexible enough to allow cut-backs in other places in order to expend more resources on the deserving situation. Miami, where one consultant spent an entire month, was given as an example of concentration of resources on a particular community with very successful results. It was mentioned that the best advertisement of the consultant service program is examples of where it has worked successfully.

There was some comment on the desirable area of concentration - hard core states or the "soft spots." One conferee suggested that concentration should center on the edges of the South, rather than in the hard core states. A counter suggestion was that two different types of vanguard are needed - one for the hard core states, another for the soft spots.

In conclusion, ~~since the time schedule made adjournment necessary at this time,~~ Harold Fleming expressed the thanks of the SRC staff to the consultants for an extremely productive and fruitful meeting, and the Consultant Conference was closed with an expression of appreciation by the consultants for the opportunity to meet together to discuss strategy.

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

August 30, 1957

Mr. John Hope, II
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

Still, I have not found time to put in topical headings and make final corrections on the Consultants Conference materials. But here they are - both original transcription and my revision of the report by Committee #1.

The other two items are self-explanatory. If I get chance to come to Nashville in the next few weeks, we can talk about them.

There is an even chance that I'll be in Washington September 15, 16, and 17, depending upon whether SRC can afford me and getting away from registration routines at the University.

Cordially,

C. H. Parrish mf

C. H. Parrish
Program Associate

CHP/mf
(signed in absence)

Enclosures - Conversations with Bob Hughes
Evaluation of the Lemoyne Workshop
Notes on Consultants Conference - May 24-25, 1957
(Both revised and original transcripts)

FLY THE FINEST... FLY TWA
TRANS WORLD AIRLINES

5/23/59

Dear Harold,

Since Fred has gone, I will "report" to you "unless I hear from you to the contrary."

You may want these notes on the Washington meeting in the file.

It was helpful and pleasant to talk with you ~~her~~ here yesterday. Hope you, C.H. and I can spend at least a half day at Cuyahoga prior to the meeting.

Sincerely,

Jack

District Office and Air Freight
EXpress 1-3240

Information and Reservations
EXpress 1-3600

REPORT OF MEETING OF CONSULTANTS

April 19, 1959, Statler Hotel
Washington, D.C.

SRC consultants Harry J Walker, Bonita Valien and Lee Coleman met with John Hope, Fred Routh, and the SRC Virginia executive to discuss some next steps in the Consultant services program. This was a one-day meeting, held in Washington, D.C., at the Statler Hotel, April 19, 1959.

John Hope reviewed for the consultants their role in the community; the things they could do in their role as a consultant, and the things they could not do. Considerable time was given over to a discussion as to where the consultant services might focus its immediate attention. The following areas were considered: Raleigh and Durham, North Carolina; Miami, Florida; New Orleans, Louisiana; Dallas and Houston, Texas. After discussion, Chapel Hill was listed as an important area. Because of the "one-way" integration picture in Fort Royal, Virginia, the Virginia executive thought it would be very useful to have a consultant go into this area and do some work. It was suggested that Harry Walker might be able to carry out this responsibility.

Considerable time was spent discussing such problems as terminal facilities, transportation and employment. While it was agreed that these are important areas and ones in which we share a deep concern, it was suggested that for the present, at least, our primary concern and focus would be in the desegregation of the schools.

It was agreed that an important function at this time is for consultants to "assess" the climate in certain selected communities and to make recommendations as to how the consultant services program might be utilized. Lee Coleman was assigned the three communities in North Carolina, and Bonita Valien was to go to Houston, Texas. Each consultant was to spend not more than a week in the community, and at the end of this period send in a report incorporating suggestions and recommendations for community action and use of consultant services.

by B. V.

37 Hamilton Road
Glen Lennox
Chapel Hill, N. C.

May 19, 1959

Mr. Lew Hannen, Superintendent
Durham City Schools
Fuller School
E. Chapel Hill Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Hannen:

I promised that I would try to get access for you to the findings of a Durham poll, carried out in the U.N.C. Department of Political Science. Since the professor who supervised this study has moved to another university, it was necessary to write to him about it. I now learn that a report has not been written up, but I was permitted to see the tabulations and I have copied out the questions and findings related to segregation-desegregation. The poll actually covered many subjects. I believe the results sent herewith should be considered and handled as confidential.

A number of the questions are the same as those used in Greensboro by Melvin M. Tumin two years ago and reported in his book Desegregation: Resistance and Readiness. Interestingly enough, the Durham percentages are very close to those for Greensboro. I cannot personally vouch for the sample and the methodology, but from the information given me it appears that it was a rather carefully conducted and relatively scientific study. Certainly its results would be far more reliable than a newspaper poll could possibly be, because of the unrepresentativeness of the people who take the trouble to return a newspaper coupon or a mailed questionnaire.

You will note that the specific questions on desegregation attitudes are all worded in terms of opposing desegregation by various means. To express an attitude favorable to desegregation, the person had to say he disapproved of the proposed line of action. Even so, when it came to closing schools or resisting with force as alternatives to desegregation, clear majorities disapproved. In Durham, as in Greensboro, I think it is clear that given a free choice the majority of white adults would not choose desegregation, but they would prefer it to some alternatives. Also, if the opinions of Negro adults were added to those of Durham whites to obtain figures for the total community, the picture would undoubtedly be considerably different on each question.

If my advice were asked, I would still be dubious about conducting a public-opinion poll as part of the decision-making process about school segregation or desegregation in a community. Here are some of my reasons:

1. Since it has been declared a constitutional right of the individual not to be subjected to enforced segregation, this is not the kind of question we "vote" on under our system of government. (We don't determine by popular vote whether an individual shall have freedom of speech, for example.)

2. It has been clearly shown that attitudes on what people say they would do are not very accurately predictive of what people actually will do. By and large, people are much less likely to bestir themselves and take action than to say they would take such action. Also, the particular situation people are in at a particular time is at least as determining of their actions as their generalized attitudes.

3. Even with the best of technical guidance, there are many pitfalls in question wording and interpretation, as well as in sampling. Quite unconsciously, one may bias the wording one way or another, or take a mistake in sampling that will give an unrepresentative group of interviewees. An amateur is almost certain to make some of these mistakes. (And of course this can be done purposely, to "prove" the case for one side or another.)

4. A poll on a controversial subject can start rumors and community dissension, unless handled extremely carefully.

5. A good poll is expensive, but even so may prove of limited usefulness in choosing between the real alternatives that face the decision-making body.

6. If some kind of guaging of opinion is desired, it may be more fruitful to poll leaders (both top leaders and officials and the more numerous "middle-level" leaders), since these are the people who will be crucial in the carrying out of a new policy). There is evidence that community leaders can and do influence the ordinary people one way or the other on most community decisions or policies. (They don't necessarily change people's attitudes, but they may carry them along for a given policy as the best among the practical alternatives.)

I trust this information and the comments will be of some use to you.

Sincerely yours,

A. Lee Coleman

ALC/anc

Attachment

cc: Dr. John Hope (2)

May 19, 1959
ALC/anc

CONFIDENTIAL

SELECTED DATA FROM A POLL CONDUCTED IN DURHAM,
Spring 1958

Sample: 365 white adults, about 200 women and 165 men, selected on an area sample basis to be representative of white adults in Durham community (city limits plus surrounding fringe area). About 40 per cent had children of school age. Roughly a third of the adults questioned had stopped school before high school, a third had some high school or had finished, and a third had had some college, according to their own report. About four-fifths had lived in Durham over 10 years.

Method: Personal interview by U.N.C. students and others who had been trained in interviewing. Questions concerning race relations and desegregation were among many others relating to what kind of community Durham is thought to be, interest and participation in city affairs, reaction to public officials, etc.

Questions on characteristics of Negroes: /Same questions as those used by Tumin in Greensboro. Findings about the same./

1. So far as intelligence is concerned, would you say that, compared to whites, Negroes are by nature superior to whites, the same as whites, or inferior to whites?
   Superior, 1%; Same, 20%; Inferior, 64%;
   Don't know or didn't answer, 15%.

2. So far as responsibility is concerned, would you say that, compared to whites, Negroes are by nature superior to whites, the same as whites, or inferior to whites?
   Superior, 1%; Same, 13%; Inferior, 72%;
   Don't know or didn't answer, 14%.

3. So far as morality is concerned, would you say that, compared to whites, Negroes are by nature superior to whites, the same as whites, or inferior to whites?
   Superior, 0%; Same, 11%; Inferior, 69%;
   Don't know or didn't answer, 20%.

4. So far as ambition is concerned, would you say that, compared to whites, Negroes are by nature superior to whites, the same as whites, or inferior to whites?
   Superior, 4%; Same, 19%; Inferior, 63%;
   Don't know or didn't answer, 14%.

Questions concerning desegregation: /Same questions as those used in Greensboro by Tumin. Findings about the same./

1. Some people have suggested that the Supreme Court Decision ordering desegregation was wrong and that the states ought to be permitted to decide for themselves on this question. The proposal is to go through the process of getting an amendment to the United States Constitution to take the power away from the Supreme Court.

How do you feel about this kind of proposal to try to amend the United States Constitution?

Strongly approve, 31%	Strongly disapprove, 13%
Approve, 31%	Disapprove, 8%
Don't know or no answer, 2%	Undecided, 15%

2. In Texas, the Governor has threatened to withhold state school funds from any school district which desegregates the schools, that is, which permits Negro children to attend the same schools as white children. How do you feel about withholding any state money from school districts here in North Carolina, as any of these districts start letting Negro and white children go to school together?

Strongly approve, 16%	Strongly disapprove, 33%
Approve, 19%	Disapprove, 12%
Don't know or no answer, 2%	Undecided, 18%

3. Some people have suggested that if need be, the public schools ought to be closed altogether rather than have Negro and white children go to school together. How do you feel about this?

Strongly approve, 15%	Strongly disapprove, 36%
Approve, 19%	Disapprove, 16%
Don't know or no answer, 2%	Undecided, 12%

4. Once in a while you hear it said that if need be, people ought to get together and resist with force any attempts to mix Negro and white children in the same schools. How do you feel about this?

Strongly approve, 5%	Strongly disapprove, 48%
Approve, 8%	Disapprove, 32%
Don't know or no answer, 2%	Undecided, 5%

Other related questions: /Not used in Tumin's Greensboro study./

1. How frequently, if at all, do you associate with Negroes?
   Frequently, 16%; Occasionally, 18%; Rarely or never, 62%; No answer, 4%.

2. How would you rate race relations in Durham?
   Very good, 13%; Good, 48%; Not very good, 30%; No answer, 9%.

3. Since the time of the Supreme Court decision, which of the following statements best describes your relationship to this matter of school segregation?

   a. "I have not been concerned one way or another and have pretty much remained on the sidelines." 28%
   b. "I have become quite interested and have discussed the subject on many occasions with friends and acquaintances." 51%
   c. "I have become very much concerned and actually have tried to influence my friends and acquaintances one way or another whenever the subject came up." 17%
   d. "I have felt the subject was very important and have become actively engaged in support of one side or the other by helping get signatures, making special calls on individuals, writing letters, talking to officials, speaking to groups, or some other means of seeking to affect the outcome." 2%
   e. Did not answer 2%

4. How do you feel about the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs?

Strongly approve, 5%	Strongly disapprove, 13%
Approve, 37%	Disapprove, 7%
Don't know or no answer, 5%	Undecided, 33%

5. How do you feel about the biracial Mayor's Committee on Human Relations?

Strongly approve, 4%	Strongly disapprove, 9%
Approve, 37%	Disapprove, 4%
Don't know or no answer, 5%	Undecided, 41%

ALC/anc
5/19/59

37 Hamilton Road
Glen Lennox
Chapel Hill, N. C.

May 19, 1959

Mrs. Barbara Cleaveland, Chairman
Subcommittee of Advisory Committee for Better Schools
Chapel Hill Public Schools
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Cleaveland:

I was unable to change my schedule for a trip to a meeting in New York; so I will be unable to attend the meeting of the Advisory Committee. If there is another meeting of the committee or the subcommittee where I can help (before July 1), I shall try to be available.

As to the experience of other communities and the various plans of desegregation they have instituted, perhaps the following oversimplified summary may help:

1. Strictly geographic basis -- Washington, D.C., St. Louis, Mo., and Fayette County, Ky., are examples. Each school was given an appropriate district and all children in that district were assigned to that school, unless they could show special, nonracial reasons why they should be permitted to go to another school.

2. Free choice of school -- Baltimore, Md., and Lexington, Ky., are examples. Any child in the district was permitted to go to any school, provided there was room. In Baltimore, when a school becomes overcrowded, it is then given a geographic district and those living in the district have first choice of that school.

3. Combined geographic and free choice -- Louisville, Ky., best example. Children are assigned to schools on the basis of geographic districts, but transfers are freely granted, within the limits of the capacity of the schools wanted.

4. Merger of white and Negro schools: -- The examples are middle-sized and small towns and rural districts in Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Texas. Most often this has occurred at the high-school level, where a district operated one Negro high school and one white, and either or both were too low in enrollment to provide a good program separately. Either the Negro school was closed and all Negro pupils admitted to what had been the white school, or the two schools were merged and both buildings used. In some cases a district not operating a Negro high school but paying tuition for Negro pupils to attend elsewhere simply admitted Negro pupils to the white school. This plan has been used at the elementary-school level where districts had very few Negro children and were only operating a one- or two-teacher Negro school.

5. Transfer of Negro pupils to white schools by application and screening: -- Examples are Norfolk, Va., Little Rock, Ark., and the three North Carolina cities (Charlotte, Greensboro, Winston-Salem). In this one-way form of desegregation, existing white and Negro schools are continued as they are and all white children are assigned initially to "white" schools and Negroes are assigned to "Negro" schools. This violates the spirit of the constitutional decision but there is an "escape valve" in that students dissatisfied with their assignment may ask for transfer. Negro students may be transferred to a "white" school if they can show good cause (residence, kind of course wanted, etc.) and run the administrative hurdles. Under this plan, → desegregation has consisted entirely of Negro students transferring to "white" schools.

I put types 1, 2, and 3 first because they represent the most basic types -- the geographic principle, the free-choice principle, and a combination of the two. Type 4 is more or less restricted to small- and middle-sized districts. Type 5 is probably a transitional phase rather than a clear-cut type, because it is likely to break down and have some other plan substituted for it eventually, either through court order or gradual administrative change.

Types 5 and 2 have resulted in the least racial coeducation and types 1 and 4 the most, while type 3 is intermediate in this respect. At the present time, there are fewest Negro students in formerly white schools under the pupil-transfer plan (5), because of the initiative and courage it takes to ask for transfer and the administrative difficulties involved. But the free-choice plan (2) is not very different as to numbers of students changing schools, because given the removal of compulsory segregation, most Negro students seem to prefer the status quo or have fears about going into a desegregated situation. The strict geographic plan (1) may or may not result in a considerable amount of coeducation of whites and Negroes, depending upon the residential pattern and how the boundaries for attendance areas are drawn. The combined geographic and free-choice plan (3) will result in more mixing of student bodies than simple free choice (2) or the pupil-transfer plan (5) but less than the strict geographic basis (1), in that many Negro students prefer to go back to their old schools. Under the merger plan (4), Negro-white student ratios depend, of course, strictly on the numbers of white and Negro children and their attendance. Merger or a geographic plan solve more problems in the long run, because it is no longer possible to identify a school as white or Negro, except insofar as an all-white or all-Negro faculty might label it as such.

All of the basic types listed are for across-the-board desegregation -- that is, they apply at all school levels. There are various transition phases or plans that cut across -- that is, a given plan may be inaugurated on a grade-a-year basis, or only high schools may be desegregated at a particular time, or grade schools only. The matter of teacher desegregation also cuts across. Some teacher desegregation has occurred under all types listed except the pupil-transfer plan (type 5). It is clear

from the experience to date that school boards have been more reluctant to assign Negro teachers to white or mixed classes than they have been about pupil desegregation; but it is also clear that where competent Negro teachers have been so assigned, they have been well accepted by pupils and parents. As long as teachers are kept strictly segregated, the symbolism of white superiority and Negro inferiority remains.

Some school systems have inaugurated a "track" system of ability-vocational grouping in high schools along with desegregation, but this is logically independent of segregation-desegregation. If achievement differences increase in a school under desegregation, a track system may offer a solution; and if desegregation increases the total number of students in a given school, it makes a track system more possible and workable.

I trust these comments will be of some help to you.

Sincerely yours,

A. Lee Coleman

ALC/anc

January 5, 1956

Dr. Kenneth Clark
Department of Psychology
City College of New York
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Clark:

You have received, no doubt, Dr. Mitchell's letter of January 5, asking your participation in a consultant service program. I cannot urge too strongly my personal wish or that of the central office team of which we hope you will be an important member that you join us in this important service to the Southern Regional Council, the South, and thus to the nation.

It seems imperative that we get a good start be attending a conference of all consultants early in January, and, consequently, I am asking you to advise me promptly whether you will serve, and whether you can attend such a conference for the planning, orientation, etc. on Saturday, January 14 in Atlanta. If you cannot attend on this date, please indicate on which of the following dates you can attend: January 13; January 18; January 28.

Your travel expenses will be borne by the Southern Regional Council and per diem at the rate (not yet decided) for consultant services will be paid. I am sorry I cannot indicate this rate at this time, but we expect it to be at a reasonable figure.

Answers to the attached list of questions are necessary for further planning and scheduling this service. Please return them to me immediately so that they can be tabulated and analyzed prior to the conference. Do not delay in returning this sheet because you cannot immediately answer all questions. Send it back promptly and supplement it, if necessary, by letter as soon as you can fill in the gaps. Mail all communications to:

Mr. John Hope II, Assistant Director for Program, SRC
c/o Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

I shall look forward to seeing you at the January conference and to a closer association thereafter.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II
Assistant Director for Program

Consultant Pre-Prog.

January 9, 1956

Dr. Kenneth Clark
Department of Psychology
City College of New York
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Clark:

The conference for consultants has been definitely set for Saturday, January 14, 1956. The meeting will begin at 9:30 A.M. and last until 4:00 P.M. with time out for lunch. The meeting will be held in the Conference Room of the Atlanta University Administration Building located at 223 Chestnut Street, S.W.

Lodging will be available at the Atlanta University Dormitories (50 Chestnut Street, S.W.) for those desiring it. We are enclosing for your convenience a reply card to indicate your expected time of arrival and whether or not you desire accommodations at the University.

It is hoped that you can arrange to arrive in Atlanta on Friday evening in order for the group to have a little pre conference bull session.

We are enclosing some material which gives background information on the Council and its policies. We are hoping that you will have the opportunity to read through this material prior to the meeting on Saturday.

We are also enclosing a check for $144.18 which represents estimated travel expenses and the consultants fee of $35.00. You may fill out a travel voucher for actual expenses upon arrival.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II
Assistant Director for
Program Development

JH:rh
Encls.

Separate File on this under Consultant Program

November 22, 1957

MEMORANDUM:

To: John Hope, Director of Consultant Services
Southern Regional Council

From: Kenneth B. Clark

Re: Proposed study of the effects of the tensions in Little Rock, Arkansas on the Negro community with particular emphasis on reactions of the nine Negro students who have been attending Central High School.

All too frequently, important social problems are discussed in terms of their impersonal aspects. Understandably, the broad social, economic, political and international implications of desegregation have occupied a great deal of thought and public discussion. While the moral and ethical aspects of desegregation have been discussed with increasing frequency and intensity, even these implications are rarely tied directly to the problems of individual human beings.

Purpose of the Study:

The study will attempt to determine the reaction of the Negro community to the recent tensions and disturbances surrounding the desegregation of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. To what extent has the use of troops, originally to bar the entrance of Negro students and later the use of Federal troops to assure their entrance, influenced the perspective of Negroes and the pattern of their relations with the white community in Little Rock, Arkansas? Has the Negro community become more isolated? Have channels of communication with whites been blocked, increased or unchanged by these recent events? Is the Negro community more unified or divided? Has morale increased or decreased? What are the chances of further attempts at desegregation in the Little Rock area?

Special attention will be given to the adjustment of the nine Negro students who are actually involved in the desegregation of Central High School. How have they reacted to being thrown into this spotlight? What type of adjustment are they making in their community? Are there signs that their sudden fame has disrupted their normal relations with their families, friends and others in the Negro community? What are their strengths? What are their individual weaknesses? What personal costs have they had to pay for being the pioneers? What is their reaction to their role as pioneers?

Method:

It is my desire to obtain the answers to some of the above questions and related ones by conducting a series of intensive and casual inter-

views with selected members of the Negro community. Naturally, I would concentrate on the leaders, influential and articulate members of the community - the opinion makers or reflectors - but I would also be interested in talking to some Negroes who come from various levels of the Negro community. Time will not permit the obtaining of a cross section or representative sample of the Negro community (nor for this type of study would it necessarily be desirable) but I will attempt to obtain from these interviews the consensus of Negro thinking as well as evidence of conflict or division of opinion among Negroes.

While attempting to interview, as casually as possible, the nine Negro students, I will try to get to know them as individuals and to establish a kind of rapport which will make it possible for them to discuss feelings which they ordinarily would not reveal in the usual interview. It will be necessary to use my skill as a psychologist in order to keep these students from reacting to our sessions as if it were a newspaper type interview. I believe that this will be possible by the type of introduction to them which I expect to receive from Mrs. L. C. Bates.

I believe that it might be desirable, if it were possible, to have a parallel study of the white community. This could probably be arranged through someone like Harry Ashmore or Sidney McMath. Obviously, it would be necessary to move quite delicately even at the point of involving these men or similar ones in recommendations for personnel for such a study. Maybe some of the individuals who are associated with SRC in Arkansas might be helpful in suggesting the best approach for this or commenting on whether such a study of the white community is advisable at this time.

I look forward to hearing from you. We plan to be in Arkansas from December 20 - January 2. The study would be conducted during this interval of time.

VIA AIR MAIL

December 4, 1957

Dr. Kenneth Clark
Northside Center
31 West 110th Street
New York, New York

Dear Ken:

The possibility of a trip east that I mentioned on the telephone has materialized. I am to be in Philadelphia on December 19 and 20 and have made reservations that will put me in New York beforehand -- on Tuesday and Wednesday, the 17 and 18.

So if your offer of an evening get-together still holds, I am all eagerness. I know you will feel free to tell me if it doesn't seem workable or convenient at this point.

Whether or not we follow through on the original idea, I hope you and I can have some time together while I am there. Your memorandum on the Little Rock investigation was excellent, and I would welcome a chance to discuss that and other things with you.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED DEC - 9 1957

December 6, 1957

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark
Northside Center for Child Development
31 West 110th Street
New York 26, New York

Dear Ken,

I have read with much satisfaction your proposal for study in Little Rock and have no further suggestions. Your statement is excellent and I can only wish you "good hunting."

I am asking that a check for $250 to cover your expenses be sent in advance of your departure. May I express my personal thanks as well as those of SRC for your willingness to carry out this important assignment for the Consultant Service Program without benefit of consultant fee.

I am looking forward to the resulting Technical Memorandum which will be circulated promptly to all of our consultants for their guidance and information.

Sincerely,

John Hope II
Chief Consultant

JH:rmd

cc: Mr. Harold Fleming
Mrs. Ruth H. Alexander
Mr. Fred Routh

January 20, 1958

Dr. Kenneth Clark
Psychology Department
City College of New York
New York, New York

Dear Ken:

A word of thanks for having CIBA send the copies of "State of Mind" containing your excellent question-and-answer piece. I have distributed the copies to key people around the South.

I hope the Arkansas trip was fruitful - personally as well as professionally. We'll be looking forward to word of your findings.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

cr. ref. file

VIR AIR MAIL SPECIAL February 4, 1958

Mr. Kenneth Clark
Department of Psychology
City College of New York
New York, New York

Dear Ken:

After talking with you yesterday, I got busy on the priming of Ashmore and McGill. I talked with McGill and, failing to reach Ashmore by telephone, I sent him an airmail special. I feel sure we can count on both of them coming through.

I've considered who else might be queried, if more should be necessary. As you will see from the enclosed list, most of those who know our work and whose name or position would carry weight are on our Board -- which is a kind of endorsement in itself. Mays and Clement are in this category, as are Merrimon Cuninggim, dean of the SMU Theology School; Catholic Bishop Brunini of Jackson, Mississippi; Mrs. J. Fount Tillman, a Tennessean who is national president of the Methodist Women's Division of Christian Service, and others whose word might carry weight. Not on the Board are the following possibilities:

John Popham, a Virginian and for ten years the New York Times' Southern Correspondent.

Arthur Levin, Southeastern Director of ADL, 41 Exchange Place, Atlanta, Georgia.

Tartt Bell, Southeastern Director of AFSC, P. O. Box 1307, High Point, North Carolina.

Florence Harris, Southeastern Coordinator of the YWCA, 41 Exchange Place, Atlanta, Georgia.

Rev. A. C. Miller, Executive Secretary, Christian Life Commission, Southern Baptist Convention, 161 Eighth Avenue, North, Nashville, Tennessee.

Malcolm Calhoun, Secretary, Division of Christian Relations, Board of Church Extension, Presbyterian Church in the U. S., 341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia.

Rev. Will D. Campbell, Southern staff man for race relations of the National Council of Churches, 1716 West End Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee.

Rev. Cornelius Tarplee, Southern staff man for race relations of the Episcopal Church, P. O. Box 853, Lynchburg, Virginia.

Catholic Bishop Vincent Waters of Raleigh, North Carolina.

Philip G. Hammer, Hammer & Company, Economic Consultants, 70 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Morris B. Abram, a liberal lawyer and political influence, the Healey Building, Atlanta, Georgia.

Federal Circuit Judge Elbert P. Tuttle, 101 Peachtree Circle, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. With him, assurance of confidentiality would, of course, be extremely important.

Ruby Hurley, Southeastern Regional Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., 859½ Hunter Street, Atlanta, Georgia.

Any of these people could be counted on to endorse the Council both as to integrity and effectiveness. Should any of them be queried, it would help if I knew slightly in advance.

Many, many thanks for your help, which I will keep entirely confidential. I'll be calling you on the 13th in the hope that we can get together that evening.

Best regards,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (List of Board Members)

File Copy

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31 WEST 110TH STREET · NEW YORK 26, N. Y.
ENRIGHT 9-6464

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February 6, 1958

MAMIE PHIPPS CLARK, PH. D.
Director

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Rm. 43
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is the draft of my observations of the Negro community in Little Rock and my impressions concerning the present psychological adjustment of the nine Negro students who are attending Central High School. It would have been easy to stress their heroism, their courage, and the inherent drama of this situation. That would have been easy but not an accurate picture of the situation as I sensed it and felt it in Little Rock. The heroism was in the lack of self-conscious heroism; the courage was in the lack of awareness of courage and in the simple dignity and poise of these children. The drama was in the absence of self-righteousness and self-dramatization. How does one communicate these realities without cheapening them?

The tragedy of Little Rock is not to be found in anything that has happened to the Negro children or in any psychological scars which they must bear. Apparently, centuries of oppression have immunized them and given them the necessary protective defenses for survival. The real tragedy of Little Rock is what is happening to the white children in Central High School - the fact that potentially decent human beings are being required to bow to the brutality of a tightly organized minority. This tragedy reflects the larger tragedy. The decency in the whites of the South is not backed by the fervor and conviction or the courage which is shown by fanatical racists. Without regard to the integration issue - without regard to what happens to Negroes because they will survive, this is a serious omen for that region and certainly for the nation. Enough of my moralizing. I hope that this memorandum or some parts of it will be found useful to you.

I look forward to seeing you next week.

Cordially,

Kenneth

Kenneth B. Clark
Associate Director

KBC:ram
enc.

February 6, 1958

Some General Observations in Negro Community of Little Rock, Arkansas

[redacted]

My observations of the Negro community in Little Rock occurred during the period of December 21, 22 and 23 and December 27 and 28. I stayed at the home of Mr. and Mrs. L. C. Bates and had an opportunity to talk with them extensively and informally. In spite of this fact, however, my contacts were not limited to the Bateses and their friends since I took the opportunity to talk with many individuals alone. I went into Negro drug stores, bars, barber shops and other business establishments. In each of these places, I attempted to talk casually with the individuals who ran these establishments or who provided services in them. These contacts were facilitated by Christopher Mercer, who was formerly employed by the Arkansas Council on Human Relations but who is now an employee of the state NAACP. Mr. Mercer was an ideal person for this role since he seemed to know a wide cross section of the Negro population and was quite casual in his relations with various types of Negroes and seemed to be trusted and accepted by them.

My observations of the Negro community and my discussions with various individuals in the Negro community lead me to the tentative conclusion that the events surrounding the use of federal troops to assure the attendance of the nine Negro students to the previously all white high school in Little Rock, Arkansas has had no harmful effect on the Negro community. On the contrary, the morale of Negroes in Little Rock appears to be quite high. This present high morale seems to be supported by a sense of pride in the dignity and courage of the Negro students, admiration for the leadership and skill of Mrs. Bates, and a firm determination on the part of all segments of the Negro community that there shall be no retreat in the process of school integration.

In general, it appears as if the Negro community in Little Rock has become more unified as a consequence of these recent tensions. There seems to be no significant differences of opinion between the upper middle-class, professional group of Negroes, and the working class Negroes. What differences there are seem superficial. For example, working class Negroes are more likely to express their feelings about the presence of Negroes in Central High School in a little more flamboyant terms. For example, a Negro boot black stated "I know one thing. Those white people better not be foolish enough to hurt one of those colored children. They're not bothering anybody. They better leave them alone. It'll be hell in Little Rock if they lay a hand on one of those kids." A Negro waitress in one of the night clubs in Little Rock stated in fluent language her admiration of the nine Negro students who were attending Central High School. She was lavish in her praise of the leadership of the Bateses and was most pleased when she found out that my companion was Mr. L. C. Bates. After expressing her admiration she stated, "When you gonna get some more of our children in that school. They can always pick on a few. They wouldn't be so smart if we had a couple of hundred kids there. I sure wish that my child was old enough to go to that school."

Upper middle-class professional Negroes are more restrained in their expression of admiration and respect for the nine children and the Bateses. They generally indicate their support by calling the Bateses and inquiring whether there is anything that they can do to help. They also have increased their general interest in the affairs of the NAACP and they have increased somewhat their financial support of the organization's effort. In general, however, their backing is expressed in the form of what appears to be genuine compliments and congratulations of the Bateses, expressions of pride in the dignity and restraint of the nine Negro students; and basking in the reflected glory which their collective behavior has brought to the entire Negro community. They seem no less determined than the working class Negroes but they clearly express their determination for continued progress in integration

in different terms and in a different manner. This seems to be true not only in Little Rock but also in other surrounding communities in Arkansas such as Pine Bluff and Hot Springs.

The popularity of Mr. and Mrs. Bates has increased substantially. They are frequently invited to social affairs. When they are able to attend these affairs, their table becomes a magnet attracting large numbers of individuals who come by to pay their respects and pledge their support. They, like the nine Negro students, accept these indications of community support and admiration most graciously. This clearly becomes a more than adequate balance for the villification and harassment which they receive from some segments of the presegregationist white community.

From one perspective, it may be stated that the Negro community has become more isolated from the white community. There is some evidence that some type of peripheral contacts with whites have become strained or have been terminated ~~since~~ by the tensions surrounding the integration of Central High School. On the other hand, many of the upper middle-class Negroes contend that this is more apparent than real. They argue that there was really no genuine and meaningful contacts between the white and the Negro community prior to the recent tensions; that what appeared to be fairly smooth and adequate relationship was merely the Negroes' accommodation to an inferior status and the whites' willingness to accept this accommodation as evidence of good relationship between the two groups. The changes in pattern of relationship which has developed since the difficulties at Central High School are seen by these individuals as the understandable reaction of many whites when Negroes seek to improve their status in the community. These whites then maintain that race relations deteriorate under these conditions and that a greater gulf is established between Negroes and whites. The differences in perspective of the Negroes result in their interpretation of this as a necessary expression of the true situation and an inevitable accompaniment of their progress. Rather than seeing these changes as negative, Negroes tend to see them as inevitable manifestations of the true nature of the relationship between the groups.

The Negroes believe that it is true that certain types of interracial groups have been less effective and have been operating under greater difficulties since the Central High School incident. They point to the fact that the Arkansas Council on Human Relations seems to be having more difficulty in getting open support. They also state that the interracial ministerial alliances has become practically dormant. In this latter case, they believe that the ineffectualness of this group is the result of lack of clarity and courage on the part of the ministers themselves. They believe that the prosegregationist whites have seized the initiative and have succeeded in intimidating the more liberal and moderate members of the white community. These Negroes seem quite clear in their evaluation of these moderate, less extreme whites. They do not seem to have very much compassion or respect for them. They tend to believe that their lack of courage and the ease with which the extreme prosegregationist whites were able to immobilize them reflected the basic lack of conviction on the part of the moderate whites and their tendency not to jeopardize their own status by taking a position for justice and law and order when it involved problems of race relations.

There are some exceptions which Negroes in general tend to recognize. There are some whites who maintain rather positive and close relations with the leaders of the Negro community. Their aid has been invaluable although, for obvious reasons, they cannot be publicly identified. During my stay with Mrs. Bates, I was aware of many phone calls which she received from these individuals and I observed some direct conversations which she had with a few of them.

While there appears to be no direct overt and systematic collaboration between Negroes and white groups in Little Rock at this time, some of the Negro leaders believe that the majority of the white people are determined that there be no further incidence which will add to the difficulties and stigma which the city has already received in the national and international press. The following incident illustrates the basis for their opinion:

A Negro girl boarded one of the desegregated buses in Little Rock and took a seat beside a white woman. This woman, who was obviously an extreme prosegregationist, began to berate the Negro girl and insisted that she should move to the back of the bus. When the Negro girl refused to move, she became more extreme in her denunciation and name-calling. A majority of the people who were on the bus were white. As this woman threatened and raved, they became more and more tense and seemingly embarrassed. This white woman got up and made a threatening gesture toward the Negro girl as if she were going to strike her. As she did this, a number of white people jumped up and restrained the white woman. Another white woman led the Negro girl to a seat beside her. As this was done, the whole bus relaxed and the incident was closed with the exception of the fact that the prosegregationist woman kept muttering something about the large number of "nigger lovers" who now infested Little Rock. It may be of further interest to note that this incident was reported to Mrs. Bates by one of the white people on the bus and later confirmed by the Negro girl who was involved.

There seems little doubt that the Negro community in Little Rock has not been intimidated by the intense and at times violent behavior of the prosegregationist whites. They look upon the activities of these prosegregationists as pathetic and ridiculous attempts to save a lost cause. They even have a tendency to look upon the violence as essentially ridiculous even though cruel. Mrs. Bates has refused to repair one of her picture windows which was broken by a prosegregationist. The night after I left her home an incendiary bomb was thrown on her front lawn. Again, she refused to have that portion of her lawn repaired. She feels that these symbols of the stupidity of the opposition should remain to mock the extreme bigots and as a challenge to the ineffectual moderates.

The Negro community may be characterized as fearless, determined, and stolid. There is an almost oriental quality in the relentless refusal to move backwards. This stolidity is supported by a strong feeling that they are on the right side of

this issue, that history is on their side, that international and national imperatives make the position of the prosegregationist untenable. The Negro community does not seem to be in a mood for further compromises or temporizing of their right to attend non-segregated schools. They seem prepared to present many other Negro students for entrance in Central High School and other white schools in the city.

Adjustment of the Nine Negro Students Attending Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas

From general observation of these students in a social situation; observing them individually in their homes and in their relation with their parents, their siblings, and their friends; from some individual discussions with them, and discussions with individuals who know them and have been observing them throughout the current school term, I have arrived at the following conclusions about their overall adjustment:

(1) These students have reacted extraordinarily well to the tensions, threats and anxiety surrounding their attendance at Central High School. They are aware of the problems and dangers. Many of them have borne directly the brunt of organized harassment and hostility perpetrated by a hard core of about fifty white students in Central High School. In general, they react to the jostling, name calling, taunts, and threats with disciplined restraint.

It must be pointed out, however, that being different personalities they differ in the weight that they give to this harassment. Some like Gloria Ray tend to minimize the significance of this ordeal and dismiss all but the most severe incidents as being petty. For example, Gloria insists that she will not report the large number of minor incidents and is proud of the fact that the only time she appealed to the school authorities was when a white boy attempted to push her down the steps and threatened her by saying "I'm going to get you out of this school if I have to kill you."

Others like Elizabeth Eckford, Jefferson Thomas, and Terrence Roberts are quite disturbed at the cumulative cruelties which they have had to bear. They seem too proud to whine about it but they reveal their annoying anxiety by indirect indi-

cations of dread. For example, Elizabeth stated rather frankly that she did not look forward to going back to her gym class without the protection of Minnie Jean. She sincerely hoped that Minnie Jean's suspension would have been lifted by the time the holidays were over. She felt that Minnie's size and manner tended to reduce the open physical cruelties and taunts which are most severe in the gym class. Jefferson Thomas seemed the most disturbed about these cruelties and were it not for the importance of the issue it seems clear that if Jefferson had his own way he would not return to Central High School.

On the other hand, Minnie Jean and Carlotta are examples of individuals who neither minimize the day to day dangers which they face, nor are they too disturbed about the incidents. Minnie particularly seems perfectly willing to take on the opposition one or two at a time with no holds barred or no concessions given or asked for. Minnie seems to be under the most severe self-discipline in that she is being required to behave in a way contrary to her natural spontaneity and desires.

(2) All of the students, with possibly one exception, seem to be reacting most positively to being thrown into the public spotlight. There seems to be no evidence of any severe distortion in this perspective of themselves. In short, they do not seem to be suffering from a celebrity psychosis.

They accept with a quiet grace and dignity the many indications of respect and admiration which come from the Negro community. It is my belief that they have been helped to maintain an even balance in this regard by the keen intuitive insights and guidance of Mrs. Bates and by the seemingly very good relationship with their parents.

Their relations with their siblings seem quite close. The older siblings seem proud of them and the younger siblings seem properly respectful. I was particularly impressed by the general warmth and closeness which seem to characterize the relationship between these children and their parents and siblings.

(3) Their relations with their former classmates and the community in general also seem to be quite good.

An example of this was a fact that when Gloria Ray gave a party during the holidays, many more of her friends at Horace Mann High School came than were expected. There was good natured banter as illustrated by the running gag that they expected her to introduce them to some of her new friends at Central High School. On the other hand, some of the Negro children - presumably a small minority - who are still attending Horace Mann School have expressed some rivalry or jealousy by indicating that they would not want to go to Central High School. They don't want to go some place where they aren't wanted and they think that the nine Negro students who went did so only to get "cheap publicity." All of the students are aware of the existence of this sentiment but none of them seems unduly disturbed by it. They tend to dismiss this as a sign of acceptance of segregation on the part of the individuals who hold this opinion. They are supported by the fact that the majority opinion in the Negro community is most favorable and rejecting of this negativistic point of view.

(4) In general, these nine students are quite aware of the importance of their pioneer role. They have been made so keenly aware of this that they are willing to accept the personal discomforts and abuse "so that other Negro students will have an easier time."

There seems to be little or no evidence that they have suffered significantly so far. They have received a great deal of public attention, support and acclaim. They have managed to maintain their personal balance and stability. <u>If there is a significant danger inherent in this situation and their relationship to it, it is the danger that they do not seem sufficiently aware of the very real possibility of physical harm which might be inflicted upon them.</u> They tend to dismiss the threats as being of no significance - as silly - as an indication of the meanness and stupidity of a small group of white hoodlums inside of the school. They do not believe that these threats will be carried out in spite of repeated incidents. It is my personal opinion that while it is understandable and necessary that they maintain this relatively optimistic view of human nature, there is a strong possibility that

this might not be justified. I had the uneasy feeling that it is quite possible that some irresponsible fanatical hot head might harm one or more of these children. This impression seemed to be supported by the unwillingness of the school authorities to deal firmly with the small group of repeated trouble makers and also by the understandable unwillingness of the Negro students to make an issue out of the many petty, disturbing incidents.

Summary Impressions:

(1) The Negro community has been unified rather than disrupted by the Central High School desegregation incidents. There is some evidence that prior to the actual event one would have characterized the Negro community in Little Rock as uncoordinated and consisting of many groups with conflicting and divergent interests. Now it appears that the school integration issue has served to mobilize and unify the group and has increased its morale and pride significantly.

(2) The present psychological health of the nine Negro students seems to be good. They are accepting their role with poise and dignity. They have been helped significantly by the wise guidance and counsel of Mrs. Bates, by the warmth and support of their families, and by the admiration and respect which they have received from the immediate community and from the nation. Of special significance also is the evidence of international concern and support which they have continuously received.

(3) On the negative side is the fact that the overt spontaneous expression of hostility towards them which reached its peak just before and for some time after the presence of federal troops in Little Rock has been displaced by a more systematic, effectively directed campaign of harassment and petty cruelties directed toward them by a hard core of between 50 and 100 white students. These incidents of cruelties and abuse are particularly severe in gym classes, the lunch room, and in the halls between classes. They are less likely to occur in the actual academic classrooms.

It appears that this hard core group has been organized and its activities directed by adults outside of the school. They seem to have orders to concentrate on particular individuals.

They have successfully isolated the Negro youngsters by directing their initial campaign of intimidation against those white students who in the early weeks of the term attempted to show signs of friendliness and acceptance of the Negro students. These white students were maligned and threatened - in some cases to the point of hysteria. They communicated to the Negro students that they would no longer be able to show any overt sign of friendliness towards them. Furthermore, those who direct the activities of these white students seem to have been successful in immobilizing most, if not all, of the school officials through name calling and other forms of intimidation. As a result, the school officials do not seem free to deal with any other than the most extreme forms of cruelties in any effective way. Through this many pronged attack the small group of prosegregationists have almost succeeded in making the day to day life of the Negro students within Central High School almost intolerable. They have not completely succeeded only because of the determination, stolidity, humor and courage of the Negro community in general and the nine students and Mrs. Bates in particular.

It is my belief that these students will continue to attend Central High School and that more Negro students will present themselves for admission during the next school term. One serious danger which should not be discounted, however, is the danger that if the organized hoodlums are not effectively restrained and are permitted to continue their campaign of harassment and cruelty they will seriously harm one or more of the Negro students. If this happens, I believe Little Rock will be in for a most serious form of racial disturbance. The one thing which I believe the Negro community could not tolerate would be any serious physical harm inflicted on any one of those nine Negro students.

Little Rock demonstrates that one cannot judge the readiness of the Negro community to endure the hardships or meet the challenge associated with desegregation before the fact of desegregation. It appears that the actual facts of desegregation and the demands made upon the individuals and the community when the issues are joined tend to mobilize the positive potentials in the community and reduce the effect of the negative potentials. The potentials for greatness are actualized by the realities rather than in anticipation of these realities. Unfortunately, this does not seem to be equally true in the appraisal of the effect of the desegregation incident on the white community. This later impression, however, must be held with the reservation that no systematic study of the white community was conducted by this observer. Furthermore his impressions reflected the perspective of a Negro seeing the situation through the eyes and feelings of the Negro community.

Impressions of the Nine Students as Individuals:

I met the nine Negro students who have been attending Central High School for the first time at a pre Christmas party which was held in their honor by the local chapter of a national Negro sorority. Mrs. Daisy Bates invited me to this party and told me that it would be a good opportunity to observe these young people in a social situation. She introduced me to each of them separately and to their parents.

At this party, these young people received gifts from members of the sorority from all over the country. Nearly 300 friends, including a few white persons, and relatives gathered in a relatively new Negro Community Center for this party. The nine students were the center of attention but seemed able to accept this and their many gifts with grace and poise. They fortunately were not required to make speeches. In fact they seemed good naturedly impatient for the formal presentation to end so that they could dance with their girl friends and boy friends. Ernest Green brought his record player and many of the records which supplied the music for the dancing.

Some of the adults who were in charge were anxious to get the nine students together for a picture. It was difficult, however, to get them away from their friends and away from the dancing so they could take a group picture. Naturally, the parents were more anxious to leave than were the children.

Recognizing that the students were having too good a time to talk with me about Central High School, I made arrangements with the youngsters and their parents to talk with them individually at some later time.

Ernest Green

Ernest Green is the only senior in the group. When I talked with him about his general adjustment in Central High School, he seemed most anxious about his grades. He did not feel that he was doing as well as he would like to, particularly in mathematics. This was important to him because he wants to be an engineer and he would like to attend a college where he could combine a liberal arts program with technical training and engineering. He realized that his chances of getting into a good college would be substantially reduced if he did not get acceptable grades. He told me that Mrs. Bates had arranged for him to get a tutor in mathematics and he felt that he would improve his grades as the school year went on.

He felt that the situation in Central High School was "a little rough but not unbearable." He tended to minimize the actual jostling and harassment from some of the white students in the school. His primary concern, as indicated by his repeated reference to it, was the problem of improving his average so as to increase his chances of getting into a desirable college.

It is my impression that Ernest is a rather likeable, outgoing personality who has not been damaged or severely disturbed by his experience in Central High School. He seems to be the official leader of the group if for no other reason than the fact that he is the only senior and that he is older than the others. He seems to exercise this leadership rather casually. In general, he is rather easy going, relaxed, and somewhat extroverted person. While he recognizes the importance

of the situation in which he and the other eight youngsters find themselves, he does not seem overly burdened by a sense of personal responsibility or particularly aware of the very real tensions and disturbances inherent in this situation.

Terrence Roberts

Terrence Roberts is a junior and seems to be a superior student. Terrence also seems most concerned with improving his grades and would want the racial tensions surrounding his presence in Central High School to decrease so that he can get down to the business of "some hard studying." Terrence recognized and reacted appropriately to the real problems of adjustment which he and the other students face in the light of the continued harassment, jostling and name calling which they are subjected to daily by a few of the white students in Central High School. He too tends to minimize the importance of these incidents and expresses a desire for them to end as quickly as possible so that he can devote all of his attention to classes.

It is my impression that Terrence is a rather reflective, somewhat introverted young man. He is fully aware of the delicate, tension laden situation in which he finds himself. He is, nonetheless, concerned primarily with getting the best possible education. I felt that Terrence was probably the most serious and conscientious student in the group. In fact, he is primarily the student. A number of times, he expressed the wish that all of this excitement concerning the presence of Negro students in Central High School would disappear so that he could devote more of his attention and time to his studies. He does not seem to relish being in the spotlight of public attention nor is he particularly impressed by the celebrity-like status which circumstances have forced upon him.

Jefferson Thomas

Jefferson is the youngest of the three boys. He is a very handsome, poised young man who talked freely but with some reserve. Like many of the others he refused to answer his questions without thinking seriously about his answers. When I asked him: "Knowing what you know now about the kinds of difficulties which you are meeting in Central High School would you do it over again if you were asked to?" He thought for a long while and replied: "I don't know." It was clear that he was quite serious and deliberative during this response. Like many of the others, however, he had a sense of humor as indicated by his reply when I asked him "Well isn't there something that you like about Cenbal High?" He answered: "Yes, this Christmas vacation. I wish it would last a long time." It was Jefferson also who exhibited this ironic sense of humor at a Thanksgiving dinner which was held at the home of the Bates. The nine students, the Bates, and another guest were seated in the Bates dining room, which is not a particularly large one, and each of the students were asked to state his basis for special Thanksgiving. Jefferson, in a rather dry voice, said: "We should be thankful that there weren't twenty of us who went to Central High School. We wouldn't get in here."

Elizabeth Eckford

Elizabeth Eckford gives the impression of being rather shy and somewhat introverted. As you get to know her and talk with her you are impressed with a depth, solidity, and maturity which seem extraordinary in a 16 year old. She, too, is calm and reflective as she discusses the tensions and deliberate cruelties which she has experienced in Central High School. She discusses, without passion, her dread of the jostling and name calling in the halls, in gym, and in the lunch room. She and Terrence are the more obvious stoics in their reaction to the systematic harassment which these nine students are required to experience in Central High School. She describes these cruelties in rather matter of fact terms. She faces her anxiety

about them. She describes the whites who perpetrate these attempts at humiliation or physical damage as being "silly."

When I asked her what was the most important thing that she has learned as a result of her experience at Central High School, she answered in her deliberative manner: "When I used to go to Horace Mann School I thought that white people were different. When I saw the colored kids at Horace Mann acting silly or doing something that I didn't think they should do, I said to myself that they did this just because they were colored. Now that I am at Central High School I see that white children do silly things too. Just like there are some dumb colored children there are some dumb whites. There are some average colored and there are some average whites, and there are some smart whites and some smart colored. I guess what I have learned is that they are not so different and we aren't so different." This was one of the few times that Elizabeth smiled.

When her father suggested that maybe she was working a little harder on her school work than she worked at Horace Mann, she refused to accept this and insisted that she worked as hard as she could at Horace Mann and she is working as hard as she can at Central High School. She stated this with a firm, matter-of-fact conviction and her father had to accept her interpretation in spite of the fact that it did not agree with his.

Gloria Ray

Gloria is a rather attractive, scintillating, vibrant, young woman. It is clear that Gloria enjoys life, loves people, and is quite aware of the importance of the issues surrounding her presence in Central High School. Like the other students, she does not permit it to give her an exaggerated sense of her own importance or to interfere with her normal social life. The evening before I visited her and her family, she had given a holiday party for her friends and former classmates at Horace Mann. She told me that this party was "wonderful." More than 75 teenagers

came and enjoyed themselves. Gloria described, with a pleasant sense of humor, the normal struggle between the ideas and wishes of her teenage friends and the concern of her parents about whether they had enough light or whether the boys were being properly respectful of the girls and so forth. Gloria's sense of humor is a little less sardonic than Jefferson's. She told me laughingly that some of her former classmates teased her by saying, "We thought that you were going to invite some of your new friends from Central High School so we could meet them and teach them how to dance."

She feigned intense annoyance at a Negro reporter on one of the northern daily newspapers who interviewed her and "put words in my mouth." She insisted that she did not say to him, "I didn't spend fourteen years of my life trying to build up a reputation in order to have them break it down at Central High School." Gloria's incisive comment was "that doesn't even sound like me." At the end of her artistic indignation, she commented; "I like him, but he shouldn't say I said things that I didn't say."

Gloria and her mother discussed the details of Gloria's decision to attend Central High School. They told, with good feeling, about the fact that Gloria made this decision on her own without her parents consent. In fact her parents did not know that she was involved in the first day's tension with the troops. When they found out, they tried to persuade her that it would be to her best interest not to attend Central High School but to go back to Horace Mann School. She firmly and respectfully convinced them that she would have a better educational opportunity at Central High School. Gloria, like many of the other students, seemed primarily concerned with the fact that by attending Central High School she will be exposed to a better education. Gloria is interested in mathematics and has managed to maintain a B plus average in Central High School. She and Terrence particularly are concerned with improving their grades and qualifying for a good college. They believe that the racial tensions and confusions interfere with the main business at hand.

Minnie Jean Brown

Minnie is a rather tall, large, well-built girl who seems full of earthy vitality and love of life. She gives you the impression of being breathless in her desire to live fully without arbitrary restrictions and without the usual middle-class conventionality. One's first impression of Minnie, which is sustained with subsequent contact and observation, is that she is less concerned with the matter of formal education but more concerned with personal growth and the fulfillment of her creativity. She seems to be a very healthy, spontaneous person. I had the strong impression that she and her mother seemed like examples of what is expected from individuals who have been successfully analyzed.

I first met Minnie Jean not long after the incident in which she was alleged to have dumped a bowl of Chili on a white student. This incident had received national publicity. Before I had the opportunity to ask a question about this, her mother informed Mr. Bates and me that she had just received a check in the mail from a person who stated that this check for $10 was to be given to Minnie "to buy more plates when needed." On saying this, both of them laughed heartily. I then felt free to ask Minnie, in a rather casual manner, about this incident. She smiled and said "Of course it was an accident. You know I wouldn't go around throwing Chili on white boys." She continued: "As I was getting up to put my tray on the counter, these boys moved their chairs out in the aisle and as they did this they bumped into me and the tray and the food fell on them. It was an accident. I couldn't help it." As she said this, she smiled broadly and I replied, "Really an accident?" She answered, "Well (pause) maybe if I held the tray a little tighter it wouldn't have fallen but maybe if I had held it a little looser it would have fallen on them with more force." We all laughed.

Carlotta Walls

Carlotta is in many respects, a typical adolescent interested in popular music, anxious to explore her skills in social relationship and seemingly quite conscious of her femininity and her general appeal to the boys. She too has a rather matter of fact attitude toward her presence in Central High School. She has a rather fair complexion and were it not for the fact that she has been identified as a Negro, it would be difficult to recognize her as one merely by her appearance. This fact may account for the fact that Carlotta has not been the brunt of as much cruelty as some of the other students. She is, nonetheless, completely identified psychologically with her role as one of these nine young students. Her social relations with her friends and former classmates seem quite good.

Her parents are rather young, attractive people whom I met socially and who, while they are quite aware of the importance of Carlotta's and their role in the Central High School situation, certainly do not have their lives dominated by this issue. They are quite capable of having fun. In fact they insist upon enjoying life. Carlotta's mother told me, when I met her at a party, that she had quite an argument with Carlotta because Carlotta wanted to go to a party the same night. Her mother told her that she could go to the party if she got the baby sitter to sit with her younger sister and if she could arrange to be brought home at a reasonable time, but she, the mother, had no intention of sacrificing her social life for the social life of her daughter. "I told her that she might be a celebrity as far as the rest of the nation is concerned but she is still my daughter." As she said this, she laughed and it was clear that this was accepted by Carlotta and the rest of the family with good humor and warmth.

Thelma Mothershed and Melva Pattillo

I did not get a chance to talk at length with Thelma Mothershed and Melva Pattillo. My general impression is that Thelma Mothershed is probably the shiest

of all these children without the kind of firm solidity that characterizes the shyness of Elizabeth Eckford. It is a fact, however, that I did not get to know Thelma as well as I got to know Elizabeth and this judgment certainly must be considered tentative.

Similarly, my impression that Melva Pattillo and her mother are probably the only one of these families who seemed to be unduly conscious of their celebrity role in this situation must be stated with reservations. For example, Mrs. Pattillo was the only parent who gave me the impression that she was trying to make an impression upon me. While the other parents and children spoke in a rather matter of fact, casual manner, Mrs. Pattillo spoke in a very proper tone. She weighed her words carefully and she seemed quite desirous of giving me the impression that she was a well-educated person of substance. I did not get a chance to talk at length with Melva because at the time of the appointment, Mrs. Pattillo told me that Melva could not talk with me now because they were quite busy preparing to take a trip to Houston, Texas where they were going to talk to a convention of Negro women. This was true because Mrs. Bates, recognizing the special needs of the Pattillos, had asked them to represent her and the nine children at this convention. It was clear that Mrs. Pattillo enjoyed this role and was going to make the most of it. Again, I must say that this judgment is a tentative one which should await further study. It should be noted that Mrs. Pattillo was the only parent who wanted the children to write about their daily experiences in Central High School for a newspaper. Mrs. Pattillo felt that it was not fair to deny the children the $50 a day income which would come from these stories. It must be stated though that Mrs. Pattillo was persuaded to go along with the judgment of the other parents and Mrs. Bates. Mrs. Bates argued that the children should not be exploited in this way.

Kenneth B. Clark

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY April 29, 1958

Dr. Kenneth Clark
Psychology Department
City College of New York
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Clark:

This is to follow up Harold Fleming's earlier conversations with you concerning your report on Little Rock.

In the interest of time, I have been asked to make several minor changes and suggestions for shortening the report for our purposes. This I have done as you will see from the enclosed thermofax copy of your original report. We would like to have your opinion of these changes and hope that you will feel free to add, delete, revise or otherwise comment on both our suggestions and your report. Perhaps the single greatest change is the suggestion that we end the report with the two paragraphs from your letter, also enclosed. This, I would particularly like to have your opinion on since I feel these are paragraphs of considerable value, and make points which should be made.

The Report will not receive general distribution. It will be sent to a limited number of those agency people, sympathetic newspapermen and others whom we feel would benefit considerably from your observations. The report will bear the notation, "Not for Publication or Quotation Without Permission."

If you will return the thermo-fax copy to us with any suggestinns or changes, we will attempt to issue the report at once. We feel that the report is of considerable value and are anxious to have it ready for distribution as soon as possible. Harold is out of the office all of this week. He returns on Monday, May 5th and we hope, if your schedule permits, to issue the report later in the week.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - (Thermo-faxed copy of Little Rock Study)

NORTHSIDE CENTER FOR CHILD DEVELOPMENT, INC.
31 WEST 110TH STREET · NEW YORK 26, N. Y.
ENRIGHT 9-6464

May 2, 1958

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MAMIE PHIPPS CLARK, PH. D.
Director

Mr. Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Enclosed, I am returning the edited copy of my Little Rock memorandum. The changes are perfectly acceptable to me. The only thing that disturbs me a little is the fact that I wrote my letter to Harold Fleming as a personal expression of feeling. I did not intend that it would have received any wider distribution. However, if you and Harold believe that it is of value, as a part of the report, I am willing to accept your judgment.

Is is possible to publish some select abstracts of this revised memorandum in "New South?"

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth B. Clark

Kenneth B. Clark
Associate Director

KBC:ram
enc.

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February 6, 1958

MAMIE PHIPPS CLARK, PH. D.
Director

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Rm. 43
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is the draft of my observations of the Negro community in Little Rock and my impressions concerning the present psychological adjustment of the nine Negro students who are attending Central High School. It would have been easy to stress their heroism, their courage, and the inherent drama of this situation. That would have been easy but not an accurate picture of the situation as I sensed it and felt it in Little Rock. The heroism was in the lack of self-conscious heroism; the courage was in the lack of awareness of courage and in the simple dignity and poise of these children. The drama was in the absence of self-righteousness and self-dramatization. How does one communicate these realities without cheapening them?

The tragedy of Little Rock is not to be found in anything that has happened to the Negro children or in any psychological scars which they must bear. Apparently, centuries of oppression have immunized them and given them the necessary protective defenses for survival. The real tragedy of Little Rock is what is happening to the white children in Central High School - the fact that potentially decent human beings are being required to bow to the brutality of a tightly organized minority. This tragedy reflects the larger tragedy. The decency in the whites of the South is not backed by the fervor and conviction or the courage which is shown by fanatical racist. Without regard to the integration issue - without regard to what happens to Negroes because they will survive, this is a serious omen for that region and certainly for the nation. Enough of my moralizing. I hope that this memorandum or some parts of it will be found useful to you.

I look forward to seeing you next week.

Cordially,

Kenneth B. Clark
Associate Director

KBC:ram

Add last 2 paragraphs Jeppert?

INTRODUCTION

In December of 1957 the Southern Regional Council arranged to have Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, noted ~~child~~ social psychologist, visit Little Rock, Arkansas. Dr. Clark was asked to present an informal report of his observations of the Negro community in Little Rock and his impressions concerning the psychological adjustment of the nine Negro students who were attending Central High School.

This Special Report represents a portion of Dr. Clark's original report. ~~It is intended for very limited distribution to those who may find this information of value in understanding present and future developments in Little Rock and elsewhere.~~

Some General Observations in the Negro Community of Little Rock, Arkansas

[redacted]

My observations of the Negro community in Little Rock occurred during the period of December 21, 22 and 23 and December 27 and 28. I stayed at the home of Mr. and Mrs. L. C. Bates and had an opportunity to talk with them extensively and informally. In spite of this fact, however, my contacts were not limited to the Bateses and their friends since I took the opportunity to talk with many individuals alone. I went into Negro drug stores, bars, barber shops and other business establishments. In each of these places, I attempted to talk casually with the individuals who ran these establishments or who provided services in them. These contacts were facilitated by Christopher Mercer, who was formerly employed by the Arkansas Council on Human Relations but who is now an employee of the state NAACP. Mr. Mercer was an ideal person for this role since he seemed to know a wide cross section of the Negro population and was quite casual in his relations with various types of Negroes and seemed to be trusted and accepted by them.

Omit

THESE ~~My~~ observations ~~of the Negro community~~ and my discussions with various individuals in the Negro community lead me to the tentative conclusion that the events surrounding the use of federal troops to assure the attendance of the nine Negro students to the previously all white high school in Little Rock, ~~Arkansas has~~ have had no harmful effect on the Negro community. On the contrary, the morale of Negroes in Little Rock appears to be quite high. This present high morale seems to be supported by a sense of pride in the dignity and courage of the Negro students, admiration for the leadership and skill of Mrs. L. C. Bates, and a firm determination on the part of all segments of the Negro community that there shall be no retreat in the process of school integration.

In general, it appears ~~as if~~ that the Negro community in Little Rock has become more unified as a consequence of these recent tensions. There seem to be no significant differences of opinion between the upper middle-class, professional group of Negroes, and the working class Negroes. What differences there are seem superficial. For example, working class Negroes are more likely to express their feelings about the presence of Negroes in Central High School in a little more flamboyant terms. For example, a Negro boot black stated;"I know one thing. Those white people better not be foolish enough to hurt one of those colored children. They're not bothering anybody. They better leave them alone. It'll be hell in Little Rock if they lay a hand on one of those kids." A Negro waitress in one of the night clubs in Little Rock stated in fluent language her admiration of the nine Negro students who were attending Central High School. She was lavish in her praise of the leadership of the Bateses and was most pleased when she found out that my companion was Mr. L. C. Bates. After expressing her admiration she stated, "When you gonna get some more of our children in that school. They can always pick on a few. They wouldn't be so smart if we had a couple of hundred kids there. I sure wish that my child was old enough to go to that school."

Upper middle-class professional Negroes are more restrained in their expression of admiration and respect for the nine children and the Bateses. They generally indicate their support by calling the Bateses and inquiring whether there is anything that they can do to help. They also have increased their general interest in the affairs of the NAACP and they have increased somewhat their financial support of the organization's effort. In general, however, their backing is expressed in the form of what appear to be genuine compliments and congratulations of the Bateses, expressions of pride in the dignity and restraint of the nine Negro students; and basking in the reflected glory which their collective behavior has brought to the entire Negro community. They seem no less determined than the working class Negroes but they clearly express their determination for continued progress in integration

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in different terms and in a different manner. This seems to be true not only in Little Rock but also in other surrounding communities in Arkansas such as Pine Bluff and Hot Springs.

Omit? The popularity of Mr. and Mrs. Bates has increased substantially. They are frequently invited to social affairs. When they are able to attend these affairs, their table becomes a magnet attracting large numbers of individuals who come by to pay their respects and pledge their support. They, like the nine Negro students, accept these indications of community support and admiration most graciously. This clearly becomes a more than adequate balance for the villification and harassment which they receive from some segments of the prosegregationist white community.

From one perspective, it may be stated that the Negro community has become more isolated from the white community. There is some evidence that some type of peripheral contacts with whites have become strained or have been terminated ~~since~~ by the tensions surrounding the integration of Central High School. On the other hand, many of the upper middle-class Negroes contend that this is more apparent than real. They argue that there ~~was~~ were really no genuine and meaningful contacts between the white and the Negro community prior to the recent tensions; that what appeared to be fairly smooth and adequate relationship was merely the Negroes' accommodation to an inferior status and the whites' willingness to accept this accommodation as evidence of good relationship between the two groups. The changes in pattern of relationship which has developed since the difficulties at Central High School are seen by these individuals as the understandable reaction of many whites when Negroes seek to improve their status in the community. These whites then maintain that race relations deteriorate under these conditions and that a greater gulf is established between Negroes and whites. The differences in perspective of the Negroes result in their interpretation of this as a necessary expression of the true situation and an inevitable accompaniment of their progress. Rather than seeing these changes as negative, Negroes tend to see them as inevitable manifestations of the true nature of the relationship between the groups.

Omit

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The Negroes believe ~~that~~ it is true that certain types of interracial groups have been less effective and have been operating under greater difficulties since the Central High School incident. They point to the fact that the Arkansas Council on Human Relations seems to be having more difficulty in getting open support. They also state that the interracial ministerial alliances has become practically dormant. In this latter case, they believe that the ineffectualness of this group is the result of lack of clarity and courage on the part of the ministers themselves. They believe that the prosegregationist whites have seized the initiative and have succeeded in intimidating the more liberal and moderate members of the white community. These Negroes seem quite clear in their evaluation of these moderate, less extreme whites. They do not seem to have very much compassion or respect for them. They tend to believe that their lack of courage and the ease with which the extreme prosegregationist whites were able to immobilize them reflected ~~the~~ a basic lack of conviction on the part of the moderate whites and ~~their~~ a tendency not to jeopardize their own status by taking a position for justice and law and order when it involved problems of race relations.

There are some exceptions which Negroes in general tend to recognize. There are some whites who maintain rather positive and close relations with the leaders of the Negro community. Their aid has been invaluable although, for obvious reasons, they cannot be publicly identified. During my stay with Mrs. Bates, I was aware of many phone calls which she received from these individuals and I observed some direct conversations which she had with a few of them.

While there appears to be no direct, overt and systematic collaboration between Negroes and white groups in Little Rock at this time, some of the Negro leaders believe that the majority of the white people are determined that there be no further incidents which will add to the difficulties and stigma ~~which~~ that the city has already received in the national and international press. The following incident illustrates the basis for their opinion:

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A Negro girl boarded one of the desegregated buses in Little Rock and took a seat beside a white woman. This woman, who was obviously an extreme prosegregationist, began to berate the Negro girl and insisted that she should move to the back of the bus. When the Negro girl refused to move, she became more extreme in her denunciation and name-calling. A majority of the people who were on the bus were white. As this woman threatened and raved, they became more and more tense and seemingly embarrassed. This white woman got up and made a threatening gesture toward the Negro girl as if she were going to strike her. As she did this, a number of white people jumped up and restrained the white woman. Another white woman led the Negro girl to a seat beside her. As this was done, the whole bus relaxed and the incident was closed with the exception of the fact that the prosegregationist woman kept muttering something about the large number of "nigger lovers" who now infested Little Rock. It may be of further interest to note that this incident was reported to Mrs. Bates by one of the white people on the bus and later confirmed by the Negro girl who was involved.

There seems little doubt that the Negro community in Little Rock has not been intimidated by the intense and at times violent behavior of the prosegregationist whites. They look upon the activities of these prosegregationists as pathetic and ridiculous attempts to save a lost cause. They even have a tendency to look upon the violence as essentially ridiculous even though cruel. Mrs. Bates has refused to repair one of her picture windows which was broken by a prosegregationist. The night after I left her home an incendiary bomb was thrown on her front lawn. Again, she refused to have that portion of her lawn repaired. She feels that these symbols of the stupidity of the opposition should remain to mock the extreme bigots and as a challenge to the ineffectual moderates.

The Negro community may be characterized as fearless, determined, and stolid. There is an almost oriental quality in the relentless refusal to move backwards. This stolidity is supported by a strong feeling that they are on the right side of

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this issue, that history is on their side, that international and national imperatives make the position of the prosegregationist untenable. The Negro community does not seem to be in a mood for further compromises or temporizing of their right to attend non-segregated schools. They seem prepared to present many other Negro students for entrance in Central High School and other white schools in the city.

Adjustment of the Nine Negro Students Attending Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas

From general observation of these students in a social situation; observing them individually in their homes and in their relation with their parents, their siblings, and their friends; from some individual discussions with them, and discussions with individuals who know them and have been observing them throughout the current school term, I have arrived at the following conclusions about their overall adjustment:

(1) These students have reacted extraordinarily well to the tensions, threats and anxiety surrounding their attendance at Central High School. They are aware of the problems and dangers. Many of them have borne directly the brunt of organized harassment and hostility perpetrated by a hard core of about fifty white students in Central High School. In general, they react to the jostling, name calling, taunts, and threats with disciplined restraint.

It must be pointed out, however, that being different personalities they differ in the weight that they give to this harassment. Some like Gloria Ray tend to minimize the significance of this ordeal and dismiss all but the most severe incidents as being petty. For example, Gloria insists that she will not report the large number of minor incidents and is proud of the fact that the only time she appealed to the school authorities was when a white boy attempted to push her down the steps and threatened her by saying "I'm going to get you out of this school if I have to kill you."

Others like Elizabeth Eckford, Jefferson Thomas, and Terrence Roberts are quite disturbed at the cumulative cruelties which they have had to bear. They seem too proud to whine about it but they reveal their annoying anxiety by indirect indi-

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[illegible] For example, Elizabeth stated rather frankly that she did not [illegible] forward to going back to her gym class without the protection of Minnie Jean. [illegible] sincerely hoped that Minnie Jean's suspension would have been lifted by the [illegible] the holidays were over. She felt that Minnie's size and manner tended to reduce the open physical cruelties and taunts which are most severe in the gym class. Jefferson Thomas seemed the most disturbed about these cruelties and were it not for the importance of the issue it seems clear that if Jefferson had his own way he would not return to Central High School.

omit

omit

On the other hand, Minnie Jean and Carlotta are examples of individuals who neither minimize the day to day dangers which they face, nor are they too disturbed about the incidents. Minnie particularly seems perfectly willing to take on the opposition one or two at a time with no holds barred or no concessions given or asked for. Minnie seems to be under the most severe self-discipline in that she is being required to behave in a way contrary to her natural spontaneity and desires.

omit

(2) All of the students, with possibly one exception, seem to be reacting most positively to being thrown into the public spotlight. There seems to be no evidence of any severe distortion in this perspective of themselves. In short, they do not seem to be suffering from a celebrity psychosis.

They accept with a quiet grace and dignity the many indications of respect and admiration which come from the Negro community. It is my belief that they have been helped to maintain an even balance in this regard by the keen intuitive insights and guidance of Mrs. Bates and by the seemingly very good relationship with their parents.

Their relations with their siblings seem quite close. The older siblings seem proud of them and the younger siblings seem properly respectful. I was particularly impressed by the general warmth and closeness which seem to characterize the relationship between these children and their parents and siblings.

(3) Their relations with their former classmates and the community in general also seem to be quite good.

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An example of this was a fact that when Gloria Ray gave a party during the holidays, many more of her friends at Horace Mann High School came than were expected. There was good natured banter as illustrated by the running gag that they asked her to introduce them to some of her new friends at Central High School. On the other hand, some of the Negro children - presumably a small minority - who are still attending Horace Mann School have expressed some rivalry or jealousy by indicating that they would not want to go to Central High School. They don't want to go some place where they aren't wanted and they think that the nine Negro students who went did so only to get "cheap publicity." All of the students are aware of the existence of this sentiment but none of them seems unduly disturbed by it. They tend to dismiss this as a sign of acceptance of segregation on the part of the individuals who hold this opinion. They are supported by the fact that the majority opinion in the Negro community is most favorable and rejecting of this negativistic point of view.

(4) In general, these nine students are quite aware of the importance of their pioneer role. They have been made so keenly aware of this that they are willing to accept the personal discomforts and abuse "so that other Negro students will have an easier time."

There seems to be little or no evidence that they have suffered significantly so far. They have received a great deal of public attention, support and acclaim. They have managed to maintain their personal balance and stability. <u>If there is a significant danger inherent in this situation and their relationship to it, it is the danger that they do not seem sufficiently aware of the very real possibility of physical harm which might be inflicted upon them.</u> They tend to dismiss the threats as being of no significance - as silly - as an indication of the meanness and stupidity of a small group of white hoodlums inside of the school. They do not believe that these threats will be carried out in spite of repeated incidents. It is my personal opinion that while it is understandable and necessary that they maintain this relatively optimistic view of human nature, there is a strong possibility that

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[illegible]ght not be justified. I had the uneasy feeling that it is quite possible [illegible] irresponsible fanatical hot head might harm one or more of these children. [illegible]pression seemed to be supported by the unwillingness of the school authorities [illegible] with the small group of repeated trouble makers. Also by the [illegible] willingness of the Negro students to [illegible] an inquiry [illegible] of the many petty [illegible] incidents.

[illegible]sions:

[illegible] Negro community [illegible] unified rather than disturbed by the [illegible] segregation incidents. There [illegible] that prior to [illegible] would have characterized the Negro [illegible] Little Rock as [illegible]rated and consisting [illegible] divergent interests. [illegible] appears that the [illegible] ize and unify [illegible] group and has [illegible]

[illegible]) The present psychological health of the [illegible] Negro students seems to be good. They are accept[illegible] with poise [illegible] guilty. They have been [illegible] significantly by the [illegible] guidance and [illegible] Bates, by the warmth and support of their families and by [illegible] ation and respect which they have received from the immediate community [illegible] the nation. Of special significance [illegible] the evidence of international [illegible] which they have contin[illegible]ved.

[illegible]) On the negative side is the [illegible] overt spontaneous expression of hostility towards them which reached its peak just before and for some time after the presence of federal troops in Little Rock has been displaced by a more systematic, effectively directed campaign of harassment and petty cruelties directed toward them by a hard core of between 50 and 100 white students. These incidents of cruelty and abuse are particularly severe in gym classes, the lunch room, and in the halls between classes. They are less likely to occur in the actual academic classrooms.

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It appears that this hard core group has been organized and its activities directed by adults outside of the school. They seem to have orders to concentrate on particular individuals.

They have successfully isolated the Negro youngsters by directing their initial campaign of intimidation against those white students who in the early weeks of the term attempted to show signs of friendliness and acceptance of the Negro students. These white students were maligned and threatened - in some cases to the point of hysteria. They communicated to the Negro students that they would no longer be able to show any overt sign of friendliness towards them. Furthermore, those who direct the activities of these white students seem to have been successful in immobilizing most, if not all, of the school officials through name calling and other forms of intimidation. As a result, the school officials do not seem free to deal with any other than the most extreme forms of cruelties in any effective way. Through this many pronged attack the small group of prosegregationists have almost succeeded in making the day to day life of the Negro students within Central High School almost intolerable. They have not completely succeeded only because of the determination, stolidity, humor and courage of the Negro community in general and the nine students and Mrs. Bates in particular.

It is my belief that these students will continue to attend Central High School and that more Negro students will present themselves for admission during the next school term. One serious danger which should not be discounted, however, is the danger that if the organized hoodlums are not effectively restrained and are permitted to continue their campaign of harassment and cruelty they will seriously harm one or more of the Negro students. If this happens, I believe Little Rock will be in for a most serious form of racial disturbance. The one thing which I believe the Negro community could not tolerate would be any serious physical harm inflicted on any one of those nine Negro students.

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Little Rock demonstrates that one cannot judge the readiness of the Negro to endure the hardships or meet the challenge associated with desegregation before the fact of desegregation. It appears that the actual facts of desegregation and the demands made upon the individuals and the community when the issues are joined tend to mobilize the positive potentials in the community and reduce the effect of the negative potentials. The potentials for greatness are actualized by the realities rather than in anticipation of these realities. Unfortunately, this does not seem to be equally true in the appraisal of the effect of the desegregation incident on the white community. This later impression, however, must be held with the reservation that no systematic study of the white community was conducted by this observer. Furthermore his impressions reflected the perspective of a Negro seeing the situation through the eyes and feelings of the Negro community.

(Insert ~~[illegible]~~ 2 letters as end of report.) End

Impressions of the Nine Students as Individuals:

I met the nine Negro students who have been attending Central High School for the first time at a pre Christmas party which was held in their honor by the local chapter of a national Negro sorority. Mrs. Daisy Bates invited me to this party and told me that it would be a good opportunity to observe these young people in a social situation. She introduced me to each of them separately and to their parents.

At this party, these young people received gifts from members of the sorority from all over the country. Nearly 300 friends, including a few white persons, and relatives gathered in a relatively new Negro Community Center for this party. The nine students were the center of attention but seemed able to accept this and their many gifts with grace and poise. They fortunately were not required to make speeches. In fact they seemed good naturedly impatient for the formal presentation to end so that they could dance with their girl friends and boy friends. Ernest Green brought his record player and many of the records which supplied the music for the dancing.

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AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

June 5, 1958

Mr. Kenneth Clark
Department of Psychology
City College
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Clark:

Enclosed is the edited manuscript on your trip to Little Rock. This version is the one we would like to publish in New South with your permission. Harold Fleming, Fred Routh and I have all had a hand in editing it, but we especially wanted you to look it over and let us know if the editing meets your approval and if you have any additional changes to make.

I am pushing a deadline and want to publish this in the June issue of New South, otherwise I will not have space for it before September and I do think it should be printed as soon as possible. In view of this, I wonder if you will telephone me at your earliest convenience with any suggested minor changes. If there are major changes, you could of course send them air mail special.

We propose a brief forward to the article giving some of the background ~~on~~ a bit of explanation.

I am looking forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosure

PAUL: WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT THIS OUTFIT?

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NATIONAL COMMITTEE for RURAL SCHOOLS, inc.

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Committee (Incomplete)

November 1959

Dear Friend:

Christmas is coming on the calendar but not in the homes of thousands of children in the rural South. It is a time of tragic strife in the deep South of our country where organized hatred among a few has run rampant and where the few impose their un-American and un-democratic violence upon the many.

During this crisis we feel more responsible than ever to help those who need us most in the Southern boycotted communities.

While this struggle for the very basic rights of man finds the most dramatic expression in the school rooms of the South and the courtrooms of America, nevertheless we recognize the great importance of the approaching Christmas holidays, a holiday which inherently and rightfully belongs to every child. The parents who are boycotted have lost their jobs because they have signed a petition for equal schools for their children and the VOTE. These parents have to pay for the use of school books. Money for such purpose is normally taken from something else which may be critical but even in these poor homes where every family has more than one child, they must pay $4.25 for the use of the books for each child for each school year. We know that these facts are pretty difficult to take for those of us who are enjoying the abundance of America's great prosperity.

May we ask for your cooperation so that we may get all the good things for these children in time for a Merry Christmas and may yours be very merry.

Sincerely,

Kenneth B. Clark

Kenneth B. Clark
President

file

All Contributions Are Deductible

Encls: ~~Dabbs&memo~~ Dabbs memo and news release on resignation of HCF; Dunbar speeches: "Reflections on the Latest Reform of the South," "Civil Disobedience"

April 4, 1961

Dr. Kenneth Clark
Northside Center
31 West 110th Street
New York, New York

Dear Ken:

Following our telephone conversation, I intercepted the attached mailing going forward to you today.

I have added copies of a couple of Les Dunbar's speeches, which I hope you will find time to look through. They reflect something of the commitment of the man, as do most of the reports and materials the Council has published in the past two years. I hope you two will have an opportunity to get to know each other very soon.

I am looking forward myself to the chance to get together again with you. I am sure you will approve of the idea behind the new Washington operation, and I need all of the good advice you can give me.

Any reassurance and support you can give the Council's cause at the New York Foundation will be deeply appreciated. And, believe me, you will find that they are justified.

My best regards.

As ever,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

June 27, 1961

Dr. Kenneth Clark
Northside Center
31 West 110 Street
New York, New York

Dear Professor Clark:

I would like to add my congratulations to the many you must be receiving for having been chosen Springarn Medalist. This is a highly deserved recognition.

I hope that our paths shall cross soon; I have long looked forward to an opportunity to meet you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

May 3, 1962

Dr. Kenneth Clark
Northside Center
31 West 110th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Clark:

The enclosed is for your information.

Perhaps the next time I am in New York we can find an opportunity meet.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Letter to Mr. Markoff, New York Foundation)

Technical Memorandum

To: Mr. John Hope, II, Assistant Director for Program, SRC

From: Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, Consultant

Subject: The American Case Against Segregation - A Reply to Thomas R. Waring

Section I

Within the past year increasingly successful attempts have been made by white Southerners to present the case for the maintenance of segregated schools in terms which are acceptable to reasonable white Northerners. The most effective of these Southern spokesmen has been Hodding Carter, who has published such articles in Reader's Digest, Saturday Evening Post, and Look Magazine. The most recent expression of this "moderate" white Southerners' point of view in a national publication is found in the article by Thomas R. Waring, published in the January 1956 issue of Harper's Magazine. There is some evidence that this reasonable pro-segregationist approach has influenced the editorial opinion of some of the more conservative national publications.

Mr. Waring, like other spokesmen for the "reasonable white Southerner," starts from the assumption that there are valid and compelling reasons - described by him as "facts" - which make it impossible for white "Southerners to accept the desegregation of the public schools." He maintains that white Southerners of good-will, who are in the vast majority, "favor uplift of the Negro," but fear that this uplift "is being forced at too fast a pace." He also insists that white Southerners resent the interference with the sovereignty of their states in their right to maintain segregated schools; and, he adds, that the Southerner believes that "he is better equipped by experience to cope with race problems than people from other regions."

These opinions are not novel. In the context of Mr. Waring's article, however, some of them are clearly inconsistent with other statements which he makes, and their lack of relevance to the basic issue of the Constitutional rights of Negro Americans appears to be quite clear. Undoubtedly there must be many Southern whites of good-will who favor the uplift of the Negro people. More pertinent questions, however, are: How effective have these people been in protecting the rights of the Negroes; and how active or open were they in supporting the Negro in his struggle for the equalization of teachers' salaries, equalization of schools, voting privileges, and adequate graduate and professional state-supported education.

The argument of "too fast a pace" is also not uncommon, but again leaves many relevant questions unanswered: What is a desirable pace for the righting of an injustice? To what extent can those who are not the immediate victims of the injustice be expected to arrive at the same judgment concerning the rate of change which the victims believe to be necessary? It is precisely because of these expected differences in opinion that it is necessary to resort to the more objective arena of the Federal courts.

The sovereignty of the states in matters of education is not in itself at issue in the discussion of the problem of segregated schools. More pertinent to this problem is the issue of whether the states have the "right" to perpetrate injustice and inequality upon some of its citizens. In its May 17, 1954 decision, the United States Supreme Court answered this question clearly by stating:

> Such an opportunity (for education), where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

Mr. Waring's assertion that the Southerner believes that he is "better equipped by experience to cope with race problems than people from other regions" is made without supporting evidence. Seen in the light of

his discussion of the question of the sovereignty of states, it is necessary to point out that problems of racial justice in the South are no longer matters of regional concern, but have tremendous national and international implications. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the Southern states in and of themselves have voluntarily contributed to the progress of the Negro or have stimulated or encouraged economic, political, or educational equality.

It is of ironic significance that the one extensive quotation cited by Mr. Waring in support of the "Liberal" Southerner's position was made by an Atlanta editor in 1888. Reliance upon the position considered liberal 70 years ago in an article published in 1956 is in itself evidence of the time lag in this type of thinking which seeks to understand and deal with contemporary problems in terms of the conditions and perspective of the past. This may well be the essential weakness and futility of the position of those "reasonable" white Southerners who seek to justify or explain the continuation of segregation in the modern world; namely, that segregation and other forms of racism are not compatible with the economic, industrial, technological, political, and international forces of the middle of the 20th Century.

Section II

Under the heading of "cultural differences" Waring lists the following reasons for the maintenance of segregated schools in the South:

1. That Negro children are not equal to white children in health and cleanliness;

2. That the home environment of Negroes is inferior to that of whites;

3. That the marital and sex habits of the Negro are inferior and more primitive than those of whites;

4. That there is a high incidence of crime among Negroes;

5. That the Negro child is retarded in intellectual level and achievement compared with the white child.

If one accepts, for purposes of discussion, Waring's assertions on these points, they still do not justify the maintenance of schools segregated on the basis of race. It is agreed that the "facts" which he presents do not reflect innate racial differences. They, therefore, must be interpreted as indications of the detrimental consequences of past segregation and the general inequality and discrimination associated with racism.

In view of the meretricious effectiveness and the emotional appeal of the specific points raised by Waring, it is necessary to answer each point separately:

1. Health

Waring maintains that Negro parents are not as careful, on the average, as their white neighbors in looking after the health and cleanliness of their children, and that the incidence of venereal diseases is much greater among Negroes than among whites. After admitting that statistics to document this statement are difficult to obtain, he nonetheless cites statistics from South Carolina for the year 1952-53 which purport to show that while 1.3% of the white persons examined were found to have syphilis, an average of 9% of the Negroes examined had this disease.

Waring did not state that these percentages applied to Negro and white children; but he nonetheless concludes that fastidious white parents "just don't want to take risks of any kind with their children." He presented no evidence to prove that a disproportionate number of Negro children are contaminated with contagious venereal diseases or that these diseases may be communicated to white children in a school setting.

It is now clearly understood by public health officials that communicable diseases are not to be understood or dealt with primarily in

racial terms. These diseases are related to socio-economic status, overcrowded housing, and other social problems which are aggravated by problems involved in segregated living. Furthermore, white children and white adults are not immunized against these diseases by rigid patterns of segregation in the schools. Certainly, necessary and prevalent contacts with Negroes in the role of servants or workers provide greater opportunity for the transmission of communicable disease.

Utilization of advances in medicine and public health and a well-organized school health program for the benefit of the entire community should provide protection for all children from dangerous communicable diseases. Non-segregated schools will necessarily have to maintain the same health facilities and safeguards that are now maintained in any well-run school - and unfortunately not provided in the majority of segregated Negro schools. As the economic and social conditions of the Negro improve, and as the public health facilities available to the entire community are also made available to Negroes, the incidence of certain diseases among Negroes will decrease.

2. Home Environment

Waring contends that the home environment and cultural background of Negro children is different in many ways from that of white children. He states that the relationship between whites and Negroes is still generally that of the master and the servant and the boss and the laborer. While he recognizes the emergence of a middle-class among Negroes, he believes that this group is small and in the most "unenviable" position of all since they are not accepted by whites and have progressed beyond the cultural level "of the vast bulk of their own people."

Aside from the stereotyped generalizing which suggests that all whites are basically superior to all Negroes culturally, economically, and

in home environment -delusions of group aristocracy - Waring's discussion of this point reveals the basic inconsistency of his whole approach. On the one hand he maintains that white Southerners of good-will favor the uplift of the Negro and that the Negro should qualify himself fully for association with "the white man's company"; while on the other hand he betrays the fact that even if the Negro were to raise his cultural and economic level to a point acceptable to whites, that this would not lead to "the white Southerner's acceptance of non-segregation." He rejects the idea that the admission of "a few well-scrubbed and polished colored children of cultivated parents" may be an opening wedge for integration in the schools by stating that "this would be no more acceptable to the colored people than to the whites." He insists upon a continuation of segregation even among middle-class Negroes by suggesting "private schools for prosperous Negroes as for prosperous whites." This point of view clearly reveals the intransigence of the pro-segregationists and the fact that they really want no part of non-segregation. The issue of cultural differences and inferior home environment of the average Negro as a reason for maintaining segregation is revealed to be spurious.

3. Marital Habits and Sexual Looseness

Waring opens his introduction of the problem of marital habits and sexual morals of the Negro by again admitting that "statistics are not readily available, for obvious reasons..." He maintains, however, that on the average "one Southern Negro child in five is illegitimate," and that even among Negroes who observe marriage conventions, "illegitimacy has little if any stigma."

His position is revealed in its essential inconsistency when he, on the one hand, discusses the "more primitive view of sex habits" found among Negroes, and, on the other hand, is forced to recognize that extra-legal inter-racial sex relationships were "due largely to lustful white men

seeking out acquiescent Negro women..." Certainly these "lustful white men" developed their lust and "primitive view of sex habits" in a rigidly segregated society.

Problems of sex and inter-racial marriages were not at issue and do not appear to be relevant to the struggle for racial justice and equality before the law. The fear of social and sexual mingling among races, understandable though it may be in a segregated society, cannot be offered as a justification for the continued denial of the full citizenship rights of any group or individual. Social relations and marriage are always matters of personal choice and decision. These intimate aspects of inter-personal relationships cannot and should not be legislated and were not involved in the judicial decisions preventing the states from segregating children in public schools solely on account of their race.

A confusion of the issues of citizenship rights of the Negro with problems of personal, social, and sexual relations may reflect, among other things, the anxiety on the part of certain whites that if the barriers imposed by the state against equality of treatment for the Negro were to be removed, then the whites themselves would not be able to exercise personal restraint and control in the expression of positive feelings for Negroes. In a curious sense these types of arguments may be viewed as an attempt on the part of individuals to have the state deny equality of citizenship rights to Negroes in order to protect whites from the consequences of their own confused, mixed, and ambivalent feelings toward Negroes. The rights of Negroes, however, cannot be denied on the implicit grounds that whites might find them acceptable if the barriers are removed.

4. Crime

In his discussion of crime, Waring maintains that crime in the South has been more prevalent among Negroes than among whites and that much of the outbreak of crime and juvenile delinquency in Northern cities is due

to the influx of the Negro population. Again he does not present the evidence or statistics upon which he bases these assertions.

The problem of differential definition and the meaning of crime statistics according to race has long concerned objective criminologists. The ease with which Negroes are arrested and convicted for minor infractions, which under certain circumstances would be over-looked among whites, certainly has been observed and must be taken into account in any evaluation of racial factors and crime.

Students of the psychological consequences of segregation have recognized that one of its most obvious manifestations among Negroes is an increase in hostility toward whites and toward other Negroes. This may well, under certain circumstances, express itself in delinquent and criminal behavior. Again, therefore, the discussion of crime among Negroes must be seen as at least in part a consequence of segregation rather than as a justification for continuing segregation.

Waring makes the blanket statement: "Maintaining order is a first concern of Southerners." This statement must be scrutinized in the light of his own implicit admission that conservative, law-abiding Southern whites are helpless in their fear "that hatred and bloodshed would increase without separation of the races." He supports this fear by the warning that "The thin tolerance of the ruffian and lower elements of the white people could erupt into animosity and brutality if race pressure became unbearable." He warns further that in this riotous bloodshed it will be "Negroes' blood which will flow for the most part." Certainly it is difficult to reconcile these dire predictions and the inevitability of racial lawlessness among the lower elements of white Southerners with the stability of the government of these sovereign states whose leaders are concerned with the maintenance of law and order. Furthermore, it might be germane to point out that the hatred, violence, and bloodshed described by Waring are more likely to

occur under conditions of racial segregation or in the transition from segregation to non-segregation than under conditions of equality of the races.

In his anticipation of racial disturbances associated with desegregation in the public schools Waring states that such disturbances would occur "first among pupils themselves, and later by enraged parents." Systematic studies of the desegregation process show that there is no evidence that prolonged racial disturbances associated with the desegregation of schools ever occur spontaneously among the pupils themselves. Whenever there has been such trouble among the students, it has been found that these disturbances were initiated and encouraged by adults.

5. Intellectual Development

Waring maintains that "colored children are about two grades behind the whites in attainment..." He insists that the integration of Negro and white children will place an excessive burden on "a single generation of white children," and that, "while they are rubbing off white civilization onto the Negro children, Negro culture will also rub off onto the whites." Again the sense of Waring's argument is that one of the consequences of past segregation - academic retardation of the Negro child should be used to justify continued segregation. The lack of validity of this argument is apparent and is clearly illustrated by the fact that in the legal fight against segregated schools some of the states argued that the Negro child was not being harmed by being required to attend all-Negro schools. Now that this point is no longer at issue before the courts, the proponents of segregation not only admit this intellectual damage resulting from past segregation, but attempt to use it in support of continued segregation.

Many generations of Negro children have borne the brunt of the educational and psychological damage inherent in their attendance in segregated schools. There is no evidence that a single generation of white

children will suffer any permanent damage as a consequence of attending well-regulated, non-segregated schools.

Existing psychological evidence obtained from the research of such outstanding psychologists as Otto Klineberg reveals that when Negro children are transferred from segregated schools to non-segregated shcools with higher educational standards they tend to make up their academic deficiency within a few years. More recent evidence involving older children shows that Negro children of superior intellectual ability who attend inferior segregated high schools are able to overcome their academic deficiency during the first college year and compete successfully in northern interracial colleges. It is clear, therefore, that the academic handicap resulting from segregated education is not a permanent one if the child is provided with an opportunity for an education in a non-segregated school with high educational standards. Under these conditions there is evidence that the Negro child benefits and no evidence that the white child is disadvantaged.

Section III - Summary and Conclusions

The latter part of Waring's article is devoted to a general castigation of the role of the NAACP in the struggle of the Negro for racial justice and equality. Waring maintains that until the school question became agitated in recent years, race relations in the South "on the whole were good"; that the leadership in this racial crusade comes from outside of the South and is sparked by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; that if the schools were integrated, Negro school teachers would be displaced by whites; and that Negroes in general are not eager for mixed schools "so long as the schools for Negroes are adequate." These arguments, too, are not new and probably reflect a perspective of race relations which is tolerable and acceptable for some "reasonable" white Southerners. The question, however, is the extent to which they are compatible with the actual facts and the social reality

which the South faces today.

In asserting that race relations in the South were good up until the agitation for non-segregated schools, Waring takes the position that good relations are synonymous with the Negroes' acceptance of the status quo. From another point of view one could argue that such acceptance in the face of the reality of injustice is evidence of the poorest type of race relations and synonymous with social stagnation. Social progress, on the other hand, necessarily brings with it symptoms of tension, disturbance, and inevitable transitional difficulties. These are the concomitants of progress and the indications of an eventual bettering of the substance of race relations.

The NAACP is a convenient target or scapegoat for those who are disturbed by the insistent demand of the Negro for his full citizenship rights. It is true that the national headquarters of the NAACP are in New York City. It is equally true, however, and should be known by all, that the role of the NAACP in the school segregation cases and in any other area of its activities is determined exclusively by the degree to which the Negroes in a given community initiate a case and seek and invite the participation of the NAACP in the quest for justice. Under no circumstances does or can the national NAACP initiate a case prior to the desire or the demand of the Negro citizens of a given community.

The argument that Negro teachers would lose their jobs in integrated schools must be evaluated in the light of the national problem of a general shortage of competent teachers, which is no less acute in the South. Certainly, in the transition for a system of segregated to non-segregated schools in a given community there will be questions of the most efficient utilization of teaching personnel. In an attempt at solution of these problems there may be instances in which less competent and professionally

qualified Negro teachers will be displaced by more competent Negro or white teachers; presumably, also, there will be cases in which less qualified and competent white teachers might be displaced by more competent and qualified Negro and white teachers. If, however, there are cases of discriminatory and punitive discharge of Negro teachers, these cases will have to be brought to and decided within the halls of the Federal courts.

The assumption that Negroes in general are not eager for mixed schools, but would settle for adequate Negro schools, is one which may be seriously questioned in the light of the social tensions, potential disturbances, and worsening of race relations which Waring himself so graphically describes. If the Negro people on the whole were content to repudiate the clear decision of the United States Supreme Court, which maintained that separate educational facilities can never be equal, then there would be no agitation on their part for non-segregated schools. They would passively accept the pious and belated offers of even the most backward states to "equalize" the physical facilities of Negro schools, It has become clear to almost every Negro who is aware of the problem that it is not only psychologically but economically impossible for the Negroes to have separate schools that are equal. This is particularly true in those states in which there is the maximum amount of resistance to the Supreme Court's decision. A dual school system in these states would necessarily be at the expense of the Negro schools. The fact is that there is no possibility of compromise on this issue without continuing the hardships on the Negro children or imposing additional and new hardships on white children.

Section IV - What Has the Supreme Court Decided?

In presenting the hope that Negroes will accept voluntarily continued segregation, Waring leans on Judge John J. Parker's interpretation of the May 17, 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court. In this interpretation

Judge Parker states:

> It (The United States Supreme Court) has not decided that the states must mix persons of different races in the schools... Nothing in the Constitution or in the decision of the Supreme Court takes away from the people freedom to choose the schools they attend. The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It does not forbid such segregation as occurs as the result of voluntary action. It merely forbids the use of governmental power to enforce segregation.

A further interpretation of the meaning of the Supreme Court's decision which Parker does not give, but which might be relevant to an evaluation of many of the issues raised by Waring, is that the United States Supreme Court, in its May 17, 1954 decision, did not forbid the states from segregating its pupils in state supported public schools on the basis of health, home environment, marital status, legitimacy or illegitimacy of students, criminal or delinquent behavior, and level of intellectual functioning. Nothing in that decision prevents a state from setting up schools for children with or without communicable or venereal diseases; or setting up schools for children from broken homes or who are adjudged legitimate or illegitimate; nothing in the decision forbids the state from setting up schools in terms of intellectual level of students. Some groups of educators or welfare workers might wish to test the constitutionality of these forms of segregated schools when and if they are established.

The present decision, however, clearly, specifically, and only forbids the state from setting up schools for children "solely on the basis of race." This application of the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment of the United States Constitution means that all explanations, rationalizations, techniques, devices, and subterfuges which result in racially segregated schools are unconstitutional. If a state desires to protect the health of the 98% of the white children whose parents do not have syphilis, it must equally protect the health of the 91% of the Negro children whose parents do not have syphilis by setting up, if it so desires, schools for those Negro and white

children whose parents have syphilis. If the state desires to protect and nurture the cultural and intellectual potentials of those white children from higher cultural and intellectual backgrounds, then it must equally and without separation protect and nurture the cultural and intellectual potentials of those Negro children from similar cultural and intellectual backgrounds by setting up schools attended by Negro and white children of similar cultural and intellectual backgrounds and potentials. Anything short of this is a clear violation of the supreme law of the United States as interpreted by the United States Supreme Court and is therefore illegal. Widespread illegality, rationalized or not, is anarchy - a government by whim and prejudice rather than a government by law. No amount of "reasonable" or emotional arguments and explanations can obscure this basic fact.

FOR CIRCULATION OF KEN CLARK'S STUDY ON LITTLE ROCK SEE:

PAUL ANTHONY'S MONEY BOOK, INTERAGENCY MAILING LIST,

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF SRC, CONSULTANTS MAILING LIST,"

STATE DIRECTORS MAILING LIST.

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND HOME ECONOMICS

AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION

DEPARTMENT OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

LEXINGTON 29, KY.

JUN 15 1955

June 14, 1955

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I trust you received the copy of my paper on "Desegregation in Kentucky - One Year Afterward" which I had airmailed to you the other day. Herewith is a postscript which I prepared at the request of the Journal of Negro Education briefly stating initial actions and reactions after the May 31 decree.

No additional Negro students enrolled in the Lafayette summer school. Summer school in the City School system opened today. I have not heard whether any Negro student attempted to enroll in the "white" high school there. The city Negro high school offers summer school courses but not the same or as broad an offering as the white school.

Let me know if I can be of further help.

Sincerely yours,

Lee

A. Lee Coleman
Consultant, Kentucky Council

ALC:lbm

A Postscript After the Court's Decree of May 31, 1955

Kentucky took the Court's new ruling calmly. Ten days after its announcement not a single "letter to the editor" on this subject had appeared in the leading Louisville newspaper or in the Lexington paper that the writer reads. There were no public voices of protest. The Governor reiterated Kentucky's intention to "obey the law." Most other state officials declined to comment, except to point out that the State Board of Education had a regularly scheduled meeting in June and presumably would discuss desegregation policy then.

In Lexington the first instance of public school desegregation in Kentucky occurred less than a week after the decree. A Negro girl applied for and was registered in the Lafayette High School summer session. This "white" high school is operated by the Fayette County School District and the girl has been a student at Douglass High, the County's Negro high school. Summer school at Lafayette is on a tuition basis; Douglass has never had summer school. The student was interviewed for the newspapers and stated that she was encouraged by her principal to apply, that she had no difficulty in registering, and that she had been fully accepted by teachers and students at Lafayette. The County Superintendent of Schools stated publicly that the Board had previously considered the possibility that a Negro student might apply and had decided that admission could not be denied. He also stated that this action did not necessarily mean that the county schools would be desegregated this fall, since he had an advisory committee that was considering all aspects of the desegregation issue and had not yet recommended a plan. There have been no public repercussions to any of these statements or the desegregation action.

In Louisville, county and city school officials have announced that they have no plans for desegregation earlier than September 1956, a previously sug-

gested tentative target date. The city superintendent has promised to present a definite plan to his board by November 1955. Negro leaders have expressed some disappointment but have indicated they probably will not initiate legal action if they feel assurance that desegregation will actually begin in the fall of 1956.

Elsewhere in the state, if the new decree has brought intensified planning, a beginning of official discussions, or any actions toward desegregation, it has not been widely publicized. Despite the frequent emphasis on local initiative and responsibility in school matters and the long tradition of a rather non-centralized school system in Kentucky, most communities appear to be waiting on the State Board of Education for leadership or guidance in this matter.

attention: Fred Routh and John Constable

I presume SRC could make any use of this it desired, on the same basis as suggested in this letter.
Lee Coleman

August 18, 1955

AUG 19 1955

Dr. Hugh Brimm, Executive Director
Kentucky Council on Human Relations
1319 Heyburn Bldg.
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Brimm:

I am enclosing a copy of the report of the Fayette County Advisory Committee to the Board of Education. This report was adopted by the Board at its last meeting and was published in the local papers the following day, together with the statement by the Board Chairman that this is now the official policy of the Board.

Since the Kentucky Council recently sent out to all school superintendents a statement about this committee, I am wondering if this may provide an opportunity for a follow-up communication transmitting a copy of the report, "for information." I have not obtained specific permission for the Council to do this, because both the chairman of the committee and the Superintendent of Schools are out of town for the rest of the month. However, since the committee chairman prepared the other statement for us and gave permission for its distribution, and since this has appeared in the newspapers and is the official policy of a public board, I believe there could be no objection.

As you will note, the committee did not spell out the details as to the type of desegregation plan and how it would be implemented, as had been anticipated. Apparently this is left to the Board and administrative staff. As I understand it, the committee continues in existence, on an "on call" basis.

Not included in this report are earlier specific recommendations of the committee, that Lafayette High School Summer Session be open to all, effective summer, 1955, and that the white and Negro bus transportation systems be combined, where administratively feasible, effective fall 1955. These recommendations had previously been adopted by the Board and the first has already taken effect. You might want to add a "P.S." at the end of the report covering these items.

Sincerely youre,

A. L. C.

A. Lee Coleman
Associate Professor of Sociology
and
Consultant to the Kentucky Council on Human Relations

ALC:lbm
cc: Southern Regional Council

FBR J.C.
NCF F.I.

SOME NOTES AND COMMENTS
on
Waring's "The Southern Case Against Desegregation"
Harper's Magazine, January, 1956

by A. Lee Coleman, Associate Professor of Sociology
University of Kentucky

The article can and should be answered, but it cannot be answered primarily by reference to social science research. Rather, the answer would seem to lie in questioning or pointing out fallacies in the assumptions and interpretations, spelling out alternative and at least equally valid assumptions and interpretations, etc.

The author is moderate, conciliatory, and "objective" in tone. He gives the impression either of sincerity or else of being extremely clever to put the best foot forward for a national audience. He avoids most of the more obvious pitfalls for which he could be attacked on scientific grounds. He refers to "cultural differences" and says he is not debating the superiority of any race. He does not say that desegregation will not occur but rather that it is a long way off in the Deep South. He admits the existence of a middle and an upper class of Negroes who differ from the bulk, but he deëmphasizes the importance of these. He disclaims any ability to speak for Negroes and admits that it is logical to suppose they would prefer to be free of restrictions.

In view of the above, perhaps the best strategy of handling Waring's article is to assume and state that he is basically "on our side" -- even though he may not know it. If he is sincere and not covering up, I think a case can be made for this conclusion. Then one would show that he has erred in following some of his "facts" to their logical conclusion, and in a number of specific details.

One can hardly refute his statements that the bulk of the Southern white people are opposed to mixed schools and have various fears about desegregation. Likewise, his statement that there are cultural differences of health, home environment, marital habits, crime, and intellectual development is basically factual. He does not go out on the limb of suggesting that these differences will always be there, but, by using this as a major argument for holding the line on complete segregation, he is guilty of circular reasoning, overlooks the cumulative effect of segregation in maintaining differences, and is open to the charge of wanting to maintain the differences as a continuing reason for continuing segregation. This is one of the major points on which his assumptions and reasoning can be attacked.

It is significant that the article completely bypasses all of the arguments on moral, ethical, and political ideology grounds. Christianity, democracy, "a government of laws," and the international and national security impact of race practices are not mentioned. This would seem an implicit admission of vulnerability here. Instead of facing the implications of Christianity and democracy, he speaks of "the array of power aligned on the side of the N.A.A.C.P. in press, pulpit, and politics."

In general, he seems to considerably overstate the extent to which desegregation would bring immediate and widespread "mixing." He overlooks the probability of gradual desegregation if restrictions are ungrudgingly removed, and the possibility that, by fighting the removal of compulsory restrictions, white people may force Negroes into more bitterness and aggressiveness than would otherwise be the case.

There are a number of specific but perhaps less important or less emphasized points on which he can be attacked. Some of these are:

(1) His reference to "public opinion" in the South. There are obviously several public opinions -- at any rate, a Negro public opinion as well as a white.

(2) His attack on the "Northern" and "metropolitan" press for lack of fairness and objectivity -- with the patently untrue implication that the Southern and nonmetropolitan press is or has been fair and objective on racial news (though of course there has been a great improvement in recent years).

(3) The statement that most Southerners favor "uplift" of the Negro, without stating that this is a paternalistic attitude insofar as it exists, and that there are very considerable limits as to the kind of application white Southerners are "for."

(4) Statement that the South is both willing and eager to have the Negro earn greater acceptance on many levels, especially economic. There is certainly little evidence for the eagerness, even the willingness, except in limited ways.

(5) "Southerners feel that they are best equipped by experience to cope with race problems." This is true as a factual statement of what Southerners think, but the author seems to imply that they are right, too. Obviously "cope with" means specifically certain kinds of white superiority techniques.

(6) Reference to "thou shalt not protect the purity of thy race." In the face of clear scientific evidence to the contrary, this implies there is such a thing as a pure race and that race mixing is biologically unsound.

(7) ~~Occupational~~ Occasional references to "racial differences." Despite the clear statement of "cultural" differences, he occasionally lapses over to "racial" differences, with the implication that they are inherent.

(8) Statement that attendance of a few middle-class Negro children at "white" schools would be no more acceptable to Negro parents than to white is made without qualification or explanation, though he disclaims any ability to speak for Negroes.

(9) "Even among Negroes who observe marriage conventions, illegitimacy has little if any stigma." This and other statements on this subject are far too unqualified. Davis and others have shown that middle-class Negroes are perhaps more strictly "puritanical" on this than are whites.

(10) "Maintaining order is the first concern of Southerners." There is little evidence for this as being literally true and considerable evidence that it is a rationalization. Inflammatory actions and statements of many Southern leaders deny it.

(11) He speaks of a "vast increase in daily contacts" between the races in desegregation. This seems a considerable overstatement.

(12) "Negroes pay only a small fraction of the taxes." The implications of this are directly antithetical to our whole philosophy of public schools and other governmental services. Also, it ignores the fact that low-income people pay taxes indirectly.

(13) He speaks of "bootleg" or voluntary segregation, but implies that it can be complete. No one objects to "voluntary" segregation so long as it is really voluntary. But it is hardly conceivable that purely voluntary segregation will be complete, for long.

(14) Citizens Councils are "protective organizations" "to combat the lawless element." Either he is deliberately overlooking part of the story, is uninformed, or almost everyone else is misinformed, for there would seem to be plenty of evidence to the contrary.

(15) In general, he deemphasizes class differences, rural-urban differences, and regional differences among Negroes, although he admits the existence of class differences. The evidence available on this is important if one is interested in what might be, if Negroes had a better chance. The deemphasis suggests a greater interest in maintaining the <u>status quo</u>.

February 25, 1956

Mr. Lee Coleman
Department of Rural Sociology
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Lee:

We enjoyed your recent visit to the office and are very grateful for the article on citizens committees. We plan to use it in the March New South and will, of course, send you some extra copies.

Fred tells me he sent you copies of the Hirsch book and The Reporter. Unfortunately the Hill and Greenberg book, "A Citizen's Guide to Desegregation," is exhausted. It's not to be confused with "A Manual on Intergroup Relations" written by Rosen and Dean. We are hoping to get a supply of the latter; if we do, we will send you one.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/mef

March 13, 1956

VIA AIR MAIL

Dr. A. Lee Coleman
Department of Rural Sociology
University of Kentucky
Lexington 29, Kentucky

Dear Doctor Coleman:

We are enclosing a "Briefing Statement on Texas" which has been prepared by the research department of this office. Mr. Hope has asked that we get this information to you.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA:rh
c.c. Mr. John Hope

Encls.

March 20, 1956

Dr. A. Lee Coleman
Department of Rural Sociology
University of Kentucky
Lexington 29, Kentucky

Dear Doctor Coleman:

Under separate cover we are sending you a copy of Public Education in the South -- Today and Tomorrow as requested by you in your letter dated March 12, 1956.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA:rh

December 7, 1956

Mr. Walter C. Cowart
East Lake Methodist Church
2500 Boulevard Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Cowart:

Many thanks for the precis and the other things.

A couple of us here have read them with appraising eyes.

I have written to appropriate people to see whether funds might be forthcoming to make it possible for you to write what you want to write. One never knows what the chances are. All I know to do is to sit and wait and see.

But do come in when you may be free and we can talk further.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

East Lake Methodist Church,
2500 Blvd,Dr, N.E.Atlanta,
November 28,1956

Dr. George S.Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

My Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Upon your request I submit for your consideration a brief sketch of some the things I would like to include in a book on human relations. The primary emphasis will be on race relations here in the deep South.

As parish minister for 46 years in the Methodist church, I have spent the greater part of that time in the South. I might add that I have long considered recording some of my experiences as a parish minister . I wish to do so with ~~of~~ the specific objective of showing how slow we are to respond to a changing world. With what resistance we oppose change where ever deep seated customs are involved and long-established traditions are regnant. This reluctance is seen more clearly in the relations of white and colored citizens here in the deep South.

Underlying assumptions of my plans include an open-minded approach towards the changes taking place in the South,fully aware that change is inevitable. That strong evidence is at hand to fortify the statement that ~~near~~ on to one hundred years we have been fighting losing battles here in this South. The truth of this affirmation is obviously found in political relations, in religion, in economic,cultural and racial relations.

Now at long last,we find ourselves moving into a totally new South. Our one crop economy is passing,so is the one party system. Since the Supreme Court Ruling in 1954,the last strong hold of the old South is crumbling bebefore eyes; viz, legal segregation.

Another assumption with which I shall proceed is a strong conviction that if we are to take the fact of change by the forelock and not the tail,join the van guard of the marching hosts of Christian freedom instead of loitering in the rear, we shall need a whole gospel for the whole man and for the whole world. ~~That~~ Any well founded hope for creative and fruitful change in the folk ways and in the established practices of a population,must rest on the power of Christian Faith to change for the better every man and every institution in our society. An inclusive redemption of all societies must be our ultimate goal.

Our approach will be inter-denominational and ecumenical. This approach will follow a liberal,historic interpretation of the Holy Scriptures and their relation to all problems. With this assumption there will be no room for

doctrinal dogmas or ~~eclesiastical shiboleths,~~ ecclesiastical shibboleths whatsoever.

My purpose holds to so relate the times and the people with whom I have lived and loved, to the Jesus of History and the Christ of experience, that he may come alive again with new vigor and ~~to~~ appear among us the "eternal Contemporary" of all our dreams. That he may truly walk the American roads and enter into all our ways to transform them into the Christian image.

To contribute to ~~the~~ approximating this high goal in human relations three emphases will be lifted up in my story.

(1) The Magnifying of Christian Worship.

The Arch bishop of Canterbury in a war-time broadcast is reported to have said: "This world can be saved from political chaos and collapse by one thing only, and that is worship". Worship he affirms is:

To quicken the conscience by the holiness of God
To feed the mind with the truth of God
To purge the imagination by the beauty of God
To open the heart to the love of God
To devote the will to the purpose of God."

(This part of my story will be brief and may be considered rather as an assumption upon which the primary emphasis is based)

.....

(2) An Experiment in Democracy.

Facing the reluctance to change in many of the members in my various parishes, I set about ways and means to make more democratic the entire administration of the church organization itself, as well as all relations the local church had with outside community and the world at large. Instead of the work of the insitution resting in the hands of the few, I sought to extend it to the many.

A small, select group I found in every parish who were devout persons in many instances, but who felt divinely commissioned to run the affairs of the institution without regard to the wishes of other members or the minister himself. They, sad to say, sought only to use others to fulfill their desires. This authority they hugged to their breats with deep satisfaction. They were comforted in their successful efforts to rule over others.

This attitude is present in most groups of whatever kind to more or less degree. But that it should flourish in the leaders of churches as they administer its affairs, is sad to relate. This is not the mind of the Master. It blocks the free and creative working of the Christian leaven in the fellowship of the church itself. Outside the church it is seen for what is even more clearly, and hinders the progress of the democratic principle in the larger affairs of men.

To cure this reactionary disposition of certain church leaders I introduced the system of rotation of officers throughout the local church fellowship. This was a simple strategy of extending the opportunity of leadership to a larger group of the membership .It met with stiff opposition and in numbers of instances a very unseemly spirit, indeed. This practice of rotation is widespread, not only in churches but also in secular organizations of all kinds.

(3) EXPERIMENT IN RACIAL RELATIONS.

My primary empasis that I shall lift up in this story will be the principle of inclusive social redemption with specific accent on race relations here in the South.

In every community in which I worked I undertook to organize inter-racial committees. Leaders of both races in the community were set the task of exploring the ways and means of a better understanding between the two races. From there it was only a short step to finding ways of working together for the mutual welfare of all. In a number of places these committees became permanent centers of community activities that enriched the total life of an area.

We offer here an excerpt from my story taken from my parish in Auburn, Alabama where I was Minister of the First Methodist church(1938-1923) transport

In this "loveliest village of the Plains" dwelt some 10,000 souls,black and white. About one-third of this population was colored. The churches leaders were in the village life and furnished leadership for many community activities,both on and off the college campus. During my first year as minister I suggested to the White Ministerial group that open-air,inter-denominational vesper services be introduced for the summer months, that these religious assemblies be community-wide and sponsored by the several local congregations.

I was surprised to find strong opposition to the idea among the pastors. A number of reasons were offered why this step should not be taken. "People won't go", "Who would do the preaching?" "How will you finance such an adventure?" ."You will not be able to get outstanding people to come to speak to this assembly". This is a sample of their thinking. All these men were brothers of mine and we were on the best of terms in our work together in the community. Before I arrived they had sponsored Union services during the summer at the various sanctuaries with local pastors as speakers for the occasions. Their testimonty was that no one came;no interest was shown. But they were not ready to take this step.

I remember that in the midst of the hot discussion the Baptist minister simply walked out of the meeting as much as to say:"That ends it so far as Baptists are concerned,period".

The ministers who remained in the session remarked to me: "Well, parson, that ends it. If the Baptists will not go along with you, we cannot make this idea of yours work". Whereupon, I rejoined: "You are mistaken, gentlemen,. If you remaining brethren will go along with us I will assume the financial responsibility of this project, "Furthermore, if you and your flocks will join with us Methodists and announce to the community that the majority of the churches will support this enterprise, the Baptists will fall in line". They reluctantly agreed on condition that Dr. L.A. Duncan President of API, would confirm such an arrangement The President gladly gave his blessing. The churches voted to do so. Much publicity was given to this first assembly.

Dr. Henry M. Edmonds, Birmingham, a winsome speaker, a liberal evangelical, a man of great charm and even greater good sense agreed to be our first guest to appear on this community program of christian worship. A great, enthusiastic assembly greeted Dr. Edmonds, including the Baptist pastor who sat on the platform and many of his saints were present in the congregation.

The assembly was lifted up under the appeal of Dr. Edmonds to see with deeper insight into the values inherent in our common faith. They were thrilled and went away happy to find this new, joyous fellowship across denominational lines. They were united in a fellowship of understanding and of deep emotion. This first gathering together of the saints from all faiths and no faiths marked a new day in the community life. It was a new forceful affirmation wrought out by a common sharing of our common faith that we had at hand what it takes to match all our needs of the human spirit.

Elated over this experiment the first year, I trimmed my sails for a real adventure in community sharing across racial lines, the second year of the summer series.

I shall never forget the amazement on the faces of my clerical brothers as we met in May 1940 to plan our summer series. The amphitheatre on the college campus had the first summer been crowded with worshipers. We had greater things in mind as we met to plan for the second year. I introduced the idea that we invite Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute at the time, to be a guest speaker for one Sunday evening. That he bring with him the famous Tuskegee Institute Choir. The group felt keenly that this would a great mistake. They were against it.

I began to reassure them their fears were unfounded; that nothing unseemly would result from such a program. The members of the group all began talking at once. They felt that I must have slipped a cog or two. I was reminded that I did not know my South. That certainly I did not know my own native state. I listened to their pleas, given in the best of spirit and with due respect for my own, though different from theirs on this matter. I remarked :"Where were you men born, anyway?" I seemed to recall that none of them were natives of Alabama. One was a native of Virginia, another of North Carolina, still another of Georgia. "Ah, my fellow clerics," I said ."I am the only native born Alabamian". The statement caused only a slight pause in the argument. Whereupon they took another tack in their effort

to convince me of the error of my thinking. "We will agree to this step but only with great reluctance, provided that we get the permission of the President of the college. I agreed. While I had not interviewed the President on the matter, I felt that he would not oppose any step the ministers felt would be good for the community.

My fellow craftsmen went away from the session feeling that the President, a cautious man, would kill the plan. Thus my idea would die in the borning. One of the number would interview President and advise us of his decision. Quite to their surprise, he approved the plan and gave his hearty sanction.

This was a decision that marked a great step forward in interracial fellowship in the community and throughout the state.

Dr. Patterson came with his group of singers. For thirty minutes the assembly was hushed and then lifted on the wings of heavenly harmony through an artistic singing of the great experiences of the negro race for hundreds of years of slavery.

Then I introduced President Patterson, who spoke for twenty minutes in the most chaste English and with deep sincerity and simple eloquence. He spoke out of his heart for a btter understanding of our common heritage and our common needs. He called for a clear facing of life with the christian emphasis.

The whole assembly sat there with the tall pines over their heads and the stars above the pines, in the wide, infinite sky, shining down upon all their faces. It is a fact that the large congregation were literally caught up in one grand moment of holy emotion. Persons moved as one body forward to greet Dr. Patterson and members of the choir with greetings and salutations of sincere hospitality and appreciation.

Dr. Duncan was heard to say to the Tuskegee President: "Come over some day soon and let me show around the campus. I want you to see our new buildings".

This event marked a forward step in human relations in which race or color or creed really did not matter. The result was that every year for a number of years, each summer the Tuskegee choir came to sing and a Tuskegee faculty member came to speak out of his heart concerning the things that matter most for all men. Dr. Harry V. Richardson, chaplain at the time of the Tuskegee Instutite spoke a number of summers to an understanding and appreciative assembly.

December 17, 1956

Miss Helen Louise Cohen
94 Oliver Street
Rochester 7, New York

Dear Miss Cohen:

I am so glad the paper did print the letter.

Our policy has been that where charges appeared in disreputable sheets we would ignore them. Tradition enjoins me to regard the News and Courier as a reputable sheet.

We appreciate you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

November 29, 1956

Miss Helen Louise Cohen
94 Oliver Street
Rochester 7, New York

Dear Miss Cohen:

We love above all else self-starters, and we thank you warmly. You are now in the best of standing, as an Associate Member and as a Contributor until next May.

The Secretary-Treasurer says by her notations that she sent you a bill on May 22, '56, but from your quarter heard nothing.

Howsomever, you resound handsomely now; and we are most grateful.

I wrote the News and Courier. And here is the pamphlet - which I wasted not upon the man Godkin. A big guy in the Citizens Councils is a man Roy Harris, who is a Georgia politician with a weekly political paper that lies systematically. Most of this tripe comes from his sheet. We never expect to catch up with the circulation of such material, but when we see a head we strike at it!

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:fc
Encl.

Memo ... FROM THE DESK OF
.... RUTH ALEXANDER ....

I checked Miss Cohen's membership card and find that I billed her May 22, 1956, but got no answer.

RHA

Regional Council

To The News and Courier:

I fail to see how it serves the interest of Southern tradition to give any publicity whatsoever to the Southern Regional Council. The article in the Nov. 4 News and Courier on page 3-A is an example of what I mean.

No doubt it is your practice to print most news items which come over the AP wire without too much investigation as to their credibility. Therefore, I wonder whether or not you are aware of the fact that the Southern Regional Council is the de facto successor to the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare — a Communist-front group which is listed on the attorney-general's list of subversive organizations. When this group became "listed" it changed its name to Southern Regional Council.

JAMES E. GODKIN

Beaufort.

HELEN LOUISE COHEN
94 OLIVER STREET
ROCHESTER 7, NEW YORK

Nov. 26/56

RECEIVED NOV 29 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:-

I have no record of having sent any money to the Southern Regional Council in 1956, and yet I have received New South regularly - You really should be more businesslike in reminding us! (Everyone else does not hesitate to!)

Enclosed herewith is check for $10.00 which Perhaps you may be able to tell me what period it should cover - It may be my

records that are at fault. Of course this includes subscription to New South.

Am enclosing a clipping from the News & Courier of Charleston, S.C. Unfortunately, I no longer had the copy for Nov. 4 and so could not see what publicity was given S.R.C. on that date. They the N&C were so busy at that time, in a confused pre-election way, that I am sure it was mingled illogically with that complaining in the editorial columns.

Wonder if you see any hopeful signs for S.C. from where you sit.

Best wishes. Sincerely

Helen L. Cohen

2 enc.

File Consultant Program

NOTES ON MEETING WITH THE SWAIN COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA, BOARD OF EDUCATION AND JOHN ALEXANDER, AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE — A. LEE COLEMAN AND NOAH C. TURPEN, CONSULTANTS, BRYSON CITY, N. C., MARCH 25 and 26, 1957

by A. Lee Coleman

Chronology. -- At the request of John Hope, Dr. Noah C. Turpen and I went to Bryson City, North Carolina, to consult with the Board of Education on school desegregation. Dr. Turpen is Superintendent of Schools in Fayette County, Kentucky, where a successful desegregation program is being carried out. The request came to the Council from John Alexander, who is in charge of the School Program in North Carolina for the American Friends Service Committee. I was asked to represent the Southern Regional Council in the consultation.

We left Lexington at 6:30 on the morning of the 25th, by car, and arrived in Bryson City at 3:30 p.m. Mr. Alexander met us at the motel, and we spent about an hour in a briefing session. We then called on the chairman of the Board of Education, Mr. Sutton, who accompanied us to the Office of the School Superintendent, Mr. Woodard. We learned that a meeting of the Board would be held at 7:30 p.m.

Four of the six board members plus the superintendent and the three visitors attended the meeting, which lasted three hours. At 10:30 p.m., the consultants were excused, and the Board held a brief meeting on other matters (presumably). Mr. Alexander had expected that we would be asked to meet with a group of leading citizens, but no plans for this had been made. The following morning we called on the superintendent again and, with his approval and that of the Board, attempted to get the local ministers together for an informal discussion. Only one was available, however; so this did not work out.

We left Bryson City just before lunch time, and arrived in Lexington about 8:30 p.m. on March 26.

The County. -- Swain County is located in the western Carolina mountains area, about 50 miles southwest of Asheville, and about 80 miles southeast of Knoxville, Tennessee. More than half the county is in the Great Smoky Mountain National Park or otherwise in federal government ownership. U. S. Highway 19 traverses the county.

The population is a little under 10,000 and has been decreasing. Bryson City -- the county seat -- has about 1,000 to 1,500 people. The Census classifies 15 per cent of the people as nonwhite, but most of these are Indians. There are about 100 Negroes, all of whom live in Bryson City. The county seat is the only town. It has five white churches and one Negro church.

The tourist and resort business, partly closed down in the winter, is probably the county's largest industry. Retail trade, services, and furniture manufacturing furnish most of the other employment.

The School System. -- The Swain County schools serve the village and rural areas. There are about 2,200 pupils, 70 teachers, three outlying white elementary schools, a large 12-grade white school in Bryson City, and a one-teacher Negro elementary school in Bryson City. There is no shortage of classroom space and the buildings are in good repair. The Negro school is new and attractive, though of course small. Only 12 Negro elementary pupils are enrolled. The seven or eight Negro high-school pupils are transported by bus to Sylva, about 25 miles over the mountains in an adjoining county. The Negro high school there has about 70 pupils and is not accredited. The building is new, but before the new building was constructed this school had an extremely inadequate building. At least one Swain County Negro parent sends his high-school children to boarding school in Asheville, with no help from the county. Indian children attend the white schools, some coming from the nearby Cherokee reservation. One school is said to have about three-fourths Indians. The Indians are said to be academically on a par with the

white children, while the Negro children are said to be about two years retarded,

Most of the teachers are natives of the area and were educated at Western Carolina Teachers College, at nearby Cullowee. Many are working on advanced degrees there, on a part-time basis. A major problem of the schools is said to be the low tax base, due to federal land acquisition in the county.

The School Board and Superintendent. -- The six-person Board is appointed by the local representative in the State Legislature, for staggered terms. Two members go off on April 1, and they were not present at the meeting. Their replacements have been selected, but were not invited. The chairman, Mr. Sutton, is local manager of the Nantahala Power Company and has been in the county many years. The other three members present were Mr. Wright, manager of a building supply company (I think); Mrs. Sossaman, wife of the operator of a furniture business in Bryson City; and Mrs. Colville, a housewife from an outlying area. Mr. Woodard, superintendent, is in his thirties and has been superientendent for only a year and a half, but he is a native of the county, a Cullowee graduate, and was in the county school system when appointed.

The Desegregation Issue. -- Desegregation became an active issue for the School Board last August, when the local Negro minister and two other Negro parents requested admission of their children to Swain County High School. They were refused, on the grounds that they had not properly complied with administrative procedures. On the opening day of school, however, the same Negro parents brought their children to the high school, where they were again refused admission. There was no disorder or "incident," but rumors and some excitement ran through the town at the time. The minister has said that he and the other parents will reapply for next year, and will

go through the procedures of the state's new pupil placement law. They have conferred with a Negro lawyer in Asheville and are considering filing suit if admission is not otherwise forthcoming.

Prior to the applications of last year, Negro parents had complained of the trip over the mountains and the inadequate school at Sylva, and the Board had offered to pay each parent $20.00 per month per high-school pupil and let them go to boarding school in Asheville or elsewhere. The parents asked for $35.00 per month, but the Board did not agree; so this plan was dropped.

The Meeting with the Board. -- At the beginning of the meeting, the Swain County group were courteous but somewhat reserved and reticent. Later they relaxed somewhat. Dr. Turpen described the process of desegregation in Fayette County -- its background, the committee that planned and recommended policy, the plan adopted, the preparatory steps taken, and how the program is working out. Dr. Coleman described developments for the state of Kentucky in general. Dr. Alexander discussed the legal situation in North Carolina, the Pearsall Plan and other recent developments, and the attitudes and policies of state education officials. The members asked a number of questions about the Kentucky situation and developments.

The Swain County people asked surprisingly few questions directly relating to their local situation and issues, and they did not state explicitly what their worries or concerns about possible desegregation were. However, it was apparent that a major deterrent to their initiating any move toward desegregation was uncertainty and fear concerning the reaction of the state government and the Department of Education. At worst, they feared that the legislature would take action to "hold them in line," or that funds would be withheld -- if not by law, as in Virginia, then by informal administrative action -- if they desegregated. At best, they felt they would be

completely on their own, in that the state would maintain a "hands off" attitude and leave the Board to "bear the brunt" alone.

It was reported that, during the campaign to pass the Pearsall Plan, informal word and pressure had been "passed down the line" from Raleigh for all school districts to "hold the line" and take no action toward desegregation. The Plan, which places pupil assignment completely in the hands of district school boards and sets up complicated administrative procedures for assignment, was sold in the legislature and to the public as a "stop desegregation" measure, although technically it does not prevent a local board from desegregating.

Dr. Alexander reported recent conversations with state school officials and other state leaders, in which he found emerging a hope that a few school districts -- "hardship cases" -- would go ahead and desegregate as soon as the legislature closed for the biennium (in May). It was felt that this would help uphold the constitutionality of the Pearsall Plan, whereas, if it were shown in federal court that no desegregation at all had taken place under this plan, this might be taken as evidence that it was discriminatory. However, it was felt that if any district took action to desegregate while the legislature was still in session this might spark new legislation. If the action took place after the legislature adjourned, there would be a two-year breathing period in which this limited desegregation would have become an accepted fact.

The Swain County group expressed considerable interest in the advisory committee idea as used in Fayette County, although they pointed out that North Carolina State policy had at first been to encourage such committees and later they were asked to abolish them.

It was fairly clear in the meeting, and from what Dr. Alexander had observed previously, that the superintendent, Mr. Woodard, was perhaps less "ready" for desegregation than were most of the Board members. The chairman, Mr. Sutton,

was perhaps most "ready." The superintendent seemed to "warm up" during the course of the meeting.

Evaluation. -- Dr. Turpen and I made this trip somewhat in the dark as to what might be expected of us, and what, if anything, we might accomplish. Our doubts about the undertaking continued as we met the superintendent, and in the first part of the meeting. However, our over-all conclusion, after the evening meeting and the further consultation next morning, was that our trip probably had been worth while. We felt that we had made some "progress" in stimulating thinking and realism about the problems, in informing the officials about developments and techniques elsewhere, and in easing fears. Since we went not as advocates but as technical consultants, this was about all we could expect. I would not predict, however, any voluntary or immediate action to initiate desegregation. If the local Negroes push their case, and if the Swain County officials can verify the statement that there will be no counter-pressures or retaliation from the state level, they might possibly go ahead this fall. If this occurs, the action will probably be somewhat grudging, or on a "least of two evils" basis, on the part of the superintendent, at least. Board and superintendent will have to do considerably more thinking and planning about it than they have so far. They may be handicapped by having two new members who will not have had even the background and preparation that the four old members have.

The fact that the situation is not too "ready" is indicated by the reticence of the officials to open up the matter, and their hesitancy to involve anyone outside the Board. Mr. Alexander had suggested and anticipated that a small group of leading citizens and selected teachers and principals would meet with the consultants, but the superintendent was obviously reluctant to take this step. He was willing for the consultants to contact the ministers, but did not offer to arrange the meeting. The Methodist

PAGE (s) MISSING

HCF ✓
LW
PA ✓
Ben Muse ✓

Please return
MF

COPY

c/o Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina

Chapel Hill, N. C.
May 1, 1959

Mr. Harry Jones, Director
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
Room 209
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Jones:

As you know, I have been interviewing selected leaders in Durham at the request of the Southern Regional Council, under the Consultant Service Program. When there has been an opportunity, I have been mentioning the North Carolina Council as well as the Southwide organization.

In the course of my talk with Mayor E. J. Evans the other day, he pulled out your March newsletter and said he would very much like to know who received this and would like to add some names to the mailing list if they were not already on it. Does your newsletter go only to members of the Council, or to a wider mailing list? I told the Mayor that I would pass the request on to you and that I was sure you would cooperate, at least to the extent of sending this particular issue to additional people in Durham, if not putting them on the regular mailing list.

Mr. Evans said he particularly liked this because it was brief and to the point and could be quickly read by busy people, and because it was a direct quotation from Eric Severaied's radio commentary, in his characteristic, crisp style.

Sincerely yours,

A. Lee Coleman

ALC/anc

cc: Mayor E. J. Evans
Dr. John Hope

Fred — Thought you & Harold would be interested in this.
HSJ.

Consultant
Service
Program

May 1, 1959

Dr. A. Lee Coleman
37 Hamilton-Glen Lennox
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Coleman:

Your letter has arrived in Fred's absence. Therefore, in the interest of time, we are sending you under separate cover a collection of materials which should be of help. Additional copies of all these materials are available.

Nothing in printed form exists on the Consultant Service Program. This is due, in part, to the way in which the program operates; quietly and without publicity. Perhaps the absence of material on this program will, in itself, help you in describing it.

If we can be of further help, please call on us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Separate mailing to Dr. A. Lee Coleman
May 1, 1959

New South (May & Oct., 1958; Feb. 1959) - 1 each
"The Truth About Desegregation in
Washington's Schools" - 3 copies
"The Economic Effect of School Closing" - 3 copies
"Next Steps in the South" - 1 copy
Doctors' Statement "Closing Public Schools Would Constitute
Catastrophe!" - 1 copy
"Segregation vs the Space Age" - MAW - 1 copy
"Toward the South of the Future" - 2 copies
Dabbs-Wallace Interview - 1 copy
Popham, N.Y.Times Reprint - "The Southern Negro: Change and..."
(3 copies)
Ed Cony - Wall Street Journal Reprint - "Religion & Race"
(3 copies)
Congressional Rec. Reprint - 12 copies
Printed Board List - 12 copies
Mimeo'd Board List - 1 copy
Lofton Reprint re Putnam Ltr. - 3 copies
The Negro Voter in the South - 1 copy

c/o Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina

Chapel Hill, N. C.
April 30, 1959

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Fred Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I'm in the midst of the Durham interviewing and meeting with fair success. Actually, I'm having trouble stopping and have already run over the allotted time; but people keep telling me I "simply must" see others that they suggest.

From what I have learned so far, it seems rather unlikely that there will be any beginning of desegregation this fall, although there is a possibility. This makes it somewhat improbable that any specific request for Council help will be forthcoming right away; but I think there are good possibilities if someone could keep in touch with the community.

This is really the first time I have done just this kind of a job for the Council and I found myself somewhat inadequately prepared in at least one respect -- that I do not have any Council literature, brochures, statement of purpose or program, etc., to give out when it seems appropriate. The City Superintendent of Schools seemed quite interested in some of the possible consultant services (workshops, bringing in consultants, or taking key people elsewhere) as "resources for the future" and asked if I had a statement of the program that I could leave with him. Do we have something in print on this? The Mayor was most interested and helpful and asked if I had a calling card or something I could leave with him, but I didn't. I have had one inquiry for the street address of the North Carolina Council and I didn't have that. (I got it from John Wheeler.) Some letterheads or lists of the Council directors would be helpful in answering questions about what kind of organization the Council is. Also, do you still have copies of important non-Council publications to give out? -- i.e., The Louisville Story, B'nai B'rith series, etc. I could place a few of these in strategic positions if they are available for that purpose. I have personal copies.

If you can get any of the above materials to me right away, I can use them next week in Raleigh and can get them to appropriate persons already seen in Durham.

One slight complication in my assignment is that Carl Braden is currently working in both communities (also Chapel Hill) for the Southern Conference Educational Fund. There's enough similarity in the names to be confusing in the first place. However, I haven't run into any white informants whom he has visited.

I'm addressing this to you rather than John Hope because I'm assuming the Atlanta office is more likely to have supplies of materials.

Sincerely yours,

Lee

A. Lee Coleman

ALC/anc

cc: Dr. John Hope

Home address →

COLEMAN
37 Hamilton—Glen Lennox
Chapel Hill, N. C.

May 10, 1959

CONFIDENTIAL
Not for general distribution

Report for

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Consultant Service Program

Summary Observations on Desegregation Prospects in the Durham—Raleigh—Chapel Hill Area

by A. Lee Coleman

All in all, a beginning of desegregation in either Durham or Raleigh is not very likely for the fall of 1959, although it is possible. The chances of a break in the near future are probably somewhat greater in Durham, because of the political and economic power of Negroes, their current pressure on the Board, and the considerable number of transfer applications that are likely to be filed by Negroes this summer.

It is clear that in both Durham and Raleigh the cause of desegregation has had a setback, and that in some respects there is less willingness and readiness on the part of the white community than there perhaps was three or four years ago. In each case the setback is partly attributable to local events and developments since then and partly to the changed national and regional atmosphere and the failure to move when the atmosphere was more favorable. There is no doubt that both school boards are now strongly resistant and determined to stave off desegregation as long as possible. Neither board has a single member who is reported to be "liberal" on desegregation, other than the Negro member who is a middle-of-the-roader in each case. It is evident that both boards handle most matters regarding segregation-desegregation and school suits through informal meetings and discussions which do not include the Negro member. The one liberal white member of the Raleigh board was not reappointed, and apparently the Durham board has not recently had such a person.

Chapel Hill is in the most favorable position so far as the readiness of the white community and the composition of the board are concerned, but there is no certainty of transfer applications and little likelihood of strong pressure by the Negro community. White liberals in the community will keep some pressure on the board, and the board itself now includes one Negro and two white members who are committed to doing something about desegregation, plus at least two of the other four who are "on the fence." There is at least a possibility that Chapel Hill may become the first North Carolina district to adopt a desegregation plan going beyond the minimum compliance of the Pupil Assignment Law.

So far as the readiness of Negroes is concerned, Durham is no doubt in the lead, as evidenced by their current pressure on the board and the general educational, economic, and political level of the Negro population. Raleigh is least ready, in that Negro leaders complain that Negro parents have been so intimidated that nobody wants to risk applying for transfer. In general, Negroes are less "advanced" in Raleigh. In both communities there seems to be considerable disillusionment and some bitterness on the part of Negroes, but in Raleigh it seems more nearly to take the form of immobilizing frustration, while in Durham it may

increase Negro determination to break the color line. Chapel Hill Negroes are in a weak position so far as the cultural and economic differentials between whites and Negroes are concerned, but they have not suffered any great setback or disillusionment.

The attitude of the superintendent of schools is crucial, and there is no doubt that the Durham superintendent rates higher on this variable. Both undoubtedly have their hands tied by their boards, but the Durham superintendent is willing to discuss desegregation matters and gives evidence of some personal liberality. The Raleigh superintendent, on the other hand, received the consultant more coolly than any other interviewee in either city and made it clear that he classes S.R.C. and N.C.C.H.R. along with the N.A.A.C.P. as outside meddlers. He doesn't want school personnel or Negroes discussing desegregation or being asked questions about it. He apparently feels the status quo satisfactory and fears most of all a possible disruption of the schools. The Chapel Hill superintendent is apparently okay on desegregation attitudes, though he has not been fully "tested."

Despite the fact of some deterioration of relations in both Durham and Raleigh, it is clear that Negro-white communication and discussion of segregation-desegregation issues have not really ceased, nor have any hard-and-fast lines formed. There are no stone walls of resistance and bitterness, and relations are generally friendly. The press in both cities is at least "moderate" on desegregation. Moreover, there is not much doubt that white leaders in both communities accept the inevitability of desegregation at some time in the not-too-distant future. But they apparently feel that there is a real possibility of holding it off for a few years and they see this as worth while, rationalizing it as "getting ready" or avoiding disruption of education.

In neither community does there seem to be any great danger of uncontrolled turmoil when desegregation begins. Negro informants seem to have confidence in the police departments and in the "smartness" of the white authorities -- they believe business and political interests will see to it that there is no violence or undue turmoil if things come to a showdown, so that North Carolina will maintain its reputation as a law-abiding, moderate, and "progressive" state.

As to a possible role for S.R.C. and the Consultant Service, the opportunities seem greater in Durham -- and in any case the local cooperators would be different in the two cities. In Durham there is a possibility that the Mayor's Committee and/or the school superintendent would accept S.R.C. help, once a desegregation decision has been made or a court order issued. In Raleigh it seems highly improbable that the present superintendent would accept S.R.C. help or allow school personnel to become involved. It would be necessary there to work through voluntary organizations or private individuals; and even so, it is not clear just which ones would be appropriate and interested. There are several possible channels through which S.R.C. could work in Chapel Hill, if it wished, but local resources are fairly adequate. For that matter, both Raleigh and Durham probably have better resources of informed people (and easy access to those at Chapel Hill) and active organizations than most Southern communities, so that they would not have highest priority on the basis of abstract need.

The current role of the State Department of Education as to the segregation-desegregation decisions of local school boards is difficult to determine. It seems probable that the state is not now actively trying to influence local authorities one way or another. If this is true, it is in contrast to the encouragement of token desegregation believed to have been given Charlotte, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem two years ago. There are some indications that state officials now believe that North Carolina has done enough to prove that its placement laws are not discriminatory, and can "rest on its oars" for awhile, aided by court decisions requiring plaintiffs to exhaust their "administrative remedies." It is clear that state policy is to hold the mixing of white and Negro students to the minimum necessary to preserve public education and the present pupil placement laws. The attorney general participated in the Raleigh school suit on the side of the School Board, and the state superintendent has made public statements about "needing fewer Negro teachers" if and when desegregation goes further.

Despite the general state policy and attitude and the token nature of present desegregation in the state, it seems evident that North Carolina is "over the hump" psychologically, in that there are no absolute barriers to further desegregation and not much threat of the abandonment of public schools. There is little open, outright segregationist activity in the state, although the "Defenders," a small statewide group formed this year, have occasional meetings, take paid ads in the papers, and recently announced that the superintendent of schools for Wilmington and New Hanover County is available as a consultant under their auspices. The principal danger lies in the possibility of a segregationist candidate for governor in 1960, particularly I. Beverly Lake, the state's most prominent segregationist.

It seems entirely possible that school segregation barriers will be broken in other North Carolina communities before they are in Durham and Raleigh, where there have been past setbacks. There are probably many other communities where a break could come and the Council's services might possibly be used. S.R.C. should watch North Carolina closely.

May 10, 1959

May 10, 1959

CONFIDENTIAL
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Report for

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Consultant Service Program

Recent Segregation-Desegregation Developments in Chapel Hill, N. C.

by A. Lee Coleman

Chapel Hill, seat of the University of North Carolina, has long been known as an "island of liberality" in the South. To a considerable extent it has justified this reputation, through the writing and speaking of the University staff, the publications of its great and liberal University Press, the attitude of University officials, its interracial meetings and activities, and its cosmopolitan people. What happens in Chapel Hill is of considerable symbolic value, since it is the intellectual capital of North Carolina and, to a considerable extent, of the South.

Chapel Hill is strictly a university community; the only sizeable employer other than the University, retail trade, and the public schools is the Hospital Savings Association -- a Blue Cross organization serving the state. However, there is a large colony of retired people who have come from all over the country, and there are a good many people who live in Chapel Hill and work in Durham or Raleigh. Adjacent to Chapel Hill is the separate village of Carrboro, formerly made up mostly of textile mill workers but now serving largely as the lower-priced residential and business area of "Greater Chapel Hill."

The population of Greater Chapel Hill has been growing rapidly and now is estimated at about 15,000 plus 7,500 students. A great spurt of growth took place soon after 1950, when the Medical School and Hospital were built and opened. The town has always had many non-Southern people, but the Medical School brought in many more. A new spurt of growth in population is expected to result from the development of the Research Triangle, an ambitious plan to attract research laboratories to a Research Park located in the center of the triangle formed by Durham, Raleigh, and Chapel Hill.

About 40 per cent of the Greater Chapel Hill population is estimated to be Negro. There are many jobs for Negroes in the hospital and University, but most of them are at the lower occupational levels. Compared with Negroes in many Southern towns, Chapel Hill Negroes are "prosperous" and have stable incomes; but the only professional Negroes are teachers and a few ministers, social workers, and nurses. Many of the Negro teachers and hospital employees live in Durham and commute to work.

Chapel Hill and Carrboro are incorporated, and governed by city councils and mayors. Chapel Hill has a full-time city manager and a well-organized police force, including Negro patrolmen. The Chapel Hill City Council

has had a Negro member for several years. The Chapel Hill School District includes both villages and a considerable rural area in addition; the merger of the formerly separate Carrboro School District becomes final on July 1, and another rural district (White Cross) will vote this summer on merger. The seven-person School Board is elected.

Desegregation of the University at the Graduate School level took place prior to 1954, and Negro undergraduates were admitted by court order soon after the Supreme Court decision (1955 or 1956). The University is now fully desegregated, but the number of Negro students is small (about 20-25 during the present semester, of whom only 9 are resident students). The University-owned hotel remains closed to Negroes. At the present time, students -- through the Y.M.C.A.-Y.W.C.A. -- are circulating a petition to try to open town restaurants and theaters to Negro students (two or three eating places are open already).

The Chapel Hill School District operates the following white schools: high school, junior high school, 4 elementary schools; and 2 Negro schools: a junior-senior high school and an elementary school. Over the years many white parents have sent their children to private schools in Durham, and later to Eastern or Southern prep schools. At present, however, support of and interest in good public schools seem to be increasing.

Soon after the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court, a group of white and Negro ministers organized the Chapel Hill Fellowship for School Integration, which has been meeting monthly since then. It has brought in a number of speakers on various phases of desegregation, has promoted public discussion, has supported School Board candidates, and has given encouragement to Negro applicants for transfer. However, to date there have been only two applications for white schools on the part of Negroes -- one in 1957 to the Chapel Hill schools that was not pushed by the applicant after an initial turndown, and one in 1958 for the Carrboro school, which was turned down by the County School Board (then responsible for the Carrboro school) and has not been taken to court.

About three or four years ago, the Chapel Hill School Board appointed a Citizens Advisory Committee for Better Schools. A subcommittee of this committee was assigned to study desegregation and made a report recommending that the Board begin preparing the teachers, pupils, and community for desegregation. However, no specific action came of it.

During the current year, activity and discussion relating to desegregation have increased. The Fellowship appointed a committee to draft a plan of desegregation to be submitted to the School Board. The committee made a study of the experience of other communities, mapped the location of white and Negro pupils in the district, and is currently in process of submitting to the Board a modification of the Louisville Plan as the Fellowship's recommendation for Chapel Hill. The writer served as consultant to this committee throughout the year, and also spoke to a general Fellowship meeting, on the South's experience with desegregation to date.

In February, the School Board members accepted the invitation of the Fellowship to attend a Fellowship meeting and participate with Fellowship members in a panel discussion of desegregation in Chapel Hill.

Several hundred townspeople attended the well-advertised meeting, and there were many questions from the floor. One prominent member of the Board (the dean of the University Law School) stated his intention to vote favorably on the application of any Negro who had a good case for transfer to a white school, and invited the Fellowship to recommend what the Board should do other than wait for transfer applications. Another Board member stated that he felt the Board should do something about desegregation on its own initiative. Some Negroes present stated that there would be additional Negro applicants this year.

Following this meeting and the public discussion it stimulated, the Board reactivated the Better Schools subcommittee on desegregation, added new members to it (including the chairman of the Fellowship), and asked it to recommend a plan or course of action. The writer was asked to serve as consultant to this subcommittee. The group decided to submit a range of plans for the consideration of the full committee and the Board, and is now writing its report.

In March and April, seven people were campaigning for three vacancies on the School Board. Four of the candidates pledged to facilitate desegregation, and two of these were elected on May 5. However, the two candidates who were most forthright in favor of integration were defeated and one of the three elected is considered the least favorable of the present Board. For the first time the candidates included a Negro, Reverend J. R. Manley of the First Baptist Church, and he led the ticket in the voting. He included integration as one of his three platform planks, but he did not spell out what specific plan or action he favored. He has also been serving as a member of the advisory subcommittee on desegregation. The new Board will include, besides Reverend Manley, the following:

Dr. Kemp Jones -- practicing physician. Ideologically committed to desegregation.

Dean Henry Brandis -- dean of the University Law School. Pledged to vote favorably on a "qualified" Negro applicant.

Grey Culbreth -- engineer in charge of University Service Plants. Believed unfavorable to desegregation and hoping to hold it off awhile.

Clyde Milner -- University Extension Service director. Believed uncommitted and likely to go the way the wind is blowing.

Mrs. Helen Allen -- University staff member in physical education. Believed uncommitted and likely to follow the path of least resistance.

R. E. Jamerson -- on the athletic coaching staff of the University. Position on desegregation unknown, but probably conservative or opposed.

Currently the League of Women Voters and some other community groups are devoting study programs to desegregation. The writer has assisted the League program personnel in securing material and identifying issues.

If one or more "good" applications for transfer are filed this summer by Negro pupils, it seems highly probable that they will be admitted to white schools. There is no certainty, however, that such applications will be filed. There is also a possibility that the Fellowship plan or some other plan of voluntary, systematic desegregation will be adopted,

possibly by the opening of school in the fall. The chances of the latter are perhaps somewhat less than 50-50.

If and when desegregation does come, the problems relating to academic performance differentials will probably be greater in Chapel Hill than in most places, because the white children are mostly those of University professors while the Negro children are those of servants and service workers, for the most part. Two valedictorians from the Negro high school are said to have failed entrance examinations for the University since desegregation.

May 10, 1959

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Report for

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Consultant Service Program

Consultation in Durham, North Carolina, during Week of April 27, 1959

by A. Lee Coleman

Persons Interviewed:

Negro

John H. Wheeler -- president of Mechanics and Farmers Bank and a lawyer, now serving as one of the attorneys in a school assignment suit against the Durham City School Board. Member of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council. Generally recognized as one of the top Negro leaders, although considered by some white leaders as somewhat "aggressive."

Rencher Harris -- vice-president—secretary, Bankers' Fire Insurance Co., and member of the Durham City School Board for past 2 years. Appointed unanimously by the City Council, in which he formerly served by election. A "self-confessed middle-of-the-roader" on race and other matters.

W. A. Clement -- associate director of Agency Division, North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company and chairman of Education Subcommittee of Durham Committee on Negro Affairs. Presented the recent request to the School Board that they discuss and settle desegregation issues at the conference table.

J. S. Stewart -- secretary-treasurer, Mutual Savings and Loan Association. Now serving first term on the City Council. Former chairman of Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, for 8 years.

White

Lew Hannen -- superintendent, Durham City Schools. Native of West Virginia. Graduate of Oberlin College. Formerly taught educational psychology, East Carolina College. Has been superintendent for less than 2 years, but in the system for 12 years. A "moderate" on race matters.

Charles Chewning -- superintendent, Durham County Schools. Native of South Carolina, came here 7 years ago from Greer, S.C., superintendency. Also taught in Sumter and elsewhere in South Carolina. Came in as superintendent here. A "conservative."

Herman Rhinehart -- official of Wachovia Bank and member of City School Board. Conservative.

Mayor E. J. Evans -- owner-manager of United Dollar Stores. Jewish. Now finishing second term as mayor. Apparently quite "liberal."

Francis Walker -- attorney for Wright Machinery Company and for past 3 years president of City P.T.A. Council (white). Very much interested in education but a conservative on race. Born in New Jersey, educated at Bucknell, law degree at Duke University. In Durham 27 years.

Warren Carr -- minister, Watts Street Baptist Church and chairman of Mayor's Committee on Human Relations. Young, native of Lexington, Kentucky; in Durham 12 years, as pastor of Watts Street Church. Liberal.

Steve Rollins -- publisher, Durham Herald and Sun; soon changing to managing editor of Durham Herald. Liberal or "moderate."

Persons Not Interviewed but in Key Positions or Prominently Mentioned:

Negro

C. E. Bouleware -- professor of mathematics, North Carolina College.
Arthur Stanley -- president of a local of the Tobacco Workers' Union. Employee of American Tobacco Company.
L. E. Austin -- editor, The Carolina Times.
L. B. Frazier -- agency secretary, North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company and chairman of Negro P.T.A. Council for City Schools.

White

Robert Flack -- Durham city manager.
Watts Hill, Jr. -- state legislator, capitalist, member of city's wealthiest family.
Carl Sapp -- executive secretary, Durham Chamber of Commerce.
Carl C. Council -- a principal owner of the Herald—Sun newspapers.
R. Percy Read -- influential in county government.
Walter Biggs -- banker, and said to be one of the most influential men in the city.

Members of the City School Board (6):

Frank Fuller, chairman -- member of leading law firm.
Herman Rhinehart -- Wachovia Bank official.
R. N. Harris -- Bankers' Fire Insurance Company (Negro).
Norwood Thomas -- (resigning).
_____ -- (name not obtained).
_____ -- (" " ").

Members of the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations:

Warren Carr, chairman -- pastor, Watts Street Baptist Church.
Walter Biggs -- mayor pro-tem, banker.
Willis Alredge -- ("conservative").
Mrs. Mary Trent Seamans -- ("liberal").
Mrs. _____ Wright -- wife of one of the city's wealthiest men.
_____ McDonald -- local chairman of the Republican Party ("conservative").
Alphonse Elder -- president, North Carolina College (Negro).
Asa Spaulding -- president, North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company (Negro).
Watts Carr

/Text of Consultation begins on page 4/

The Community:

Durham is an industrial community of about 100,000. It is a "new" city that grew up with the cigarette manufacturing industry, largely since 1900. Its growth was very rapid during the first thirty years of the century but has slowed somewhat since then. Apparently it "just grew," for the streets are narrow and follow no plan. The main street is a block from the railroad tracks and tobacco warehouses, and cigarette factories are adjacent to the downtown shopping area. The smell of tobacco hangs over the city. The cigarette factories are absentee-owned and unionized.

The city has two well-known institutions of higher learning, Duke University (white, nominally Methodist, co-ed) and North Carolina College (Negro, state-supported, co-ed). Durham has long been a center of Negro business, the Negro-owned North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company being the largest financial institution in the city (resources $60,000,000). There are also a Negro-owned fire insurance company, a bank with two branches (one in Raleigh), and a federal savings and loan association. The city of Durham is said to have a larger proportion of Negro home-owners than any other city, and it probably has a higher ratio of Negro white-collar workers than any other city in the South.

Durham is the seat of Durham County and its only municipality. Its retail trade area is relatively small. The city government is of the council-manager type. The mayor is elected by the voters and is a member of the City Council. The City School Board is appointed by the City Council and selects its own chairman. The County School Board is appointed by the County Commissioners and has jurisdiction over all schools outside the city district.

The Schools:

The city system covers most, but not all, of the area within the city limits. There is one white high school (Durham) and one Negro (Hillside), three white junior high schools, and one Negro junior high school. The voters have just passed a bond issue for a new industrial education center, to be operated as an area school under the state program, on a non-segregated basis. Over 40 per cent of the city school enrollment is Negro. Total enrollment is 13,000. Negro and white principals meet in joint session, but not teachers. (A former superintendent is said to have lost his job because of trying to hold joint teachers' meetings.)

The county system has just opened two new consolidated white high schools (Northern and Southern) which together serve the entire county. There are also two Negro high schools serving the entire county. These are smaller and older. The Negro pupil ratio is about 30 per cent, and declining. The total enrollment is about 9,000. The county has more taxable property per school child than the city, but a lower tax rate and lower per-capita expenditures. The voters recently defeated a proposal for an increase in the school tax supplement.

Race Relations and Status of Negroes:

Negroes are perhaps more powerful economically and politically in Durham than in any city in the South. They constitute a fourth of the electorate and are registered and vote in about as high a ratio as do whites. For at least 20 years they have held the balance of power and have decided all close elections. The powerful Durham Committee on Negro Affairs organizes the political power and claims that 95 per cent of the Negro vote is for its ticket. As a result of this power, there is a Negro on the City Council (elected, on an at-large basis), one on the City Board of Education, one on the Urban Redevelopment Board, one on the Planning and Zoning Board, and one or more on several other boards and commissions. The mayor has a Committee on Human Relations, with two Negro members. Negroes are represented in ranks through captain in the Police Department; there are Negro sheriff's deputies; and there is a newly formed Negro fire company. Negroes are vocal in civic affairs.

Negro-white business relations are said to be good. The Negro insurance company and banks are located in the downtown business area, a half-block from the city's leading hotel. A number of downtown business buildings are owned by them and rented to white businessmen. Negro businessmen are respected and generally treated as equals in business relations. However, there are separate white and Negro chambers of commerce. Mr. Spaulding, president of North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company, often gives a luncheon for an important white businessman who is visiting, and white Durham businessmen come.

Although there is much formal communication between whites and Negroes through business, political, and civic channels, there apparently is less of the traditional kind of interracial activity than in some other cities. Durham Negroes seem to feel that they have had to fight for what they have, and that they got it because they have the power. They feel that there is more resistance to new gains than in a more paternalistic community, and at the present time they feel that many whites are saying, "This thing has gone far enough; we've got to hold the line."

The mayor is a Jewish merchant and seems definitely a liberal. Some persons in the city are said to feel that he is "soft" to Negro demands because he is Jewish. Two years ago he won reelection over strong opposition (?--from Walter Biggs, I think) in a rather bitter campaign with racial overtones. The Mayor's Committee on Human Relations was first appointed about three years ago. In one of its first actions, it asked the School Board to discuss desegregation with Negro leaders. It was rebuffed by the Board, and shortly thereafter several of the conservative white members resigned. The mayor reports that one of his hardest tasks as mayor was to find conservative white replacements, in order to keep the committee "balanced." Just recently the vacancies have been filled.

Duke University has made no move toward desegregation, and this is felt by some to be a deterrent to desegregation at other levels. Some individual faculty members, however, are among those active in interracial work and moves toward nonsegregation.

Organized ministers apparently have not been active as a group in segregation-desegregation or other matters. There is said to be an interracial association, but it is completely inactive.

The Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, organized in 1955, is the most powerful Negro group. It operates through four subcommittees: (1) education, (2) economics, (3) civic, and (4) politics. It is a forum, with little organizational structure and no formal membership requirements, but much power.

Last fall Negro students at North Carolina College threatened a boycott of Durham merchants because they were not included in a "Welcome Duke Students" day. The Duke students were prepared to join the boycott. The Mayor's Committee was able to negotiate a settlement, in which merely "students" will be welcomed next fall (but refreshments and prizes will not be offered by the merchants). This summer the American Friends Service Committee will organize a merit employment survey of Durham. The Mayor's Committee will sponsor it.

Recent Events Related to School Segregation-Desegregation:

In 1950, Durham Negroes won a "separate but equal" suit against the School Board which brought much improvement to the Negro schools. The Board operated under court supervision for several years, during which much money was spent on Negro school buildings and the Negro and white pupil-teacher ratios and enrichment programs were equalized.

Soon after the 1954 and 1955 decisions of the Supreme Court, Durham Negroes presented a petition to the School Board asking for desegregation. The Board thanked the group and nothing more was heard. Later the N.A.A.C.P. found 60 Negro parents interested in applying for reassignment, and nine filed application. About this time the newly formed Mayor's Committee on Human Relations asked the N.A.A.C.P. to defer legal action while it tried to get the School Board to negotiate. Reverend Carr, the chairman, presented the request that the Board discuss desegregation with the N.A.A.C.P. and other Negro leaders. The Board, in session, received the request in silence. After a long pause, Reverend Carr asked the chairman how their silence should be interpreted. The chairman replied, "Silence is silence," and the meeting was dismissed. (One qualified observer reports that Carr's presentation was excellent, except for the serious mistake of saying the N.A.A.C.P. wanted to meet with the Board. He believes that if he had said "a group of Negro leaders," the Board would have granted the request and there would have been some desegregation before now.)

Following this failure, a suit was filed on behalf of two Negro children who were denied reassignment. The conservative members of the Mayor's Committee resigned and the committee became inactive, pending their replacement. At this juncture J. S. Stewart (Negro), who had just gone off the City Council, was proposed for appointment to the School Board. Since anti-Negro feeling had been aroused by the filing of the suit, he was not appointed. However, a few months later he was appointed to another vacancy and became Durham's first Negro school-board member. The suit has recently been heard in federal district court. It seems

probable that the judge will rule against the Negro plaintiffs, on the same technicality that lost the Raleigh suit -- that the children and their parents did not personally appear before the School Board. (On this point, Negro leaders charge that they were informally advised by white authorities that they did not need to appear, and they now feel they were deliberately misled by persons they previously had considered fair.)

During the past two months, Negro groups have presented to the School Board two petitions concerning desegregation. In the first instance (April 13), a committee of 70 Negroes, representing several organizations, appeared in person to protest the proposed use of the old Morehead (white) school building for Negroes this fall. The building had been abandoned two years ago, after statements by school officials that it was most unsatisfactory for further school use. The committee requested that the problem of overcrowding in Negro schools be solved by shifting some Negro pupils to unused capacity in white schools. The Board discussed the matter with the group for some time; but the chairman stated that he did not think Durham was yet "ready" for desegregation. A few weeks later the second petition was presented, this one signed by the president and other officials of North Carolina College, as well as other Negro leaders. The Board has not yet officially replied to either request.

Prospects Concerning Future Desegregation:

Informants, both white and Negro, were almost unanimous in predicting that desegregation will come now only by court order, or at least that the Board will not take any action to change the status quo until after the present litigation is decided. A court-ordered admission could not take place this fall, since the decision, if it comes that early, will undoubtedly be appealed by one side or the other.

There seems general agreement that the most "vulnerable" point for further transfer applications and legal action is at the junior high-school level, since a brand new white junior high school has 12 vacant rooms and Negro students living nearby go to the one very crowded Negro junior high on the other side of town. It seems certain that there will be some transfer applications this summer -- perhaps numerous ones for this school and others. However, one well-qualified observer believes that mass applications will stiffen the School Board's resistance to any change, and that the best chance for a break in the segregation front will be in the case of an isolated, individual application that the Board might accept.

During the past few months a Negro elementary school neighborhood, an "island" in a white area, asked the Recreation Board for a playground and threatened to seek nonsegregated use of nearby white playgrounds if action was not forthcoming at once. The recreation authorities are busily trying to provide the play space. Two years ago Negroes were arrested for playing on a "white" tennis court, but the case was dismissed in court and the city and police officials said the arrest was a mistake.

Some white informants fear difficulties if and when desegregation comes, and Negro informants admit the existence of strong prejudice on the part of lower-class whites; but all are agreed that the Durham law-enforcement

authorities are prepared to handle any disturbance efficiently and fairly. Negro informants seem particularly happy and confident about the City Police dealing fairly and using good human-relations techniques. They say that relations between white and Negro officers are excellent.

For the immediate future, there seems little likelihood of any move for desegregation of the county schools, or of favorable action on Negro transfer applications, if any should be filed in that district.

The Mayor's Committee has done some thinking and planning about possible problems and courses of action in the event of desegregation, and has some general plans ready for activation if and when needed. No doubt it will be the central agency in such a transition. There is no evidence that the School Board has done any planning for desegregation, although it appears that some discussion of desegregation issues and legal strategies takes place in unofficial, ad hoc meetings without the Negro board member present. It is reported that there has never been any discussion of segregation-desegregation in official board meetings during the tenure of the Negro member, despite the fact that the Board is being sued and the Board defense must have been worked out and approved somehow.

Opportunities for S.R.C. Consultant Service:

No specific requests for Council help were made during the interviews. However, the City Superintendent of Schools expressed interest in the Consultant Service possibilities and requested a brochure or listing of possible services. These were explained to him orally. He expressed interest in an opinion poll to determine sentiment about desegregation in the community. The consultant cautioned him concerning the dangers of polling to determine policy, as well as the dangers concerning sampling, question-wording, etc. The consultant called his attention to the Tumin book with the Guilford County poll, and is endeavoring to secure and make available to him the report of a Durham poll made by a political science professor at the University of North Carolina.

The mayor expressed interest also, and feels that community preparation is needed, though he was not sure that the time is yet right. He feels that the North Carolina Council's newsletter and S.R.C. bulletins are useful and should be more widely distributed in the community. The Mayor's Committee undoubtedly can be of use in "preparation" and may call on S.R.C. for help, although the chairman hesitates to become active until there is a court order or other decision, because the Committee "got its fingers burned" on the desegregation issue soon after the committee was formed.

One suggestion made was that the Negro and white City P.T.A. Councils might undertake some kind of joint activity for communication and perhaps planning and preparation concerning desegregation. However, the present chairman of the white P.T.A. council does not see such a role for the local councils.

May 10, 1959

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CHP
MF

Report for

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Consultant Service Program

Consultation in Raleigh, North Carolina, during Week of May 4, 1959
by A. Lee Coleman

Persons Interviewed:

White

Rev. Ben West -- pastor, Hillyer Memorial Christian Church, past 7 years. Has been active in race relations activities and outspoken for racial justice. But is presently involved in a reactionary-conservative fight within his church which probably will result either in his leaving or many members leaving. Native of Virginia.

Dr. Joseph Clark --professor of English, North Carolina State College and former member of School Board (1947-57). After he had publicly gone on record as pro-desegregation and had led a fight against evasive action by the Board, he was not reappointed (1957). Native of East Tennessee.

Jesse O. Sanderson -- superintendent, Raleigh Public Schools. Native of North Carolina, superintendent past 18 years, principal for 10 years before that. Definitely a conservative.

Rev. Gaylord Noyce -- pastor, United Church, past 4 or 5 years. Native of Iowa, Congregationalist. His church's annual Institute of Religion, established 19 years, is Raleigh's most dynamic race relations and public issues activity. Church has one or more Negro members and a long history of activity in this field.

Herbert O'Keefe -- editor, The Raleigh Times. Native of North Carolina. Formerly on staff of the Raleigh News and Observer. Considered a liberal, or at least as having a "liberal" editorial and news policy.

Negro

W. L. Greene -- executive secretary of the North Carolina Teachers Association (Negro). Has been in this job for 15 years. Formerly taught physics and science at Shaw University. Graduate study at Cornell University.

F. J. Carnage -- member of School Board past 8 years. Once ran for City Council and nearly made it. Lawyer, native of Georgia, graduate of Howard University Law School.

O. L. Sherrill -- secretary of the General State Baptist Convention (Negro). Convention has 300,000 members and a new, modern building near Shaw University.

Carl DeVane -- professor of Social Science, Shaw University. Active in Negro organizations and interracial activity.

Persons Not Interviewed but in Key Positions or Prominently Mentioned:

White

W. W. Finlatter -- pastor, Pullen Memorial Baptist Church (active in interracial matters).
Mr. Enloe -- mayor of Raleigh, ex-officio chairman of School Board, manager of the Ambassador Theater.
Fred Smith -- superintendent, Wake County Schools.
Mrs. L. L. Carpenter -- wife of a Baptist minister and church-paper editor.
Miss Dorothy Hampton -- Christian Church worker.
Mr. Carper -- city manager of Raleigh.
Mrs. John Crawford -- former state president of P.T.A.
Dr. L. E. M. Freeman -- professor at Shaw University.

Negro

Nelson H. Harris -- professor of Education, Shaw University.
P. R. Jervay -- editor, The Carolinian.
Oscar Berwick -- pastor, Methodist Church on Oberlin Road.
J. W. Fleming -- General State Baptist Convention.
P. H. Johnson -- pastor, Martin Street Baptist Church.
John Williams -- president of local N.A.A.C.P. chapter.
Vivian E. Irving -- Irving-Swain Press, East and Martin Streets.
E. L. Rayford -- secretary, Negro Y.M.C.A. Branch.
Mrs. Ada Jernigan -- secretary of state Colored P.T.A. and secretary to the president of Shaw University.

Members of the City School Board:

Mayor Enloe, ex-officio chairman.
Leroy Martin -- vice-president, Wachovia Bank (the "boss" of the Board?).
Vick Fisher -- insurance man.
Willie York -- realtor, developer of Cameron Village (fairly new on Board).
_____ Powell -- ice and coal company owner.
Mrs. Stough -- housewife (fairly new on Board).
F. J. Carnage (Negro) -- lawyer.

The Community:

Raleigh is a rapidly growing white-collar city of about 100,000. Besides being the state capital, it has six colleges -- North Carolina State College ("white" -- desegregated, men), Meredith (white, Baptist, women), St. Mary's (white, Episcopal, women), Peace (white, Presbyterian, women), Shaw University and Theological Seminary (Negro, Baptist, co-ed), and St. Augustine (Negro, Episcopal, co-ed). The Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary is at nearby Wake Forest.

Despite its rapid growth in recent years, Raleigh retains much of the flavor of an old town -- there are broad streets laid out on a grid system, parks, many trees, and historical markers everywhere. There are many "old families." Leadership and power, however, are said to be diffused --in contrast to newer industrial cities like Durham and Winston-Salem. There is little heavy industry here. "Middle-class businessmen" are said to control the city.

Raleigh is in Wake County, on the border between the Piedmont and the Coastal regions. It is a trade center for much of Eastern North Carolina, the coastal region with the heaviest Negro population and a plantation-like agricultural economy. Wake County includes a number of satellite towns and is thickly populated.

The city has a council-manager form of government, with the mayor elected by the Council from its members. The city School Board (6 members, plus chairman) is appointed by the city Council and the mayor serves as ex-officio chairman of the Board (voting only to break a tie). The Wake County school system includes the entire county other than the city and the Board is appointed by the County Commissioners.

Race Relations and the Status of Negroes:

Everyone reports that race relations have been "good" in the community, in the sense of smoothness and lack of overt tension. Apparently the system has been largely paternalistic, and "old family retainers" have been the favored Negroes. Within these limits, however, Negroes have made considerable progress. The two colleges have made for cultural opportunities. Negro businesses and organizations are located near the heart of the downtown business area, a bank and an insurance office being within a half-block of Fayetteville Street, the main shopping area. Negroes have considerable voting strength, but have not been able to elect a Negro councilman or other officials. There is no such concentration of Negro economic and political power as in Durham. However, Raleigh has had a Negro on the School Board for eight years, by appointment.

Buses desegregated recently without incident. State College has about a dozen Negro students and is completely "open." There have been Negro policemen for years. Shaw University has some white staff members. The Leage of Women Voters is nonsegregated. The two newspapers, both owned by the Daniels family, are "liberal." But the state government does not hire Negroes except in traditional jobs and some segregated technical positions. In the pattern of an "old" type city, residential areas -- in the older parts of the city -- are less segregated than in other cities.

The most important interracial activity and stimulator of discussion of racial matters is the United Church and its annual "Institute of Religion," the latter having been going for 19 years. United Church has one or two Negro members and for years has sponsored or housed interracial dinners and meetings. Its pastors and members have been outspoken and active on community issues, on the liberal side. Speakers for the Institute of Religion have included Ralph Bunche, Martin Luther King, and Benjamin Mays, as well as nationally prominent white persons. Bunche and King spoke in the city auditorium, to overflowing, unsegregated crowds.

The Raleigh Ministerial Association has about eight Negro members. Just after the 1954 Supreme Court decision, it passed a strong resolution supporting the Supreme Court, but many ministers are said to have backtracked now so far as open support of desegregation is concerned. The Association had an interracial picnic -- wives and families -- at Umstead State Park (white) recently. They refuse to sponsor any activities that are not interracial.

A recent brutal rape-murder case, involving a Negro man and a young white office worker, was taken calmly by the community, indicating generally good relations.

Recent Events Related to School Segregation-Desegregation:

Soon after the 1954 Supreme Court decision, petitions were submitted to the city and county School Boards asking for desegregation and the transfer of specific Negroes to "white" schools. During the same period, the Raleigh School Board had a subcommittee charged with recommending action in regard to desegregation (Dr. Clark, Mr. Carnage/ Negro/, and Mrs. Presley). Many informants stated that they thought then that desegregation would begin soon and easily. However, school officials released the names of the petitioners to the press and they were subjected to a campaign of abuse and intimidation which made most of them fearful. The School Board was subjected to pressure and it deactivated its desegregation committee. Resistance hardened and fears increased.

About 1956, Negroes in the Oberlin Road area -- a long-established Negro settlement now surrounded by better-class white residential areas and near Josephus Daniels Junior High School and Broughton Senior High School (white) expressed interest in admission to these schools. The School Board decided to provide free transportation to Negro schools across town (Negro pupils had previously had to go on their own) as a means of avoiding desegregation. A minority of two Board members (Clark and Carnage) fought this, and the fight received wide press coverage. The next year (1957) when Dr. Clark's term expired, he was not reappointed to the Board. One Negro high-school student, Joe Holt, Jr., filed suit for admission to Broughton High School. He lost the suit in federal district court and in the Court of Appeals, on the technicality that he and his parents had not appeared in person at a School Board hearing (their lawyer was there) and therefore had not exhausted their administrative remedies. (School Board members are said to have stated they did not transfer him because he would have been "all alone" at the white high school.) The case is said to be now in process of preparation for submission to the Supreme Court. Holt's father lost his job and the family has been subjected to pressure; but his mother has been retained in her job as a county school teacher.

Just last month the School Board voted to transfer Thompson Elementary School from white to Negro use. It is located in a mixed residential area, where white and Negro children play together in front of the school. Only about half the capacity is being used by white children, who are now scheduled for transfer to another white school 10 blocks away. Negro leaders had hoped that Negro children would be enrolled in this school without compulsory transfer of the white children. Morrison Junior High School (white) is also in this mixed residential area.

Catholic parochial schools and Catholic churches in Raleigh have been desegregated for several years, but this does not seem to have had much impact on the community. There are few Catholics and some claim that the parochial schools are inferior to the public schools.

Since the early petitions in the county schools, there apparently have been no further desegregation moves in that system.

Prospects Concerning Future Desegregation:

Informants who expressed themselves were almost unanimous in believing that desegregation will come to Raleigh now only by Court order. There is no great optimism about the Supreme Court reversing the decision in the Holt case; so several years could elapse before another case is filed and goes through the courts. In any event, the Holt case, if it is taken to the Supreme Court, will not be decided early enough to effect any change for the fall of 1959. New applications could be filed this summer, but Negro informants are not optimistic that any will be and everyone seems to believe that the School Board will turn them down.

Most informants agree that the best case for acceptance of Negroes in "white" schools can be made in the Oberlin Road area, at the junior and senior high levels. (There is a Negro elementary school in the area, but the nearest Negro secondary schools are several miles away, while white junior and senior high schools are nearby.) The Holt boy lives in this area; but there seems little prospect that anyone else will apply, because of the intimidation the Holt family was subjected to. The other critical area is that of the Morrison Junior High and the Thompson Elementary Schools, in a mixed residential area, adjoining the downtown section. The junior high school serves a large portion of the city and is operating at near-capacity. Although the School Board has recently announced that the elementary school is to be transferred to Negro occupancy next year, Negro informants feel that it could and should have been merely opened to Negro enrollment, without compulsory transfer of the white students. They point out that white and Negro children play together and live next door to each other all around the school. The N.A.A.C.P. Youth Council is said to have found 12 or 13 Negro junior-high-school children living nearer Morrison than to a Negro junior high, but it does not appear too likely that any will apply to Morrison.

Despite the low probability of any break in the present complete segregation during the next year, the informants were unanimous in predicting that the community will accept desegregation, when it comes, with little trouble. They were also certain that the law-enforcement authorities would be prompt and efficient in handling mob action or threatened violence, should it occur. Negro informants seemed to have no particular fears about police action in such an event. One informant quoted the Superintendent of Schools as stating that if and when desegregation came to Raleigh, there would be no TV cameras and newsmen on school property.

Opportunities for S.R.C. Consultant Service:

No specific requests for Council assistance were forthcoming during the interviews and it does not seem likely that any will develop, without follow-up work. There seems no likelihood at all at present of a request for, or acceptance of, Council help on the part of the officially constituted school authorities. They apparently feel that they will be able to stave off desegregation for several more years, and the superintendent, in particular, is extremely anxious not to do anything to "rock the boat" or "muddy the water." He made it quite clear to the Council representative that he considers even the quiet, off-the-record asking of questions about segregation-desegregation prospects an unwarranted meddling by an outside agency and "giving ideas" to Negroes. Furthermore, when the United Church brought Omer Carmichael to Raleigh to speak a year or so ago, the superintendent strongly protested and killed a plan to have a group of teachers and principals meet with Carmichael in an informal session.

Two Negro informants expressed the wish that some way could be found of bringing together white and Negro residents of the Thompson-Morrison schools area for face-to-face discussion. They felt that, if some church or other organization with which the white residents had ties could feel them out or get them to sit down with Negro neighbors for an exchange of views, there were good possibilities of getting them to go along with nonsegregation in these schools, in order to preserve and stabilize the neighborhood. They also felt that, if the School Board had some evidence that the whites didn't object, they would allow nonsegregation. But everyone seemed at a loss to know how to make a beginning, because the white as well as the Negro residents of the area are of low socio-economic status and seem to have few organizational contacts. The leading white church in the area, Tabernacle Baptist, apparently does not have the kind of leadership to give it much potential in this regard (although this point was not checked or followed up). There probably is an opportunity here for someone like Irene Osborne to do the kind of neighborhood work she did in Washington before desegregation, but the Council could hardly engage in this activity except by assisting a local organization or group. It is now rather late to get anything done affecting the next school year; the School Board has already taken official action shifting Thompson School to Negro use; and there does not seem to be much prospect that a local group will take the lead here.

THE UNITED CHURCH

Gaylord B. Noyce, Minister

Congregational Christian — Friends

Corner Hillsboro and Dawson Streets
Raleigh, North Carolina

c o p y

May 11, 1959

Mr. A. Lee Coleman
37 Hamilton Road
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Mr. Coleman:

I enjoyed the conversation with you the other day.

I am writing now because of your interest in the Thompson School neighborhood, thinking you may be interested in what is happening down there. At the suggestion of a negro minister in town here who also was concerned about the neighborhood, a Reverend Mr. Daly, he and I drove about the neighborhood and stopped at five or six white homes last Friday, May 8. As was probably to be expected, but even more rapidly than I would have thought, almost every family we talked with is making plans to move and/or sell. The homes where we stopped were within the school district but still about a block and a half away from the beginning of the mixed neighborhood, and about two blocks from the school. Of those we talked to we found only one person who would consider the idea of an integrated school, she being a woman whose children were grown and who had some experience living in other parts of the country. The expressions of the others ranged from fatalism, feeling that the school board had said the school must be negro and therefore the neighborhood, and therefore they must move, to some emotions of genuine resentment and hostility. This is a very small sampling of the neighborhood, of course, but on the basis of it I would hazard the suggestion that nothing can be done to get any sizable group of whites together to apply for assignment to the Thompson School.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ GAYLORD B. NOYCE
(m)
Gaylord B. Noyce

vm

cc: C. E. DeVane

c o p y

37 Hamilton Road
Chapel Hill, N.C.

May 15, 1959

Mr. Gaylord B. Noyce
The United Church
Corner Hillsboro and Dawson Streets
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Noyce:

It was good of you to write about your contacts in the Thompson School neighborhood. Your prompt action in looking into that situation is certainly most commendable, and indicative of your genuine concern about community problems of this kind. Your findings certainly highlight the extent to which a Board of Education decision can change a whole neighborhood and increase the feeling of racial separateness or opposition, just as an opposite decision might have tended to stabilize an existing situation and perhaps have decreased racial consciousness. The neighborhood changes you see taking place may focus further attention on the Morrison Junior High School, and perhaps there is yet time for constructive work in relation to it.

My talks with leaders and observers in Raleigh strongly suggest that whatever preparation the community gets for eventual desegregation will have to be carried out by voluntary groups rather than by official and semiofficial bodies. Your church, of course, is already doing much to educate and stimulate the community, but need seems always to keep ahead of what is being done.

I hope you will keep in mind the programs and resources of the Southern Regional Council and the North Carolina Council on Human Relations as possible supplements to the efforts of local people and organizations of good will; but of course basically the initiative and the responsibility lie with the local community.

Sincerely yours,

A. Lee Coleman

ALC/anc

cc: Harry Jones

Consultant
Sec. Program

May 29, 1959

Dr. A. Lee Coleman
37 Hamilton Road
Glen Lennox
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Lee:

This is a word of appreciation for the fine report on your consultations in Durham, Raleigh, and Chapel Hill. Not only was the report illuminating, but it's quite obvious that you handled the interviews and follow-up with great skill.

I haven't heard anything further from John Hope about the possibility of a North Carolina conference, but I'm sure you have laid the groundwork for much fruitful action in the months to come.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. John Hope, II

June 3, 1960

Via Air Mail

Dr. Lee Coleman
% Mr. N. A. Nelson
909 12th Street
West De Moines, Iowa

Dear Dr. Coleman:

Enclosed is a travel advance requested by John Hope, and appropriate Consultant Service forms.

If our research department is able to turn up any helpful material, that will be sent to you shortly.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/sm
Enclosures

FILE

DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN KENTUCKY
-- ONE YEAR AFTERWARD

by A. Lee Coleman
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

As this is written, a year after the Supreme Court's historic decision of May 17, 1954, Kentucky's attitude about desegregation of its public schools is still mostly "wait and see." There has been no instance of actual desegregation of public elementary or secondary schools in the state, and, despite the well-publicized and unchallenged positions to the contrary taken in several states, the state attorney general has stated that Kentucky's state segregation law remains in effect, until repealed or specifically declared invalid by court decision or decree. A few school districts are actively planning for desegregation, but in the great majority there is no public discussion and any planning or official "thinking" about the matter is being kept undercover. Even parochial school desegregation is confined to a very few schools, involves only a handful of Negro students, and has been kept out of the newspapers.

Yet in a good many ways the state displays a certain degree of readiness for adjustment to the Court's decision. Both before and after the decision, the governor and state school and legal officials stated publicly that Kentucky would "obey the law" and would make whatever adjustments were required. After the decision, the governor predicted that desegregation would be easier in Kentucky than in any other southern state, and several school superintendents stated that they foresaw relatively little ~~problem~~ difficulty in adjusting in their districts. The general public greeted the decision fairly calmly. There was a flurry of letters to the editor, but these were both "pro" and "con." A cross was burned in the yard of the Lexington City

Superintendent of Schools (who had made a very innocuous public statement), but little was made of the incident and it apparently represented no organized protest. Letters to the editor soon dwindled, and during the year since the decision there have been no reports of "citizens' councils" or other organized groups with the objective of preventing desegregation. On the other hand, many clubs, churches, and organizations have been having speakers and discussions on desegregation, and some have passed resolutions supporting the change and calling for the cooperation of their members and others.

Recent Desegregation in Higher Education

The present relative readiness, like any social situation, is a product of what has gone before. Desegregation in Kentucky has been in progress, though slowly, since the end of World War II. As early as 1946, the state's segregation law for education (the Day Law) was amended to permit the training of Negro doctors and nurses in the same schools and classes. In 1949, a federal court decision opened the doors of the University of Kentucky to Negro graduate students. Following this, in 1950, the state legislature passed an amendment to the Day Law which allowed the governing body of any college or university to admit Negro students to any course of study which was not offered at Kentucky State College, the state's segregated Negro land-grant college. The University of Louisville, Berea College, and several Catholic colleges promptly exercised this option. The University of Louisville closed its Negro branch, Louisville Municipal College, and admitted those students to the university. Only one Negro faculty member was retained. He became, however, the first Negro to hold a staff appointment in a formerly "white" publicly supported college in the South. In opening its doors to the entire student body of Municipal College without regard to what courses were offered

at Kentucky State College, the University of Louisville went beyond what might be considered legal under a narrow interpretation of the law, but apparently no local citizens were sufficiently opposed to protest strongly or to test this action in the courts. So far as has been reported, there have never been any events that have marred the rather complete integration, both academically and socially, of Louisville college and university students.

The University of Kentucky has moved more slowly, but even so there has been gradually more desegregation. Substantial numbers of Negro teachers have been enrolled in each summer school since 1950, and there have been a few Negro graduate students during the regular academic year. In 1952, a summer seminar in Intergroup Relations was held, and this has been repeated each summer since then. Sponsored jointly by the University of Kentucky and the National Conference of Christians and Jews, this was the first interracial seminar of the kind held in a publicly supported college in the South. The 1955 seminar is devoted exclusively to the problems of adjusting to the Supreme Court's decision and is specifically for Kentucky school administrators. In September, 1954, the university included a course on "How to Approach the Problem of School Integration" in its annual "School for a Day" for community leaders.

Up to 1954, only one Negro undergraduate had been admitted to the University of Kentucky; he was in engineering, a course not offered at Kentucky State College. In the fall of 1954, following the Supreme Court's decision, the university quietly began admitting Negro undergraduates to all courses. During the seven years that Negro students have been admitted, there has been a gradual elimination of differential treatment of white and Negro students; but a number of differentials remain. Earlier restrictions on the use of the Student Union Building by Negro students have largely disappeared, but the university still does not provide housing for Negro students, many "social" types of activities are closed to them, and out-of-state Negroes are not admitted

to the university. Here, as in Louisville, there have been no "incidents" to mar the peacefulness of the integration that has occurred.

Paducah Junior College, a municipal institution, has also admitted Negro students, by court order. But the four "white" state colleges and the one "Negro" state college remain segregated. The Negro institution admitted one part-time white student who withdrew after a month or two. With the exception of the theological schools, the Catholic colleges, and Berea College, the private colleges of the state for the most part have not desegregated.

Segregation and Desegregation in Early Education and in Other Fields

In tracing the background for Kentucky's present attitudes and policies regarding desegregation, one can find "favorable" factors much further back in history and also in fields other than education. Kentucky was the last of the southern states to have a compulsory school-segregation law. The state constitution provided for separate schools for white and Negro pupils; but up until 1904, Berea College continued to have an interracial student body, as it had had since 1866. The Day Law, providing penalties for teaching whites and Negroes together, was passed for the specific purpose of stopping Berea from operating as an integrated institution.

Many forms of segregation which have been "customary" in Kentucky, and which further south have been imposed by law, have no legal basis in Kentucky. Other forms have never been customary. For example, there has not been widespread or organized discrimination in voting, and in the larger cities there is no segregation on local buses. The city of Louisville did not have segregation in parks until the 1920's, and recently the segregation imposed then has again been breached in several respects. In many parts of the state, public meetings and entertainment events are unsegregated, although

Negro participants are relatively few. There are few local ordinances on segregation.

Kentucky has long had a smaller differential between white and Negro education than has existed in most southern states. However, this is probably more related to the fact that Kentucky Negroes are predominantly urban and the white population predominantly rural than to any conscious goal of equality. Within the cities, where most of the Negroes reside, rapid strides have been made in recent years toward equalization of white and Negro programs in the more tangible respects. Throughout the state in the past few years, the developing pattern has been for white and Negro teachers to meet together in staff meetings and in-service training courses, although the teachers' organizations have remained segregated.

Prior to the Supreme Court's decision, there had been several moves to modify segregation in elementary and secondary schools. Several school districts having very few Negroes had been trying to make educational segregation optional with the local boards, and as early as 1951 the State Superintendent of Public Instruction proposed, on financial grounds, that optional nonsegregation be legalized.[1] In the 1954 session of the state legislature, a bill permitting nonsegregation in private and parochial schools passed the House of Representatives but was killed in a Senate committee during the last-minute rush to close the session. This bill was introduced by a Negro legislator from Louisville and was said to have the support of Catholic school authorities in Louisville.

The recital of these favorable factors in Kentucky's past should not obscure the existence of opposite influences. While always a "border" state, Kentucky's historical and cultural ties have been principally with the South. Louisville and other areas along the Ohio River received many German immigrants, ~~in the early days of settlement~~, but these areas have never been ~~completely~~ very well integrated with the rest of the state, whose settlers came mostly from the

upper part of the Old South. Although Kentucky did not secede during the Civil War and more than twice as many of its sons fought in the Union Army as in the Confederate Army, it was nevertheless a slave state. After the Civil War, for a long period, the political leaders and officeholders were mostly Confederate veterans, and the orientation of the state was toward the South.[2]

The "Year of Grace"

In view of the relatively favorable context and background for desegregation, it is perhaps surprising that no Kentucky communities have joined the many communities in Missouri, West Virginia, and other border states in initiating desegregation this year. However, the absence of organized opposition to the implementation of the Court's decision and the fact that the state had already modified its segregation laws and practices certainly cannot be interpreted as indicating public enthusiasm for changes in racial practices or a desire to "take the lead" in school integration. Rather than being actively "pro" or "con" on matters relating to Negroes and Negro rights, the average white Kentuckian would probably prefer to ignore them. And in most areas of the state the Negro minority has been small enough to make this almost possible.

There has also been uncertainty about the legal issues. After first implying that the Day Law was automatically killed by the Court's decision, state legal authorities later took the position that it remained in effect, at least until after the Court's second decree. During the summer of 1954, on the basis of this, the State Board of Education asked all school districts to maintain status quo for the school year 1954-55. The governor appointed an advisory committee on desegregation and included Negro representatives on it, but for many months this committee did not meet. Finally, in December and March, 1955, the committee held "get-acquainted" sessions but then

decided to defer further meetings, "since nothing can be done at this time." Apparently, also, the parochial school authorities in many Catholic jurisdictions of the state have hesitated to take action as long as there was a question as to the legality of desegregation.

During the year, the governor and state education and legal officials have refused, on several occasions, to join other southern state officials in conferences and discussions designed to find ways around the decision. On one occasion Kentucky sent an "observer" but carefully refrained from official participation. Kentucky did not file a brief with the Supreme Court.

Recently the attorney general issued a statement clarifying the state's position as to the Day Law and its enforcement. He stated that if any local school boards wished to desegregate now, the state would initiate no prosecution of them. However, if any citizen should initiate a suit against such a board, he, as the state's chief law officer, would be impelled to support the suit so long as the Day Law had not been repealed or specifically declared invalid by the Supreme Court. To this he added the comment: "Of course, as lawyers, we know that the Day Law would meet the same fate from the Supreme Court as have the laws of other states that decree segregation."[3]

The test of Kentucky's "go slow" policy will be what happens after the Supreme Court's implementing decree. If the abolition of compulsory or administratively enforced segregation then proceeds fairly rapidly and smoothly -- or at least more so than might otherwise have been expected -- and if real integration begins to take place in the desegregating schools, the policy will have paid off. But if school officials and communities only then begin to come to grips with the issues, the "policy" will have been disclosed as mere stalling for time and the period one more nearly one of wishful thinking than of anything else.

A pertinent question in this connection is whether Kentucky communities and school authorities have been using this interim period for planning or thinking about the necessary adjustments. Unfortunately, as has been previously indicated, there is little to indicate widespread use of the "grace period" for planning. The principal exceptions known to the writer are in the Louisville and Lexington metropolitan areas. In the Louisville City School District, both the superintendent and board members have been forthright in stimulating public discussion of desegregation and in going on record that Louisville city schools will desegregate both pupils and teachers. Numerous panels and discussions have been held by organizations and groups throughout the city, and there has been full newspaper coverage. There has been less publicity relating to desegregation for Jefferson County, outside the city, but apparently some planning is being done.

The Fayette County District, which enrolls more than half of the school children in the Lexington metropolitan area, has an officially appointed advisory committee on "desegregation, housing, and transportation." This committee, which was carefully constituted to include representatives of business, government, teachers (white and Negro), ministers, the P.T.A., and the Negro public, has for some time been holding weekly meetings and actively considering the relevant variables and issues, looking toward proposing a specific plan for implementing the Court's decision. The Lexington City District, which includes the bulk of the Negro school children in the county, is said to have some kind of a "plan," but there has been no public indication as to what it may provide and apparently no effort to involve the public in its formulation or execution.

Louisville and Lexington are the two most important centers of influence in the state, and what happens in them cannot help but affect the rest of the state. However, there is also a tendency in smaller communities

to feel that these urban communities are "different" and their actions not necessarily applicable elsewhere in the state.

On the state level, it appears that relatively little actual planning is being done, except insofar as it may perhaps be in progress in some of the sections of the Department of Education. The president of Kentucky State College proposed that a "division of desegregation" with a professional staff be set up in the state government, but nothing has come of it. For the 1955-56 school year, the State Board of Education is said to be considering minor modifications to its 1954 status quo rulings such as allowing school districts the option of consolidating their white and Negro bus transportation. The new ruling of the Court may, of course, modify the situation considerably. In general, however, the fact that this is election year and a new governor, attorney general, and ~~commissioner of education~~ Superintendent of Public Instruction will be elected mitigates against state-level planning. Significantly, though, desegregation has not become a political issue in the campaign, and both gubernatorial candidates have gone on record that they will do what the law requires.

The fact that at least 30 or 40 school districts of the state will be represented among the participants in this summer's University of Kentucky seminar on adjusting to the Supreme Court's decision should serve to stimulate some planning or at least "thinking" in those districts. One tentative plan is for the seminar to include a one-day "laboratory" session in which each school administrator participating in the seminar would present an adjustment plan for his community, developed as a seminar project, to a group of white and Negro lay leaders from that community.

The state has had one well-publicized instance of lack of community planning. The City School Board in Georgetown, a prosperous central Kentucky town of 5,000, this spring notified the five teachers in the Negro high school that their services would not be needed next year, since the school would "not

be operated" after the present school year. Three of the five teachers were long-time employees and had legal tenure under Kentucky law. The board also announced that no plan had been made for the Negro pupils, but it "hoped" some arrangement could be made before school began in the fall. In the flurry of public discussion and Negro protest moves that followed, varying demands for integration, continuation of the Negro school, and transportation to a Negro high school in nearby Lexington were heard. But the board was noncommital. A day or so later a "solution" was announced: The County School District, in which the majority of the Negro high-school pupils lived, would take over and operate the school for one year. The fact that as soon as the Negro teachers signed contracts with the County District they would lose all legal rights to tenure, which depended upon their employment by the City Board, was not mentioned. The controversy has continued but has dropped out of the newspapers.

Another important consideration in relation to Kentucky's "go slow" policy is whether the passage of time is accustoming the general public to the idea of desegregation and "softening them up" for change -- or whether, on the contrary, it is providing an opportunity for rallying opposition. In the absence of research or a systematic sampling of opinion, this question cannot be answered definitively. But in some ways the apparent attitude of the general white public seems to present a more encouraging prospect than that suggested by the general lack of planning. There is no indication of a growing opposition, and general observation suggests that the people are becoming accustomed to the idea that desegregation is coming. The most common attitude appears to be one of wishing desegregation didn't have to come but being resigned to its inevitability. This would seem to suggest the improbability of violent opposition to desegregation moves and a similar improbability of purely "voluntary" action toward desegregation on the part of the white community. However, among the white public, as among the school

authorities, there seems to be general lack of realization of the immediacy of the issue, and widespread "wishful thinking" on the subject.

What the teachers have done and are doing to prepare for change is another highly relevant matter. The evidence suggests that the teachers are more aware of the issues and concerned about them than the general public. However, Negro teacher groups have been faster than the white groups to initiate formal discussions and to propose action programs. During the recent simultaneous annual meetings, in Louisville, of the Kentucky Education Association (white) and the Kentucky Teachers Association (Negro), the Negro group formally requested the white association to join in supporting two specific measures designed to speed the transition and help qualified Negro teachers hold their jobs. The KEA declined to go along, but its classroom teachers department passed a resolution placing themselves on record as approving the principle of nonsegregation. Each of the two associations has had, since last year, a committee to meet with its opposite number on matters relating to desegregation. The KEA has so far made no move to admit Negro teachers, but the KTA has removed "Negro" from its membership qualifications.

Among other significant developments of the year have been the organization of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations, a state affiliate of the Southern Regional Council, and the inauguration by this organization of a desegregation consultation service for local communities. The University of Kentucky has applied for a foundation grant to set up a ~~similar consultation service~~ community study, planning, and service program on desegregation in its Bureau of School Service. The National Conference of Christians and Jews has continued its intergroup activities and, besides providing scholarships and other aids to the University of Kentucky seminar, has this year sponsored a community human-relations workshop for all Louisville-area teachers and a Louisville interschool youth panel on desegregation.

Prognosis

An "informed guess" about the future is that few Kentucky school districts will move faster in the first year or two than they "have to," and that the desegregation pattern will be quite spotty. The Negro population in many counties and communities is quite small, lacking in younger adults, without an aggressive leadership, and without an effective voice or means of communication.

In the long run -- and in the fairly short run, in many cases -- the Negro-white population ratios in Kentucky communities make a considerable measure of desegregation inevitable, given a national policy against segregation and some local and/or state pressure and precedent for desegregation. At present, only 6 per cent of Kentucky's people are Negroes; and more than half of these are concentrated in five counties. Even in these counties, the Negro proportions are only 10 to 20 per cent -- far lower than in the "Deep South" and lower than in some large cities outside the South. In individual school districts the proportion of Negroes runs higher, but in none is it so high as a third. The great majority of the school districts have fewer than 5 per cent Negroes, and many have none.

Translated into numbers, these ratios mean that most school districts have so few Negro school children that an adequate Negro school program on a segregated basis is impossible, particularly at the high-school level. The state has fewer than twenty Class-A Negro high schools, and only a handful of the Negro high schools have as many as 100 senior high students. The majority of the counties have no Negro high school at all and send those few Negro pupils who insist on a high-school education to schools in other counties, or to Lincoln Institute, which functions as a state high school for Negroes. Thirty of the 120 counties and 71 of the 224 districts operate no Negro schools at all.

Outside the few districts having the largest number of Negro students, segregated Negro education in Kentucky has been uniformly more costly per student than has the education of white students. In some districts, transportation and instructional costs are two or three times as high for the Negro child as for the white child. Yet, even so, the curriculum has been very narrow and grossly unequal to that of the white schools.

If a community with a very small Negro high school should adopt a "free choice" plan of desegregation -- that is, continue to operate the Negro school but allow those Negroes who insisted on enrolling in the "white" school to do so, it might well be that very few Negroes in the first year or so would exercise their option to do so. To the extent that any did so, however, the probability of eventual complete desegregation would be increased. The enrollment of some Negro students in the "white" school would increase costs there without decreasing the already high costs in the Negro school, since the latter already had the minimum program in terms of number of teachers and courses. It seems probable that taxpayer attitudes and economic logic would soon force complete desegregation, regardless of whether the Negroes themselves pushed for it.

Furthermore, the Negro population of Kentucky has been declining for fifty years, not only relatively but in absolute numbers. This decline has been particularly true of the small towns and rural areas. Negro population in the larger cities has not gained spectacularly but has more or less held its own. More and more counties and school districts will have too few Negro children to operate separate schools.

The prospects for Kentucky Negro teachers seem somewhat less bright than that for pupil desegregation. Indications are that in the largest cities qualified Negro teachers will hold on, because white attitudes are more liberal, because partial segregation based on residential segregation is likely to continue for some time, and because there is a more aggressive

Negro leadership. That some qualified Negro teachers now employed in small towns and rural areas will lose out seems almost inevitable, whether because of more conservative white attitudes, declining Negro population, or lack of effective Negro leadership or power. The ~~Georgetown~~ situation already in the previously discussed Central Kentucky Town already forebodes this. On the other side of the picture are the over-all shortage of teachers, the extremely low teachers' salaries which make teaching unattractive to young white persons, and the fact that Kentucky Negro teachers are better qualified, in terms of official standards, than are the white teachers.

There is danger, of course, that Kentucky teachers as a whole may lose their tenure law and other merit-system provisions, as is occurring in some other states as a result of the desegregation issue. So far there has been no movement in this direction.

In a setting such as that of Kentucky in 1955, probably the most crucial variable affecting desegregation for the next year or two will be the attitude of local school boards and administrators and other local government officials, rather than differences in the attitude of the general public in the various areas. In those school districts where the officials become convinced that changes must be made -- either because they are right or because there is no other legal or honorable choice -- there seems a good possibility that the changes can be brought about fairly readily, by means of wise planning and public relations, forthright leadership, and decisive action at the appropriate time. In those school districts where the officials have a strong emotional bias against nonsegregation or refuse to face the reality of the decision, it seems probable that they can delay desegregation for a period. The eventual result is likely to be about the same in both cases, so far as the actual changes in school programs and facilities are concerned. But in the first kind of situation the prognosis is obviously much better for a smooth transition and for good community and intergroup relations.

FOOTNOTES

2/ Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Commonwealth of Kentucky Educational Bulletin, XIX (No. 10), 1951.

3/ See Thomas D. Clark, A History of Kentucky. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1937. pp. 472-489.

4/ See Southern School News, vol. 1, no. 9, May 4, 1955, p. 2.

1/ There was some question as to whether the University of Louisville had any legal obligation to retain any of the Municipal College Staff. The remaining Municipal College Staff members accepted cash payments in a settlement negotiated by legal advisors. Since 1950, four other Negroes have taught part-time at the University of Louisville. Two Louisville Catholic colleges have each had one Negro staff member.